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To the fair
Photo by Aloke De



The saw and its prey
Photo by Ananda Mukherji



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GOLDEN HARVEST
By Srimuni Singh

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NOTES

Nehru Abroad

Pandit Nehru has gone abroad for the Commonwealth talks at London. He is visiting the Scandinavian countries and Holland after that and on his way back home, will visit Egypt and Sudan. The itinerary is not very long and no crucial issues are to be discussed and worked out, either at London or at any of the other places where he is going to call. There is no mission in his programme, nor is it likely that any tangible results will accrue out of this tour of his abroad.

But there are some intangibles, no doubt, which come out of these visits. They are not always on the credit side, where the visitor is concerned, as was evident after Pandit Nehru had gone to meet President Eisenhower, in response to a very friendly invitation. The world is still divided into two armed camps in the main, with a group of isolated countries maintaining a precarious neutrality. The Western group of powers, and their satellites, look with skinned teeth at these neutrals, and there is a continuous attempt going on to lure them away.

Pandit Nehru's visits will not create any diplomatic flutter anywhere in the hard, realistic, Western world, despite all the *reclam* and two-column and three-column spreads in the front pages of the Indian newspapers. And the reason is not far to seek.

The hard-headed and extremely astute type of persons, who usually constitute the assessor groups in foreign affairs in the Western countries, are highly skilled in the separation of solid facts from verbose chaff. They are either emotionally exhilarated by the enunciation of sentiments, however, ancient or holy,

nor are they likely to consider the question of gain or loss, economic or political in any terms excepting those of concrete reality. To them the weight of the opinion of a premier of a foreign country depends entirely on the stability, strength and efficiency of the country he represents. These factors, again, are not assessed on the imaginative statements and plastic statistics as dished out by our ludicrous government publications, but on facts and figures, which are obtained from their own special sources. A foreigner going through India, has many experiences which our tin-gods do not ever get to hear. The corrupt and inefficient men they and their tom-noddy assistants have put in power, are giving India an evil name.

Two fairly prominent South American writers passed through India recently. One was a Chilean poet of international fame, the other was a popular writer of Brazil, whose fame has gone beyond the boundaries of South America. We were told of their experiences in this country. It was of bare-faced cheating, graft and corruption, at every step, in Madras, New Delhi and Calcutta. They were particularly appalled at the fact that even at New Delhi they could get no redress. They had not come to India for gain, excepting in the terms of the intangibles about which we prate so much. The festering corruption that they met came as a profound shock to them, particularly to the poet, who had taken for granted that we practise what we preach.

This is what is happening everyday everywhere. And the world cannot be fooled by the sermons about Panch-Sheela abroad, while at home the country stinks of corruption.

Austerity Drive in India

"Austerity" and "economy" seemed to be the words of the day—at least in so far as the official publicity went. The propaganda started with the announcement on June 13 of the Central Ministers' decision to accept a voluntary cut of 10 per cent in their salaries and allowances. (If one recalled the strong criticism of ministerial salaries and allowances earlier made by the Congressmen the cuts might not appear to be wholly voluntary as they were made to appear before the public). The Central Ministers' example served the model for various State Ministries to announce similar 'voluntary' cuts. For example, the Rajasthan Ministry, besides agreeing to a similar cut, went even further and agreed to withdraw the sentries posted at the residences of Ministers and Deputy Ministers, except at the residence of the Chief Minister, as well as to place a ceiling on the value of furniture installed at their residences. In addition, the Rajasthan Ministers, at their request, would not be given civic addresses or 'at homes' by the local bodies while they would be on tour.

While the gesture for economy on the part of the leaders of the Union and State Governments should be welcome, however halting and belated the measures might be, it was difficult not to be anxious at some of the dangerous developments in this connection. In many cases the saving resulting from the ministerial cuts would only be nominal. In other cases, the implementation of the policy of economy was sought to be made in such lines as could hardly be regarded to produce the desirable results.

In an editorial article the *Vigil* writes that the current reports or rumours of the austerity measures in high circles completely failed to impress the people because of the general scepticism at the ability or the willingness of the present rulers to effect genuine economy in administration—a scepticism that grew stronger by incidents like the one that took place at Jullundur on June 8th.

On that date, the *Vigil* writes, "A huge tea party with one thousand guests was arranged in honour of Union Minister Sardar Swaran Singh when he visited Jullundur. The Secretary of the local P.S.P. approached the organisers with a request to desist from giving such a big party in these days of scarcity, pointing out

that it also went against the government's declared policy of austerity. He also wired to the Minister not to accept such a party. As this friendly approach had no effect the P.S.P. workers organised a peaceful demonstration outside the club where the function was being held. The demonstrators, as reported in the *Tribune* of June 10th, were badly beaten. One of them had to be removed to hospital. Sardar Harbhajan Singh, secretary of the Punjab P.S.P., was dragged inside the club and beaten till he became unconscious. All this was done by the organisers of the tea party and their friends, while the police who were present looked on. Later the police authorities gave an assurance that proper action would be taken against the culprits but did nothing. Then, as a protest, the P.S.P. workers started satyagraha, in which the issue was the failure of the custodians of law and order in the district to take action against what for all intents and purposes was "a private force" that took law into their own hands and assaulted peaceful demonstrators, disclosing a fascist trend and danger to democracy."

Continuing the weekly writes that the very motive—its morality—of the "austerity" drive was suspect in public eye. The Government was finding it difficult to implement the Second Five-Year Plan. It was fully aware of these difficulties from the beginning but had carefully kept the public ignorant about them fearing their adverse reaction in the elections. Now the elections were over and the Congress leaders were safely in power. They were now trying to impose the whole sacrifice for the implementation of the plan on the shoulders of the common people. But while in reality the burden was being transferred to the common man it was essential in the political interest of the ruling party to make the sacrifices appear a national. Therein lay the root of the present show of "austerity" and economy.

If the Congress leaders really wanted to effect economy there was nothing to prevent them from doing so even from the very start. But they had done nothing of the sort. Neither had any effort been made to bridge the gap between the high and the low, the rich and the poor. "If 'austerity' makes no difference to the gulf," the *Vigil* writes, "if the difference in terms of material conditions of life remains as wide

as before, then the glib talk about 'equality of sacrifice' is a cruel fraud."

■ *Company Contribution to Party Funds*

A number of big joint-stock companies in India recently became active in seeking to effect an amendment in their organisational statutes (the Memorandum of Association) so that they might contribute to the funds of political parties in India—following the practice of business corporations in the United States of America. This new interest of the business corporations in seeking to exercise a more direct influence over the political parties by being in a position to pull their purse-strings came to be viewed with general disquiet which also found its echo in the recent remarks of the Bombay High Court in dismissing an appeal preferred by three share-holders of the Tata Iron & Steel Company, Ltd., which sought to restrain the company from donating to the funds of political parties.

While the court upheld the company's right to donate to the funds of political parties under the provisions of the Indian Companies Act, 1955, it also struck a note of warning and drew the attention of the Parliament to the dangerous potentialities of direct contributions to the funds of the political parties by the business corporations. In their judgment, the Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla and Justice Mr. S. T. Desai expressed their uneasiness at the possible consequences of the new political interests of business houses on the future of democracy in India.

The observations made by the Bombay High Court touched many aspects of Indian democracy so that we reproduce below the summary made by the *Press Trust of India*:

"The Judges said that on the part of anyone to finance a political party was likely to contaminate the very springs of democracy. They added that democracy would be vitiated if results were to be arrived at not on merits but because money played a part in the bringing about of the decision. The form and trappings of democracy might continue, but the spirit underlying democratic institutions would disappear, they added.

The history of democracy had proved that in other countries democracy had been smothered by big business and money-bags playing an

important part in the working, influencing and affecting of the democratic institutions. It was, therefore, the duty not only of the politicians and citizens but also of the court of law, to the extent that it had got power to prevent any influence being exercised upon a voter which was improper or which might be looked at as corruptive influence.

While the integrity of the voter and his representative should be safeguarded, they had also to consider the way the world had developed and democratic institutions had evolved.

In the modern countries, they were dealing with millions of voters, and large organisations, political parties and modern methods of carrying on propaganda required money which normally was obtained by the parties from their supporters and sympathisers. But the danger of the corrupting influence of money should not be allowed to increase and must be strongly curbed.

Their lordships, moreover, said they could only be guided by legal principles and not by views as to politics and morality. Therefore dealing with the proposal of the Company, their lordships said that the trial judge, who had applied his mind to the various factors of the case, had come to the conclusion that in law he was bound to confirm the alteration sought by the Company.

According to the Company, the amendment to the memorandum would enable the company to carry out its objects of earning, profits and running the Company more economically and more efficiently.

According to their lordships, the Company felt that its safety, security, future expansion and profits were all linked up with the continuance of the Congress Government at the helm of affairs, and that the Company should, therefore, see to it that that Government continued in power. Thus arose the necessity for the Company to contribute to political funds.

Their lordships found that there was nothing unlawful in the Company making contributions to political funds just as individuals could do. In this connection, their lordships also pointed out that if they were to refuse the Company sanction for the amendment, there was nothing to prevent the Company from re-constructing and to have a new memorandum empowering itself to have the power to make

contribution to political parties as had been done in the case of some newly-formed companies. Under Section 17 of the Companies Act, the trial judge had exercised his discretion and sanctioned the amendment and their lordships agreed with the decision of the trial court.

The Company had already agreed that it would show all donations in the profit and loss account and the balance-sheet. Their lordships said that it was essential that the electorate should know how a party was being financed and by whom and to what extent.

Therefore, the Company at the end of the financial year should establish in two leading newspapers a complete statement of the contributions made.

Their lordships said that wide powers had been conferred upon the Companies to make contributions. Their lordships wished to draw the attention of Parliament to the great danger inherent in permitting Companies to make contributions to political parties. They added that it was a danger which might grow apace and which might ultimately overwhelm and even throttle democracy in this country.

From experience in a large number of cases, the contributions were made by the directors and the sanction of the Company was merely a camouflage as either the directors controlled the Company or some powerful person having a large number of shares.

Their lordships, therefore, said that the least Parliament could do was to require these Companies to get the sanction of the court before any large amount was paid to the funds of political parties. They, therefore, suggested that Parliament should pass remedial measures.

The Hazards of Planning

The people of India are now made to feel the stress and strains of planned economy. The mounting burdens of taxation have a crippling effect on the fixed income groups and the low income groups and the entire economy has been thrown out of gear as a result of budgetary measures. The rise in price level and the resultant cost of living are the two immediate effects of budget declaration. There has been an increase of more than 50 per cent over a year in the cost of living. The index number of food prices which stood at 348.2 on May 26,

1956, rose to 426.3 on June 15, 1957. The corresponding index number of manufactured articles on these dates moved from 376.9 to 393.1. The index number of wholesale prices of all commodities rose from 391.1 on May 26, 1956 to 427.6 on June 15 last. The development expenditure had almost trebled in five years from Rs. 259 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 761 crores in 1956-57. For 1957-58, the development expenditure will be of the order of Rs. 900 crores.

When the Second Five-Year Plan was drafted it was said that it was much too ambitious, being beyond the resources of the country. The authorities turned a deaf ear to this suggestion and they went on asserting that the targets of the Second Plan must be achieved anyhow and there could not arise any question of reducing the Plan. But when the Plan actually came to be put into operation, it was immediately realised that funds are lacking to carry out the proposals. Both the internal and external resources are now found to be in short supply. In consequence, the Second Plan is now reported to be undergoing a rephasing mainly on the basis of avoidance of new commitments of foreign exchange resources on projects other than those covered by development in the spheres of iron and steel, coal, transport and ancillary power. It has been estimated that even with the latest slash on imports and with new foreign exchange commitments restricted to capital goods required for the 'core' of the Plan—iron and steel projects, coal, transport and ancillary power—external assistance of about Es. 600 crores beyond what have so far been promised would be required.

The drain on foreign exchange has been increasing alarmingly and at present the sterling balances have come down to just Rs. 457 crores. Of this amount, the sum of Rs. 400 crores is required to be kept at a currency reserve and this amount will not be available for payments, and that means India has only Rs. 57 crores for payments for her imports, and this amount includes the credit of Rs. 60.7 crores received from the IMF as the remainder of the stand-by credit of \$200 million granted to India. The magnitude of the strain on the balance of payments is shown by the fact that during the fourteen months ending May, 1957, the draft on foreign assets has been of the order of Rs. 335 crores.

Prior to his departure for Europe in June, Pandit Nehru is reported to have sent to his Cabinet colleagues a circular letter in which he referred to the country's precarious foreign exchange position, the internal price level and the rising cost of the Second Plan. He stressed the point that however desirable a particular proposal put forward by a Ministry might be, it would have to be looked at from the larger point of view of the working of the Plan. He has pointed out that a Minister or a secretary should not think only of the needs of his Ministry but of the Plan as a whole. In his view, the Planning Commission is the proper authority to consider any proposal from an overall point of view. Pandit Nehru has said that in view of various developments and particularly in view of the rise in prices, the cost of the Second Plan has already gone up to Rs. 5,500 crores and there is every possibility of a further rise to Rs. 6,000 crores or over. He has stated that it is manifestly not possible for the country to incur such a huge expenditure and therefore when Government expressed its determination to fulfil the Second Plan, it meant that it would fulfil the basic industrial core of it. Other items, though important in themselves might have to be postponed.

The two major hurdles that today hamper the progress of the Second Plan are: the lack of priority and the rising costs. With limited resources, the Second Plan has been launched on all the fronts at a time and the result has been that no single project has been able to make any appreciable headway. The Government should have given priority consideration to the developments and establishment of large-scale industries in the first instance, leaving other items of development to later period. It is not merely the question of monetary resources, there are also the needs of administrative arrangements which cannot be marshalled all at a time particularly in a country where trained personnel are lacking. The administrative loopholes are manifest everywhere and in every aspect of the planned projects. The major loopholes in the administration of the planned projects are dishonesty on the part of the officers and their inefficiency. These factors are responsible to a considerable extent in pushing up the costs of the planned projects. The country is so vast and the projects are so widespread that

it is not possible for the Central Government as well as for the various State Governments to exercise proper control so as to check dishonesty. Further, the selection of personnel now-a-days is more a matter of political patronage than an economic consideration. Nepotism is no less responsible for the selection of inefficient personnel. Nepotism today controls the political Leviathan of India and merits go at a discount.

The Government of India's industrial policy as well as the trade policy is defective. India is an underdeveloped country and the economic planning should have been directed mainly towards developing large-scale industries and also increasing agricultural output of the country both by extensive and intensive cultivation. There are several projects which are unproductive and as a result the capital expenditure has failed to bring any effective return. The river valley projects constitute a great drain on the resources of India and they are more a liability in the present context than an asset. Money has been made to flow down the sluice-gates of the river valley projects. The cost of the DVC has shot up from the original estimate of Rs. 45 crores to the present estimate of Rs. 150 crores. The community development projects and the craze for developing small-scale industries are also draining away a large part of India's resources. These projects could have been deferred to a later period.

More than 50 per cent of India's national income is agricultural income and in recent years the agricultural output has not been keeping pace with the growing demand and in consequence the real income of the people as well as the national income has not made any appreciable increase. Agriculture is still a gamble in rainfall in India and the river valley projects have not helped it in any way. The Government of India's trade policy is also very defective. In the face of ever-increasing deficit financing, the import restrictions are simply raising the price level as well as the cost of production. Import restrictions will help only the black-marketers and to that extent the Government's trade policy helps the black-marketers at the cost of the general public.

Speaking at Madurai recently, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the former Union Finance Minister, ascribed the current difficulties in regard to the implementation of the Second Plan to the loss of efficiency in agricultural production and to "somewhat imprudent" utilization of the sterling balances. He said that India's resources

now appeared to be less than what had been assumed for the Second Plan. That was the central feature of the difficulties. He said: "One important cause is perhaps the loss of efficiency in the production of agricultural commodities because they contribute to nearly one half of our national income. We have been somewhat imprudent in the utilization of our accumulated reserves, namely, the sterling balances—imprudent in the sense that perhaps some of it has gone for the development of projects which are not strictly part of the Plan, or perhaps has gone to augment consumption in directions which were not anticipated when the Plan was made."

The monetary policy of the authorities is not also very effective in keeping down the price level. The expansion of bank credit has been taking place with rapid strides and during 1956 only, the bank credit has gone by about Rs. 250 crores. This indicates that speculation, particularly in essential commodities, is increasing considerably with the help of bank credit. In May, 1956, the Reserve Bank of India asked banks to restrict their advances against foodgrains. But surprisingly enough, this restriction was withdrawn with the onset of the busy season in November and no sooner had this restriction been withdrawn than the prices of foodgrains shot up. The withdrawal of restrictions on advances was effected evidently at the influence of powerful hoarders and speculators. Otherwise there could not have been any cogent reason in withdrawing the restriction in the face of rising prices. Recently, the restrictions have again been imposed. But this time the step has been taken at a time when the mischief is already done. It is too late now to make any effective control of prices with this mechanism of credit control. On account of Government spending, the purchasing power of the people is progressively rising and in order to check speculation by the few hoarders, the bank rate and also the Reserve Bank advance rate should be raised to 5 per cent. The cost of bank credit should be dearer so as to discourage speculative deals, particularly in foodgrains.

The recent drain on India's foreign exchange reserves is not only amazing, but perplexing too. India has received a loan of \$200 million from the IMF to meet her current deficit in the balance of payments. Besides, foodgrains are imported against the U.S. credit and for that no cash payment is required to be made. The import of capital goods is made under the

deferred payments scheme entered into with West Germany and Eastern European countries. By import restrictions, the Government of India is unnecessarily making the country panicky and the people speculative. The private sector can import capital goods against credit from the International Finance Corporation and also through the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India which has received a loan for \$10 million from the IBRD and this amount still remains unutilized. India is a member of the International Finance Corporation whose main function is to help industries in the private sector of a member-country. The outstanding licences for capital goods are placed at Rs. 300 crores, for raw materials at Rs. 15 crores and for consumer goods at Rs. 120 crores. Besides, there must be outstanding commitments on Government account and this amount is not made known. India's adverse trade balance does not exceed Rs. 150 crores a year and India has already received a loan of nearly Rs. 100 crores from the IMF. The newly declared import policy of the Government of India seems to indicate that the foreign trade of India is now a one-way traffic and that India only imports, but does not export anything. India's exports in recent years are not keeping pace with the rising imports. In 1955, India had a large trade deficit with West Germany so much so that it constituted nearly 85 per cent of India's total trade deficit. In 1956, the trade deficit with that country amounted to 28 per cent of our total deficit in the balance of payments. India should insist that West Germany should purchase more commodities from India, like tea and other goods, or India should cease importing capital goods from that country.

India's currency reserve of Rs. 400 crores is unnecessary and outmoded. No country does keep her currency reserve in the currency of a foreign country. Britain has dispensed with the requirement of maintaining gold reserve against note issue and India should also discontinue the practice of maintaining Rs. 400 crores in sterling securities as a reserve against her note issue. This amount should be made available for payments for the import of capital goods which are urgently needed. So far as export trade is concerned, the First Five-Year Plan has been a failure in stepping up exports from India. But in official figures, we find that some of our exports have made remarkable improvement and there has also been new markets for Indian goods. But in actual performance, the

achievement is disappointing. What does that indicate? It indicates that there must have been leakage in our foreign exchange. In other words, there is smuggling and clandestine payments abroad of our foreign exchange and our entire export earnings are not brought to proper account. The smuggling of gold into India involves illegal payments of India's foreign exchange for several hundred crores of rupees and this is an open secret well known to the authorities.

Civil Liberties in the USA

The month of June, 1957, would go down in the constitutional history of the U.S.A. as a memorable month. On June 17, the Supreme Court of the United States of America gave two major decisions—one in the contempt case brought against John T. Watkins on behalf of the committee on un-American activities of the U. S. Congress, and the other in the case of fourteen West Coast Communist Party leaders convicted under the Alien Registration (Smith) Act of 1940—which, to quote the *New York Times*, "reasserted the principle of the right of a citizen under the First Amendment and the Fifth Amendment (of the U.S. Constitution) to be protected against arbitrary procedures." The two decisions of the Supreme Court opened new, and a broader horizon for civil liberties in the USA and genuine democracies everywhere would welcome these authoritative limitations, imposed upon the Legislature and the Executive, against encroachments on the liberties of the private citizens.

The MacCarthy inquisitions had lowered the prestige of the USA in the eyes of lovers of civil liberties everywhere. There were yet some who would like MacCarthy's inquisitorial tradition to continue and they are bitterly criticizing the judgments as being too liberal. Some were charging that the Supreme Court was making law, that the justices were enforcing their personal views instead of interpreting the Constitution, Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the U.S. Senate's special committee on labour racketeering, went so far as to declare that "what this country (USA) needs most is a Supreme Court of lawyers with a reasonable amount of common sense." Yet despite these criticisms the decision of the Supreme Court would remain binding in similar cases. As the

New York Times editorially remarks, "It remains true that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is. But those who criticize the court at this moment may well remember that it is neither inferior nor superior to the other two departments (i.e., the executive and the legislature) of government. The late President Franklin D. Roosevelt could not upset it for being, as he thought, too conservative, and its decisions will not be rescinded now because some think they are too liberal."

The Watkins case: John T. Watkins was called as a witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April, 1954. Mr. Watkins, who had been associated with the Communists between 1942 and 1947, freely answered questions about himself but refused to discuss "persons who may in the past have been Communist party members . . . but who to the best of my knowledge and belief have long since removed themselves from the Communist movement." He said that he did not consider the answers on that point relevant to the work of the congressional committee, nor did he "believe that this (congressional committee) has the right to undertake the public exposure of persons because of their past activities."

For this refusal Mr. Watkins was convicted on the charge of contempt of the Congress of the United States. He then appealed to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court by a majority of six to one ruled that the conviction of Mr. Watkins was improper. The points, made by Chief Justice Warren on behalf of the majority, have been summarised by the *New York Times* as follows:

"First, that congressional authority to investigate is very broad but does have limits, notably the Bill of Rights. The Court said, 'There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress.'

"Second, that the area which a committee may investigate must be delineated clearly by the parent body—the Senate or House. The court said: 'It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution (than the one creating the Un-American Activities Committee) . . . The Committee is allowed in essence, to determine its own authority . . . (committee members) may act pursuant to

motives that seemed to them to be the highest. Their decisions, nevertheless, can lead to ruthless exposure of private lives in order to gather data that is neither desired by the Congress nor useful to it.'

"Third, that congressional committees are restricted to acquiring data to guide the House or Senate in legislating. The Court said: 'No witness can be compelled to make disclosures on matters outside that area'.

"Fourth, that Mr. Watkins had no way of knowing what legislative question was under enquiry and whether the questions asked him were pertinent to it. The Court said: '(Watkins) was thus not accorded a fair opportunity to determine whether he was within his rights in refusing to answer'."

"The conclusions we have reached in this case will not prevent the Congress, through its committees, from obtaining any information it needs for the proper fulfilment of its role in our scheme of government," Chief Justice Warren declared, "A measure of added care on the part of the House and Senate in authorizing the use of compulsory process and by their committees in exercising that power would suffice."

Justice Tom C. Clark's was the sole dissident voice.

The Smith Act Case: The provision of the Alien Registration (Smith) Act of 1940 were used by the Government of the United States to break the Communist movement in that country. In all 145 Communist leaders of the USA were indicted under the Act of whom 89 were actually convicted. The Constitutional validity of the Act was challenged in 1951 but the Supreme Court by a majority of 6 to 2 (Justices Black and Douglas dissenting) upheld the validity of the Act.

Among the 89 Communists convicted under the Smith Act there were fourteen West Coast leaders. They appealed to the Supreme Court that the Smith Act had been applied to them improperly. The Supreme Court by a majority of six to one (Justice Clark dissenting again) set aside the convictions, freeing five outright and ordering fresh trials for the remaining nine. Justices Black and Douglas, while concurring with the majority decision along with Justices Warren, Frankfurter, Harlan and Burton, reiterated their view that the Smith Act was un-

constitutional. Justice Burton agreed with the majority with reservation on one point.

The points made by the majority, as summarised by the *New York Times*, are given below:

"First, that the fourteen West Coast Communists had been charged not only with conspiracy 'to advocate' the violent overthrow of the Government but also with conspiracy 'to organize' the Communist Party and that the 'organize' charge was invalid (it was on this point that Justice Burton disagreed). The Court said: 'We should follow the familiar rule that criminal statutes are to be strictly construed and give to 'organize' its narrow meaning, that is, that the word refers only to acts entering into the creation of a new organization, and not to acts thereafter performed in carrying on its activities, even though such acts may loosely be termed 'organizational' . . . Since the Communist Party came into being in 1945 (in its present form) and the indictment was not returned until 1951, the three-year statute of limitations had run on the 'organizing' charge.

"Second, that during the trial of the fourteen, neither the Government nor the trial judge made any distinction between advocating the violent overthrow of the Government as an abstract doctrine, which is not a crime, and advocating it in a way calculated to incite unlawful action, which is a crime. The Court said: 'The essential distinction is that those to whom the advocacy is addressed must be urged to do something, now or in the future, rather than merely to believe in something . . . ' The Smith Act does not denounce advocacy in the sense of preaching abstractly the forcible overthrow of the Government . . . (In the original Smith Act case of the eleven Communist leaders) the jury was properly instructed that there could be no conviction for 'advocacy in the realm of ideas.' (But in the West Coast case) the trial court (insisted) that all advocacy was punishable 'whether in language of incitement or not.'

"Once the court had ruled out the 'organize' charge and narrowed the 'advocacy' charge, it examined the evidence remaining against each of the fourteen Communists. The majority found there was no evidence left to justify a retrial for five of them and it therefore directed

their acquittal. As for the remaining nine, the court said that if a jury were to give the evidence 'its utmost sweep' and resolve 'all conflicts in favour of the Government' the Government might win a valid conviction. Accordingly, it ordered a new trial for the nine."

Elections in Egypt

Egypt would go to the polls on July 3 when elections were scheduled to be held for the 350-member National Assembly (Parliament). The elections were to have been held in November last, but had to be postponed on account of Anglo-French attack on Egypt. There were 5,964,424 registered voters including 200,000 women who would be voting for the first time in Egyptian history. Over 2,500 persons including 16 women paid deposits and filed their nomination papers. Finally, however, 1,241 candidates, selected by a Ministerial committee headed by President Nasser, remained in the field to fill up 278 seats of the Assembly (the other 72 seats having been filled up uncontested).

Egyptian nationals, both men and women, above 30 years of age and able to read and write were eligible to contest the elections. Members of the former ruling family and politicians deprived of their political rights were not eligible to stand for election.

P.T.I. adds:

"The elections would appear to be of a limited character as all political parties suspended in 1953 have not yet been restored and will remain suspended until the new Assembly enacts laws regulating them. Any move for laws restoring the political parties should, under the Constitution, come from the Government and should be approved by two-thirds of the Assembly.

"Until the parties are restored, nominations for the Assembly will be made by a 'National Union' which will also direct the country's national policies. The Union, as conceived in the Constitution, will represent different shades of public opinion and be under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic.

"An executive committee of the Union was set up last week by a Presidential decree to scrutinize the list of candidates. The Committee consists of three Ministers of the Government

whose decision on the eligibility of candidates is final.

"President Nasser had planned the elections as a process of democratization and decentralization of the administration, but recent attempts by 'foreign interests' to topple the present Government has made the Government be strict in the selection of candidates. The Government knows that in certain constituencies some political groups opposed to its policies have put up nearly 15 candidates per constituency in an effort to 'squeeze' their candidate in through the screening committee.

"Although Ministers, under the constitution, need not be elected persons. President Nasser is reported to have expressed his desire to have, after the elections, elected men in his Cabinet mostly. All members of his Cabinet except the Foreign Minister, Dr. Fawzy, and the War Minister, General Amer, are fighting the elections. General Amer, who is in active army service as the C-in-C. of the Egyptian Armed Forces, is disallowed under the Constitution to stand for elections. Reasons why Dr. Fawzy is not standing are not known.

"Candidates are likely to contest on the basis of 'national solidarity' or 'individual personality' in the absence of political programmes backed by organized political parties."

Canadian Elections

In the Canadian elections held in June the ruling Liberal Party was swept off from power after 22 years. The Liberal Party, occupying a place in the political spectrum roughly comparable to that of the Democrats in the USA and favouring low tariffs and social security at home and political equality abroad, had been in power in Canada since World War I, except for a brief interlude in 1926 and the five years beginning in 1930 when a conservative government had been in power. The defeat of the Liberal Party thus came as a major political upset.

The victor in this year's Canadian elections was the Progressive Conservative Party which favoured high tariffs and close ties with Great Britain. The Conservative Party polled smaller number of votes than the Liberals (2,378,000 to 2,509,000 for the Liberals and 1,277,000 for other parties) but the composition of the House of Commons of Canada was dras-

tically changed. As against only 50 seats before the elections the Conservative got 111 seats to the Liberal's 103. The position of the various political parties and groups in the 265-seat House compared with the results of the last election in 1953 was as follows:

| | 1957 | 1953 |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|
| Progressive Conservatives | 111 | 50 |
| Liberal | 103 | 171 |
| Co-operative Commonwealth Federation | 25 | 23 |
| Social Credit Party | 19 | 15 |
| Others | 6 | 6 |
| Vacant | 1 | — |
| | 265 | 265 |

These factors were responsible for such a major upset in Canadian domestic politics, the *New York Times* writes: One was the Canadian people's longing for a political change; the second factor was the accumulation of exasperations to which any government long in power was prey; and lastly, the Conservative Party had found a vigorous leader in John Diefenbaker.

Following the results Mr. John Diefenbaker, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, formed the new Canadian Government. The new Government announced that there would be no change in the country's foreign policy.

USA and Japan

Mr. Nobosuke Kishi, the Japanese Prime Minister, was on a visit to the United States during June. During that visit Mr. Kishi obtained the agreement of the Government of the USA to a substantial reduction of the number of US forces stationed in Japan (under the 1951 Security Treaty with Japan), "within the next year, including prompt withdrawal of all US ground combat forces."

The agreement on the stationing of US forces would indicate a partial recognition on the part of the US Government of the Japanese people's hostility to the state of continued state servitude of Japan. To that extent Mr. Kishi might be said to have made a point in his talks with President Eisenhower. Yet, as the *New York Times* points out, "The troop cut back is of a piece with a general (US) strategy emerg-

ing in the light of changing security conditions in Asia."

From whatever point the matter might be viewed—the decision of the US Government to reduce its troops in Japan was a welcome development which, one would like to hope, would lead to the eventual withdrawal of all US troops in not a distant future.

Sino-Soviet Relations

The strains underlying the Sino-Soviet relations were gradually coming to the fore. The world was treated for rather too long a period with the facade of Soviet-Chinese unanimity on all matters—national and international—by the Soviet Union, the Chinese themselves and the foreign Communists—to come to grasp the full significance of the recent indications of differences so soon. The Soviet Union stressed the Sino-Soviet unity to bolster up her own prestige and leadership in the Communist world and hold her up as a champion of Asian nationalism in the ideological and political struggle against the Western Powers. The foreign Communist press as the extension of the Soviet propaganda organs glibly repeated the Soviet propaganda theme and sought to make out of the Soviet-Chinese co-operation a great unselfishness on the part of the Soviet Union—periodically even going to the extent of partially discounting the great efforts made by the Chinese themselves. With China's increasing prestige in Asia the theme of such propaganda changed and stress came to be laid more and more on the *mutuality* of the Soviet-Chinese co-operation. The myth of complete unanimity between China and the Soviet Union persisted also because of the Chinese Communists' own assertion of the same—time and out of time. There seemed to be one particular reason behind such Chinese insistence on showing her complete unanimity with the Soviet Union. China was weak, backward and relatively internationally isolated. She naturally wanted to have all possible help she could get from the Soviet Union and remembering the hostility of the Western world to her, she naturally found it prudent not to show up the differences.

The fact, however, remained that there were acute strain in the relations between the Soviet Union and China, though their nature and extent could not be fully known. The

differences found expression in the evolution of the Communist Party in the two countries, in their international outlook and in the economic field.

The difference in the ideological field was recently highlighted by Khrushchev's remarks on the now-famous speech of Mao Tse-tung on the question of "contradictions within the ranks of the people." Mao Tse-tung in his speech before the Supreme State Conference of China on February 27 this year clearly admitted that differences were bound to exist between the government and the people even where the Communists were in power—a thing which had so long been denied by the Communist theoreticians. This was really a novelty in Communist theory. The speech of Mao also promised greater freedom for the intellectuals in China (the actual working out of the promise was however yet to be seen). Questioned, whether such contradiction between the government and the people existed in the Soviet Union, in his television interview with the US pressmen, Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist leader, flatly denied that such differences existed in the USSR. (The *New York Times* reports that in the text of the interview published in the Soviet Union this remark of Khrushchev was omitted).

This ideological difference found expression in other spheres also. One of the themes recurring in the current Soviet propaganda on the question of "proletarian" internationalism stressed that the non-Soviet Communist States in general did not need develop heavy industry for which they could rely upon the Soviet Union, they themselves remaining content with producing consumer goods. The Soviet propaganda also called for closer integration of the economic development plans of those countries with that of the Soviet Union. Recalling the merciless Soviet exploitation of the European "people's democracies" through the garb of greater economic integration the Chinese leaders were evidently feeling uneasy—particularly in view of the fact that in China also there was a section of people including Communists favouring uncritical copying of the Soviet experiences. The Chinese leaders apparently felt the need to counter this feeling by an authoritative declaration. So much so that no less a person than Premier Chou En-lai, in his speech before the eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist

Party in September 1956, explaining the proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan of China, had to declare that China did not subscribe to the view that she should develop only particular branches of industry and should not strive to achieve comprehensive industrial development in which heavy industry would have a significant share. A big, populous and resourceful country like China, Mr. Chou declared, could not remain content without all-round economic development which would be hardly possible without a substantial growth of heavy industry.

Turning to the more specific question of Soviet help to Chinese industrial construction one found that the Soviet Union apparently could not keep up her promise. Basing his studies on official Chinese Communist press the multilingual editor of the weekly *China News Analysis*, Dr. L. LaDany writes that a momentous fact in the current industrial difficulties of the Chinese authorities was the "cut in or the delay in delivery of numerous industrial plants which Soviet Russia had promised to erect on Chinese soil . . . The fact that this year (1957) there are only 102 under construction instead of 137, must be interpreted as a sign either of the concentration of Soviet Russian economic resources elsewhere, or of a critical situation in exports to China."

Internationally, while China had extended full formal support to the Soviet Government in the suppression of the Hungarian national uprising, she had by no means concealed her distaste of the Soviet methods and actions. One could very well speculate on the possible Chinese reaction if she had not been forced into isolation by the openly hostile policies of the USA. As G. F. Hudson, the noted British authority on Far Eastern developments, noted, it was only through China's initiative that the Soviet Government could regain some part of its previous prestige and authority in Eastern Europe without having to resort to open military operations. An analysis of the relations between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union made by the Institute of Soviet Affairs, Munich, also underlined the ideological differences between the two parties. The Chinese Communist leader Peng Cheng who had led a Chinese Communist parliamentary delegation to the countries of Eastern Europe, said on his return to China that "differences on

many questions within any country or party or between brother countries and parties are nothing out of the ordinary." This position, the Analysis pointed out, represented a considerable departure from the current Soviet line that the Soviet Union's leadership must be acknowledged by all the other Communist parties. The differences between Chinese and Soviet approaches also found expression in the open Chinese support to Poland and the new Polish policies.

How the Soviet-Chinese relations would develop in the near future would, however, depend on a number of factors—both national and international—and it was impossible at the moment to predict the future.

Eisenhower Doctrine for Africa?

The Ceylonese monthly political magazine *Jana* writes: "The current tidings from Accra and the Maghreb capitals appear to be bringing new clouds in the Bandung horizon. Authorities in New Delhi have been silent, but there is little doubt that they have been somewhat disturbed by policy declarations from the spokesman of this region and interpretations put on them by Western commentators. No doubt they regard it unnecessary and undesirable to draw any immediate inference, but it is futile to deny that many observers in Delhi have become conscious that trends and pressures similar to those in West Asia have begun to operate in North Africa. The two irksome features of those developments are, first, the avowed Western intentions to make the African region another 'base' against Communism ('The next target of Communist threat is Africa,' U.S. Vice-President Nixon); and second, the urge in the minds of African statesmen, specifically proclaimed by Mr. Nkrumah, to evolve an 'African personality'."

"There are genuine fears," the *Jana* continues, "that an identity of interest may develop between these two forces." The impression was growing that, if compelled to assume a firm position, the leading figures in Maghreb and Ghana would align themselves with the West rather than with the unaligned nations of Asia.

Mr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, listed seven countries as the nucleus of the "African personality" of which he spoke on the second day of Ghana's independence. He

announced his intention to call a conference of these countries. The countries listed by Dr. Nkrumah were Ethiopia, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia and Ghana. Significantly enough Egypt was excluded. The magazine notes that India appreciated the peculiar problem of Africa and welcomed the development of African personality. What the Indian leaders feared was that the thinking of the African leaders could be gently influenced and ultimately distorted to suit the West by manoeuvres to which the Western nations were subjecting Africa.

Indo-Pakistan Canal Water Dispute

Among the legacies of partition, the Indo-Pakistan canal water dispute seems to defy solution on account of the intransigence of Pakistan. The World Bank Mission that recently visited India and Pakistan with a view to bringing about an amicable settlement of this long outstanding issue has ended in a failure. The World Bank Mission proposed that its 1954 proposals in respect of the canal dispute between these two countries should be accepted by them. The main proposals made by the Bank in 1954 were that the entire flow of the western rivers of the Indus basin, namely, Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, be available for the exclusive use of Pakistan, minus the insignificant flow in Kashmir. The entire flow of the eastern rivers, namely, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej will be for the exclusive use of India except for a transitional period when India would continue present supplies according to an agreed schedule. In addition, India would bear part of the cost of the link canals to be constructed by Pakistan to replace the supplies now received from India. India practically accepted these proposals, but Pakistan did not and hence no solution could be reached on the issue.

The present stand-by agreement is definitely against the interest of India. Under the present arrangement, Pakistan is using up nearly 80 per cent of Indus water and India has paid a considerable sum towards building link canals to enable Pakistan to have regular flow of the Indus water in her region. During the discussions with the World Bank, Pakistan insisted that the water required to replace supplies now received by Pakistan from the rivers assigned

by the Bank to India be drawn from the Indus. Since the Indus is furthest away from India, this would mean increasing the cost of the link canals, a proportion of which will be borne by India. While accepting the World Bank formula in 1954 India took it for granted that the supplies would be replaced from the nearest of the rivers assigned to Pakistan.

Speaking on the World Bank proposals, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Pakistan Prime Minister, declared in London on June 26, that there could be reasonable settlement of the dispute, "but not by division of water." He wants that International law regarding upper and lower riparian States be applied in this case also. His version of the law is: "The water we used historically should be allowed even today. If there is an increase in the upper riparian waters, it should be divided between upper and lower riparians." He asked: "Has India Government monetary resources to pay for the whole thing?" His condition is that India will pay the cost of building canals before stopping water.

It is simply astounding to note the above statement of the Pakistan Prime Minister. Why should India bear the cost of building canals? It was out of her goodness that India agreed to bear a portion of the cost of the canals. It is absolutely no obligation on the part of India. The undivided India was partitioned with all the resultant *pros and cons*, advantages and disadvantages. That partition would put Pakistan to difficulty in the matter of irrigation of her territory is no concern at all for India. India has been as such too lenient over the canal dispute. The upper portion of the Indus runs through India. Mr. Suhrawardy has invoked international law in this connection. Fenwick in his *International Law* states (page 391): "It is doubtful whether international law can be said to have recognised any servitude corresponding to that existing in civil and common law in the form of a right to the uninterrupted flow of streams and rivers. Conscious of the possession of the traditional rights of sovereignty, states in possession of the upper waters of a river have not recognized any general obligation to refrain from diverting its waters and thereby denying to the States in possession of the lower waters the benefits of its flow. Such restrictions as have been recognized have been in every case the result of treaty stipulations."

India must not enter into any agreement in the matter with Pakistan and she must reserve the right to use the Indus water to her advantage.

Terror in Algeria

A reign of terror was raging over Algeria. Almost everyday reports came from the unhappy country carrying the news of the deaths of innocent Algerians. The French atrocities in Algeria raised a wave of protest even within France. In a letter to the French Minister of National Defence, the celebrated French jurist Peyrega wrote: "One wished that the excellence of our intentions, our moral superiority, the rectitude of our policy were proved by the purity of our conduct, by the absence of abuses and at least by our renunciation of all arbitrary and inhuman methods and by our courageous efforts to denounce all excess and all tendency towards national 'socialism'."

The Arab leaders appealed to the United Nations to appoint a commission of enquiry into the conduct of French troops in Algeria. The United States Government, however, came out in opposition to the proposal and there was not much likelihood of the suggested action being taken by the U.N.

"Different Than"?—Yes

The *Statesman* of Calcutta in an editorial article entitled "Grammarian's Funeral" on June 10 takes exception to the use of the expression "different than" in English.

The newspaper writes: "We are familiar with people who for some reason unknown write 'different to' instead of 'different from'. But 'different than!' who on earth the 'too many great literary figures' who have used the construction?"

A number of letters in the correspondence columns of the newspaper eulogised the newspaper's stand declaring the expression "different than" wholly unacceptable in English, but there was none contradicting the editorial comment. As this was likely to engender a wrong notion it should be pointed out that according to such authoritative pronouncements as of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Webster's International Dictionary* and the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, the use of the expression "different than" was certainly permissible. As to the names of English authors who had used

the expression "different than," Defoe, Browning, Thackeray and Coleridge might be mentioned among others.

Whither Co-operative Movement

Addressing the general meeting of the All-India Co-operative Union, recently held in New Delhi, Sri K. D. Malaviya, the Union Minister for Oil and Mines, said: "The fate of the Indian co-operative movement is in the melting pot. I see some difficulties in the realisation of the dreams of co-operators some of whom devoted their lifetime to the movement." He referred to the gulf between officials and non-officials in the co-operative movement and stressed the necessity for it to be bridged. Although the co-operative movement in India was started as early as 1904, it had hitherto made little progress. At the end of 1955-56, the total number of all types of co-operative societies were 240,395, as against 219,288 in the preceding year. This represents an increase of 9.6 per cent. The primary credit societies still predominate, their number being 159,939, or 67.6 per cent. The working capital of all types of societies increased sharply from Rs. 390.52 crores to Rs. 468.82 crores or 20.1 per cent, during 1955-56. On 30th June, 1956, the membership of primary societies stood at 1.76 crores. The primary societies mainly cater to the needs of the cultivators in the country and the figures indicate that the primary societies have touched only a fringe of our cultivators.

Notwithstanding recent legislative measures, the progress of the co-operative movement in the country is not so hopeful. This is evident from the fact that deposits at Rs. 7.05 crores of the agricultural credit societies constitute only 8.9 per cent of the working capital. The conclusion is that promotion of thrift and savings in the rural areas have not improved. The co-operative societies have to depend more and more on borrowed funds for augmenting their resources. The Part II of Volume I of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Report, recently published, shows that the contributions by the Government and the co-operative societies towards agricultural finance is negligible. Of the total annual needs of agricultural finance, only 3.3 per cent come from the Government, 3.1 per cent from the co-operatives, 1.5 per cent from the landlords, 5.5 per cent from traders,

15.2 per cent from relatives, and 24.9 per cent from the agriculturists themselves. The money-lenders still top the list of agricultural financiers contributing 44.8 per cent of the total borrowings by the cultivators.

A recent survey of the Community Projects and the National Extension Blocks show that in recent years under these schemes larger and more prosperous cultivators are the recipients of Government funds and the small cultivators are rather neglected. The big cultivators who constitute 10 per cent of the total cultivators in the country are the recipients of 60 per cent of the Government loans given under the schemes mentioned above. The small cultivators who constitute 30 per cent of the total agricultural population have received only 10 per cent of the total Government loan extended to the cultivators. The Rural Credit Survey Report points out that there takes place unnecessary delay in granting loans by the co-operative societies to the cultivators. The small cultivators cannot secure Government loans to the same extent as the larger cultivators secure mainly for the reason that they cannot offer proper securities as is possible for the latter. The small cultivators are not in a position to exert necessary pressure on the authorities as is possible for the larger cultivators. As regards the co-operative credit accommodation to the cultivators, here again we find that the larger cultivators receive preference. On an average the larger cultivators have received Rs. 21 per family as against Rs. 2 in the case of small cultivators. One thing is more or less common all over the country and it is that the amount borrowed by the cultivators does not represent more than one-tenth of their total borrowings. It is a common practice among a large number of cultivators to mention fictitious purposes in their loan applications and the borrowed funds are spent on other purposes. Although the village moneylenders charge higher rates of interest, their loans to the cultivators are much higher than that of either the Government or the co-operative societies because their conditions are much less stringent.

With the inauguration of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services, the co-operative movement is being rather by-passed by the Government. If the co-operative movement is to succeed in this

country it must penetrate deeply among the cultivators who constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. Not only that, the larger cultivators sooner or later shall have to be eliminated by the process of co-operative farming and at that stage the co-operative societies will be more effective in dealing with the co-operative farming societies. As to the reorganisation of our land system, controversy is at present raging in the country as to whether we should adopt co-operative farming on the model of China or follow the system of individual land ownership as it does prevail in Japan. The Patil Report shows that about three-fourths of the peasant households in Japan cultivate less than 2.5 acres each. In Japan, the average holding of a farm family is 2.17 acres and in this respect the average per capita land holding in Japan resembles more or less to that of India. In Asia, Japan has the highest average yield with 2,400 lbs. of rice per acre and the per capita annual income of those engaged in agriculture is Rs. 883.

Although there is no co-operative farming system in Japan, mechanised farming has been introduced even by small cultivators. The Japanese cultivators have adopted mechanical ploughing by small tractors and they are making increasing use of electric or diesel motors, threshing machines and power hulling machines. The Japanese cultivators now concentrate their efforts on improved seeds and fertilisers for raising the productivity of their lands. In that country more than 90 per cent of the area under paddy cultivation has been provided with improved drainage and irrigation. The improved strains of paddy generally require 800 lbs. of fertiliser per acre. The Patil Report points out that 5 million tons of fertilisers are used in Japan as compared with 0.8 million tons of fertilisers used in India and 1.8 million tons in China. In Japan, there has not been co-operative farming system as has been adopted in China. But in Japan, more than 95 per cent of the farmers are members of co-operative primary societies and these societies supply 39 per cent of the total agricultural finance and hold 65 per cent of the total savings of the farm households. Nearly 40 per cent of the primary co-operative societies are multi-purpose societies and surplus rice and wheat are marketed through co-operatives.

The authorities in India have not yet made up their minds as to whether in India co-operative farming should be adopted. If the co-operative system is not adopted in India, one thing must be done in order to increase the agricultural output of the country and it is that the big land-holders must be eliminated.

Pakistan's Vendetta

The Pakistan Government is only too eager in its drive against Hindus, Pakistani or Indian, to miss a chance. The news given below is only one of many examples. We have beaten all records of patience:

"Karachi, June 29.—The Pakistani Government has withdrawn certain Commonwealth citizenship privileges from Indians by a notification in the Gazette Extraordinary dated June 28. The notification designed to 'reciprocate India's action' taken early this year makes it obligatory on Indians in Pakistan to take out residential permits.

"India had withdrawn from Pakistanis and South Africans certain privileges of Commonwealth citizenship to regulate their stay in India. The Pakistan Government notification follows an Ordinance promulgated yesterday to amend the Foreigners Act and Registration of Foreigners Act.

"Explaining the implications of the Ordinance and the notification a Government spokesman said today: 'This is only an enabling legislation which does not in any way add to the responsibilities of Commonwealth citizens other than citizens of India. Even in regard to the latter it would only mean addition of a single liability, that of securing residential permits under the Foreigners Order, 1957.

"The Government of Pakistan will strictly reciprocate the Indian action in the manner and spirit of their grant of permission of stay to Pakistanis living in India. Pakistan will also strictly adhere to the present arrangements regarding the stay of Indians under agreements in force between the two countries. Taking out residential permits will have the effect only of regularizing and regulating a process provided for in agreement between the two countries," the spokesman said.

"In the case of Indians' the spokesman continued, registration was at present being carried out under Control of Entry Act, 1952

and this position will continue. The effect of change in the Foreigners Act, 1946, would be to empower the Government to take action against a foreigner under that Act or under orders passed under that Act such as the Foreigners Order of 1951."

Minority Commissioner

We have only one comment to make on the news report given below, and that is, no incumbent will be found suitable, for obvious reasons:

"New Delhi, June 21.—Eight months after the reorganization of States, a crucial part of the scheme remains unimplemented for want of a suitable incumbent for the new post of Minorities Commissioner whose job will be to safeguard the rights of linguistic minorities.

"According to authoritative sources, the delay in appointing the Minorities Commissioner has primarily been due to the dearth of people with exceptional qualification which the Government considers necessary for the post.

"For instance, the Union Government is reported to be of the view that the Commissioner should be an eminent public man rather than a civilian and that while being senior enough to carry weight with the State Governments, he should be young enough to be able to undertake strenuous tours.

"At one stage it was almost settled that this post should go to Mr. H. V. Pataskar but it was eventually decided to make him a Governor and the original proposal fell through.

"The functions and powers of the Minorities Commissioner will be modelled on those of the Special Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and he will be the principal agency for enforcing the safeguards for linguistic minorities which were enumerated at the time of passing the States Reorganisation Act.

"These safeguards relate both to education of children of linguistic minorities residing in any State and to recruitment to State services of people speaking languages different from the regional or State language.

"Besides making annual reports to the President—which will be discussed by Parliament—the Minorities Commissioner will also advise the President in recognizing minority

languages as 'official language' in any area in a State."

Domicile

The Union Ministry is making another futile attempt at democracy as detailed below:

"New Delhi, June 28.—The Union Home Ministry, it is learnt, is now drafting legislation to abolish the iniquitous restriction of domicile which has for long plagued recruitment to public services in the States.

"At present, almost every State insists that only those who have been residents of the State for five or more years should be eligible for public employment under the State Government.

"This practice, apart from being grossly discriminatory, causes hardship to linguistic minorities because it effectively keeps out of State services people speaking a language different from that of the State.

"Since Independence, more particularly since the commencement of the Constitution, the Central Government has been anxious to do away with this restriction, but apparently there has been successful resistance by some States.

"A clear undertaking to rescind this restriction was given in September last when Pandit Pant presented to Parliament a memorandum enumerating the safeguards for linguistic minorities.

"To be called the Public Employment (requirement as to residence) Bill, the proposed legislation is expected to be introduced in the monsoon session of Parliament beginning on July 15.

"Every effort is also likely to be made to get the Bill passed by the two Houses in the coming session so that it can be enforced without any further delay.

"While completely abolishing the existing discrimination based on domicile, the Bill is likely to make some exceptions for a transitional period. These will relate to Telengana and some other backward areas where outsiders, rather than local people, have so far had greater employment opportunities.

"Among the more glaring instances of the operation of domicile discrimination is the case of medical appointments in the Eastern region.

"It appears that there are a large number of vacancies in various hospitals and dispensaries

in Assam, Bihar and Orissa and a great deal of unemployment among doctors in West Bengal, most of whom are refugees.

"Since none of the States would appoint doctors from outside, the people there continue to suffer for want of medical aid while thousands of displaced doctors in Calcutta and elsewhere languish for want of jobs."

Delinquent Public Servants

The bill, about which the news below gives details, will also be a dead letter, so long a corrupt Congress remains in power:

"New Delhi, June 8.—An official Bill seeking to impose stricter punishment on Public Servants found guilty of corruption and to extend the scope of existing legislation will be given priority in the next session of Parliament.

"The Bill, which is now being drafted, will seek to amend the relevant provisions in Criminal Law. The State Governments have been consulted about the proposed changes.

"The objectives of the Bill include extension of the term 'Public Servant' to cover certain classes of employees in statutory corporations and Government companies and to ensure a minimum sentence of one year's imprisonment for conviction on a charge of criminal misconduct.

"It is also sought to ensure that the fines imposed in corruption cases are commensurate with corrupt gains and unexplained assets in the possession of the guilty officials. Some protection to bribe-givers for the evidence they give against bribe-takers is also sought."

Labour's Intransigence

The news report, from the *Statesman*, given below, will fully demonstrate the lamentable deterioration in the standpoint of labour, thanks to extremely questionable leadership:

"Heavy congestion has again occurred at Calcutta Port, many ships waiting in midstream for days for berths. On Saturday, the number of ships awaiting loading and unloading at the Port was 89 against the normal of about 60.

"The main contributory factors are stated to be a fall in the output of labour and simultaneous arrival of too many ships via the Cape and Suez. The Port authorities have informed the

Union Government of the developments and suggested certain measures to help ease the congestion.

"According to their analysis, the poor labour output arises from temporary workers. These workers are stated to fear that any increase in their output may lead to the fixation of a higher standard by the Choudhury Committee now inquiring into the working conditions of labour in different ports.

"There has also been lately a shortage of temporary labour, a situation which has enabled available temporary hands to secure two bookings a day. The incentive bonus offered by the port authorities to this class of labour has not improved matters because of the extra earnings made by the depleted temporary staff.

"The Choudhury Committee is expected to examine the question of reducing the difference between the earnings of temporary and permanent workers. Temporary hands are now paid more or less at a fixed rate while permanent labour is paid on a piece-rate basis.

"Fears that the present output may influence the Choudhury Committee's recommendation regarding per capita standard, it is emphasized, are baseless. It is stated that the per capita standard output will be determined on the basis of figures covering a long period. With the incentive bonus offered by the port authorities, temporary labour can earn almost as much as the permanent labour if they work normally.

"The port authorities have requested the Union Government to see if the investigation by Mr. Choudhury can be completed quickly and his report published without delay, setting at rest the temporary labour's misgivings.

"Meanwhile, to help relieve congestion at the port, the mechanical arrangements for loading and unloading have been strengthened. Cargoes are being removed by road from the port area to the dumps opened outside to ease the pressure on shore-space."

Industry in Kerala

The news report, from the *Statesman*, given below, speaks for itself:

"Trivandrum, June 22.—The Kerala Government has declared that industrial units, not included in Schedules A and B of the industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India,

'will not be nationalized unless, in the case of a particular unit, there is gross mismanagement leading to loss of national wealth or deliberate and continuous refusal on the part of the management to abide by the Government's policies with regard to the living and working conditions of the employees.'

"As regards the transport industry, the Government has already declared its intention of implementing a phased programme of nationalization.

"A booklet entitled 'Industrial Policy of the Government of Kerala' issued today says that 'reasonable compensation' will be paid in the case of those industries which, for any reason, are proposed to be nationalized.

"This will also apply to foreign-owned plantations when they are nationalized with the concurrence of the Central Government,' it says.

"The Government assures all encouragement and help to those entrepreneurs who are prepared to play their role in the economic development of Kerala.

"It will do its utmost to give all possible forms of assistance to industrialists, in setting up and managing industries. The taxation and price-policies of the Government will be so devised as to allow reasonable profit after providing for accumulation of capital at reasonable rates.

"As regards labour, the Government says that it will try to develop peaceful relations between the employers, and employees. Long-term collective agreements will be encouraged providing for reasonable wages, allowances and bonus. It is confident that the working class of this State will realize that it is in their interest to adopt a policy of entering into long-term agreements provided the employers concede their legitimate demands. The Government is also convinced that stable industrial peace can be attained only with the willing co-operation of both parties.

"The Government also offers State guarantees for private industrialists to secure credit from the Central Financial Corporations and other agencies of institutional credit. It will help industrialists to procure raw materials, equipments and other means of production and will assist them in exploring internal and foreign markets.

"For promoting industrial peace, the Government says that it will take steps to get

trade unions recognized and encourage mutual negotiations at all levels to eliminate all causes of friction to enable the worker to secure reasonable demands and to ensure uninterrupted production. For this purpose, the Government will use the machinery of joint consultative committees and tripartite boards. It will also recommend to the employers establishment of management councils including representatives of employees which will help remove bottlenecks in production. The Government will set an example by constituting such councils in Government-owned enterprises.

"The policy statement says: 'As an agency for planned national development in the context of the country's expanding economy the private sector will have the opportunity to develop and expand.'

"The Government cannot force its policy of industrial peace either on the employers or on the employees, but it is confident that the employers and the employees will both realize the necessity of a patriotic and responsible attitude in this matter and help in their endeavour.

"The Government on its part wish to emphasize that it will welcome and assist the development of all industries—large-scale, medium or small—with promptness and enthusiasm,' the statement added."

Cut in Consumer Goods Import

Shri Morarji Desai warned the business community in vain on June 6, as the subsequent events have proved. We give extracts from the *Statesman*, to put it on record. This will also show how even in the case of vital medicines an attempt is being made to deliver the helpless consumer to the ruthless black-marketeer:

"New Delhi, June 6.—Giving the country advance notice of substantial reduction in the import of consumer goods in the coming six months, Mr. Morarji Desai today warned traders not to exploit the consequent scarcity to increase prices.

"He bluntly told the Import Advisory Council that his similar appeals in the past had not evoked favourable response from the business community. This time, therefore, he proposed to 'completely cancel all licences' of those 'who might try to exploit the country's difficulties.'

"Speaking immediately after him, Mr. Babubhai Chinai, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, promised the Federation's 'utmost co-operation' in keeping down prices of scarce commodities.

"In a short succinct speech, the Commerce and Industry Minister gave an account of the 'heavy inroads into our sterling reserves,' and said that the pressure on these 'meagre resources' was unlikely to 'ease off in the near future.'

"For this reason, he added, there could be no general relaxation of the terms of deferred payment for the import of capital goods, although he envisaged a 'more liberal licensing,' for the import of capital goods when present discussions with financial, banking and other authorities in a number of countries for 'certain guarantees in support of deferred payment schemes' were completed.

"As regards the import of consumer goods, Mr. Desai said: 'We must tighten our belts and improvise. We can do without a number of items we have hitherto been regarding as essential. There may be some other items where imports in the immediate past will be sufficient to carry us through the next six months.'

"Mr. Desai disclosed that, so far, arrangements had been made for deferred payments for the import of machinery worth Rs. 19 crores. Of this, machinery worth Rs. 8 crores was imported for the sugar industry, while the bulk of imports related to the expansion of the existing capacity of the cement industry by 600,000 tons. Cases involving foreign capital amounted to Rs. 5 crores and related principally to the manufacture of aluminium and tyres.

"Cash payments for the import of machinery, he added, were allowed, either for 'balancing requirements,' or for schemes whose total cost was less than Rs. 5 lakhs. So far, the cash payments had totalled Rs. 22 crores. These related mainly to steel and cement plants, electrical generating schemes and other industrial projects which were almost entirely covered by licences issued in the past.

"In the discussion that followed, Mr. Desai summarily rejected a suggestion by the F.I.C.C.I. President for restricting the import of newsprint. Indian newspapers, he said, used the least quantity of newsprint in the world. Moreover, newspapers were essential for democracy.

"A suggestion which the Commerce and Industry Minister promised to consider was that the length of Indian feature films should be curtailed, reducing the import of raw films.

"The Council heard with attention a proposal by Mr. W. H. S. Michelmores, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, that while avoiding unnecessary import of machinery, no installed industry should be allowed to suffer for want of import of spare parts.

"Mr. Michelmores said the present procedure for ascertaining—before allowing the import of a spare part—that it was not locally available should be simplified and speeded up.

"P.T.I. adds: 'We have made heavy inroads into our sterling reserves,' Mr. Desai disclosed. India's sterling balances had fallen by over Rs. 269 crores over a period of 19 months. On January 1, 1956, the total balance stood at Rs. 738.6 crores and by May 24, this year it had fallen to Rs. 469 crores.

"Mr. Desai told members who had pleaded against any drastic cut on import of consumer goods on the ground that they could result in unemployment. 'I am afraid it will be so. The foreign exchange position must be taken into consideration and unemployment, if any, caused as a result of cut in imports must be solved in a different way.'

"Two members expressed divergent views on the question of import of drugs and medicines. Mr. S. Rohatagi, speaking on behalf of the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry, complained that the Industry's progress had suffered mainly on account of prejudice against Indian drugs. He urged that only drugs which were not manufactured in India should be allowed to be imported. On the other hand, Mr. S. M. Shah, President of the All-India Importers' Association, wanted import of drugs and medicines to be allowed."

Apartheid Challenged

After the heads of the churches had protested, the academicians are registering their protest as the news below indicates:

"Cape Town, June 7.—Thousands of people lined the streets and clapped as about 2,200 university professors and students paraded through Capetown today in their biggest protest so far against the South African Government's University segregation plans.

"The procession led by the Chancellor of Capetown University and former Chief Justice, Mr. Albert Centliveres, included both men and women students.

"They were protesting against the Government's separate University Education Bill, providing for the setting up of four universities for non-Europeans and the closing of all existing universities to non-whites.

"The Vice-Chancellor and acting Principal of Capetown University, Prof. R. W. James, the University Council Chairman, Mr. W. D. Baxter, as well as students from the Universities of Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes (Grahamstown) also took part.

"Addressing the marchers, Prof. James declared: 'It is not the practice of our University to forsake the functions of teaching and research and parade solemnly through the streets of our city. It has needed a strong urge to persuade us to follow this course of action—the necessity of demonstrating to our fellow citizens, and we hope others, the solidarity of our objection to legislation that has been introduced to limit or forbid admission of non-European students to the University'."

Britain and Ceylon

The following news, from the *Statesman*, are worthy of record:

"Colombo, June 7.—Britain and Ceylon today exchanged letters for the transfer of the British bases in Ceylon to the Government of Ceylon.

"The exchange was made between the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Bandaranaike, and the British High Commissioner in Ceylon, Sir Cecil Syers, at the office of the Prime Minister.

"Britain will formally hand over her naval base at Trincomalee on the east coast on October 15 and her Air Force station at Katunayake, 20 miles from here, on November 1.

"Britain will complete withdrawal of her forces within a period of three years.

"A joint communique issued by the Governments of Ceylon and the United Kingdom stated:

"It was announced in July 1956 that the Ceylon Government had expressed its desire to take over the naval base at Trincomalee and the Royal Air Force station at Katunayake and that the United Kingdom Government, recognizing the

right of the Government of Ceylon to do so under the Defence Agreement of 1947, had expressed willingness to agree to suitable arrangements for the purpose.

"In subsequent discussions held in December 1956, it was agreed in principle that the bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake should be handed over to Ceylon in 1957 on a date to be agreed between the two Governments."

"It was also stated to be the policy of the Ceylon Government that the U.K. establishments in Ceylon should be withdrawn at the end of an agreed period.

"In the course of further talks in Colombo, which have just concluded, the U.K. representatives presented to the Ceylon Government the plans which they had prepared for the withdrawal of the U.K. establishments from Ceylon in accordance with the declared policy of the Ceylon Government.

"Agreement has been reached between the Governments of the U.K. and Ceylon on the timing and method of the withdrawal. The Royal Naval Base at Trincomalee and the Royal Air Force station at Katunayake will be formally transferred to the Ceylon Government on October 15, and November 1, respectively. The withdrawal of the U.K. establishments will be in the main complete within a period of three years, though some facilities will remain for up to five years.

"The Ceylon Government will pay a sum of Rs. 22 million, spread over five years, for fixed assets of the U.K. services to be taken over and in final settlement of claims arising out of occupation or disposal of the bases."

Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa

In the death of Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa India lost one of her great scholars. Dr. Kumarappa, along with his brother Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, had been closely associated with Gandhiji for a long time. His knowledge of Gandhian literature was almost unrivalled; and he was chosen as the chief editor of the compilation of Gandhiji's articles, speeches and letters proposed to be published by the Government of India. The first volume of the series which might run into 60 to 70 volumes of 400 pages each was due to appear on October 2 next—Gandhiji's birth anniversary.

INDIA AND AMERICA

Reconciliation Through Philosophy

P19230

By CHARLES A. MOORE

MUTUAL understanding at the level of basic philosophical principles and beliefs is the key to the overcoming of the breach that exists between India and America today—just as mutual *misunderstanding* in terms of fundamentals is the basis of the antagonism that separate these two primarily idealistic nations one from the other on the current critical world-scene. It is difficult for one who thinks in terms of such basic philosophical principles to understand the present conflict. It is even more difficult when the existing conflict is interpreted as one of the basic philosophies. Of course, there are differences between the American way of doing things and of viewing events in today's troubled world and the Indian way—one could not expect anything else. And on the surface, India and America seem to be in deadly opposition on major political issues and on matters of international relations. Why? Not because of basic differences of belief, of ideas and ideals, but because of superficial perspectives and because of misinterpretation of everyday practical, emotional, political statements and actions as truly representative of the fundamental beliefs and ideals of the two peoples.

A consideration on basic principles—not mere cultural practices, not political actions, not emotional outbursts, not frenzied fears or naive trust—will reveal how very much India and America have in common, will overcome many of the mistaken opinions others have of America and Americans, will similarly overcome much of the misunderstanding which Americans entertain concerning India as she seems to be on the international scene, and should, if the parties are willing to see the truth, bring these two nations much closer in a friendship based upon commonly-shared ideas and ideals. Even in the case of major differences of point of view—and, as said, there are some—understanding of why each takes this particular attitude should (will?) at least alleviate the crisis. Understanding will not always lead to harmony, because understanding can reveal who are one's enemies as well as who are one's friends. In fact, here lies much of the

world's present difficulties in some quarters, since some of the peoples of the world have failed to probe deeply enough into the basic principles involved and have mistaken superficial similarities and superficial friendship for fundamental compatibility of ideas and ideals where none really exists. Understanding at the level of philosophical principles reveals who are our true friends and who are our true enemies—beneath the surface of expediency.

It hardly needs the saying to note that *real* understanding does not exist today between India and America. In fact, practically every publicized opinion and judgment, every interpretation and evaluation, is open to question, to say the least. It is, perhaps, closer to the truth to say that every such publicized impression is actually false—in terms of the fundamental ideas and ideals of the two great nations. (The word "publicized" is used advisedly, because it is at least partially, if not chiefly, due to ignorant, careless, or malicious misinterpretation by the instruments of public information that such wholesale misconceptions exist among the peoples and even among the leaders of the two nations).

What does India think of America—and how correct is that impression? To the general Indian interpreter America is *materialistic* in every sense and ramification of the word (without any sense of spirituality or of the spiritual values of life), *selfish and expedient* even in its aid program to the less fortunate and economically underdeveloped or currently handicapped peoples of the entire world, *imperialistic* both in the literal sense by condoning imperialism among the European nations and in the sense of economic control of other peoples, and *militaristic* with a dependence upon military force and power rather than moral force and ideals in its relations with other nations. To an American, who knows what America believes and feels, what America really is, such a picture is an ignorant or vicious travesty of the truth. America is none of these in fact or in principles. Without going into detail, let it suffice to say that, to an American, the United States and its people are idealistic in practically every sense

of the word, but not blatantly or fanatically so. They are moral-minded, morally motivated, and morally guided in private life and in international relations. They are generous and unselfish and even inexpedient and unrealistic in their foreign-aid program. They are opposed to imperialism and the control of the destiny of any people by others, as evidenced in principle, word, and deed many times in American history, and specifically with respect to Indian independence. They depend on military preparedness and might only because that is the only feasible way to prevent an inconceivably horrible Third World War, and not because they deem war or militarism or military force as an ideal or as the proper way for man to conduct his affairs with other men, but because they are realistic enough to realize that moral force is not always sufficiently effective. Americans admit that the United States must be and is realistic to a point when forced to be so, as is every nation in the world.

It is easy for Americans to see this true statement of the case about themselves and their own country—though hard for others because they do not probe deeply enough or know Americans well enough. Superficial considerations might well condemn every nation on the face of the earth for some of its attitudes and actions, America and India alike. It is easy, then, for Americans, by knowing the facts, to realize the misunderstanding that Indians have of the United States—and to resent that misunderstanding and the actions of other countries, in this case specially India, toward America and Americans. But, on the other hand, it is equally difficult for the American to understand India, to know what she really stands for and believes, if—or because—he or his opinion stands or falls on the basis of superficial and thoroughly unphilosophical information—or misinformation. To one who is interested in the philosophical principles, which motivate and determine the attitudes and actions of nations in the large and ultimately, the current American's opinion of India is as fully a case of mistaken identity as is the casual—and tragic—view which India and Indians have of America. Let us see if we can correct the picture by trying to understand India in terms of her basic philosophical concepts, principles, beliefs, and ideals—with the

inevitable and mandatory recognition here as in all cases that there are deviations from these fundamental ideas and ideals in times of stress and near necessity.

The problem in the mind of the American consists in the opposition of India to America and her friendship with Communism. This is what *seems* to be the case—by word and deed on many occasions. In philosophy we learn that appearances are not dependable, that one must probe beneath what seems to be true to what is true beneath appearances. It is the same in political and international actions. In terms of basic principles—basic ideas and ideals, to use my way of describing philosophy—where do India, America, and Communism stand in relation one to the other? To generalize before and after presenting the facts in the case, it is clear that America and India hold in common and share alike the basic principles of broad idealism—about the universe itself, about man, about the values of life, about the destiny of man, about the proper relations among man, and about the ideals of individuals and society. Similarly, an examination of the basic ideas and ideals will reveal, to generalize again, that America, for all its material wealth and military power, is not and could not be materialistic without abandoning all that it holds sacred; and that India, because of its basic ideas and ideals *could not* espouse Communism without similarly abandoning all it holds sacred. Appearances to the contrary do not undermine these inescapable truths. Except for one rather basic principle (to be examined later), India and America see eye to eye on fundamentals, and even this one principle, when understood, can clarify much that seems now to isolate India and America in opposition.

What are the fundamental ideas and ideals of the Indian point of view as the philosopher understands them? The most pronounced characteristic of Indian philosophy, life, and culture is spirituality (whether it be the high spirituality of the saint, the *yogi* or the *swami*, the abstract spirituality of the philosopher, or the religious spirituality of the mass of the Indian people) and there is no question about this in spite of social conditions and actions now and then that seem to belie the seriousness or genuineness of such a spiritual outlook and ideal. From this stems a general and deep

idealism—philosophical and practical—in all aspects of things and life, including moral idealism which makes exacting demands on all to follow *dharma* regardless of all else. The principle of *karma* demands perfection for salvation and places complete responsibility upon one for his own destiny. This spiritualism-idealism is not compromised but is harmonized with inevitable realism, in the sense of active participation in the so-called worldly aspects of life and also in the recognition of moderating circumstances. No Indian would contend that every Indian lives up to his ideals or those of his tradition, and, as a matter of fact, such necessity is recognized in the sacred texts which guide his life. All fall short of the ideal—in fact, two standards of morality are often recognized, one for the devotee (the preacher-priest in the West), the other for the ordinary man or the “householder,” but this does not mean condoning immorality. The caste system (now without standing legally but still practised, of course), the system of values of life (*purusarthas*), and the plan of stages of life (*asramas*)—all these recognize the legitimacy of the more worldly values and pursuits, provided that all is guided by *dharma* destined to lead to salvation. Activity and possession of the goods of the world must be within *dharma* and in conformity with an underlying attitude of non-attachment to worldly things. There is everywhere, in all this, a great respect for the past and for tradition that would stand as a barrier to any “ism” that would undermine the basic principles of the traditional way of life, although time brings changes in detail, as, for example, in the caste system. Finally, for our purposes, there is the ideal of *ahimsa* (non-violence, non-cruelty, non-injury), which, with *dharma* or morality constitutes the method of life for the Indian, and indicates also the goal of life on earth as peace and the ultimate goal as some form of immortality.

If an American examines this list of basic principles held to by Indians by the very strong force of their tradition, he will find that deep down they are very close to his own fundamental beliefs, stated somewhat differently because of a different social milieu, but still constituting the essence of an over-all idealistic, spiritual, moral philosophy. This is the spirit of America and the spirit of India.

By contrast, compare this philosophy which is so basic to the Indian mind with the *basic philosophy*—not with outward words and actions except where these conform with the fundamental, and written-out-for-all-to-read, philosophy of Communism, and anyone can see the utter discrepancy. It might be asked then, “How can India favor Communism and oppose America?” The answer is that India does not favor Communism. As said at the beginning, and now repeated with the evidence before our eyes, India could not turn to Communism without turning its back on all that it has for ages held most sacred and considered most important. Expediency, necessity, a seeming resemblance in the purpose of raising the standards of the poverty-stricken masses, and a feeling that some form or degree of socialism as an economic system may achieve the raising of the standard of living better under the given circumstances—these considerations make for a seeming affinity or liking for Communism. But this is only on the surface. India does not accept any of the basic philosophical principles of Communism: materialism, the supremacy of the economic or social values, materialistic determinism, or force in all its forms and dictatorial control in all its forms as the method of government. If one wishes to see where India—or her present spokesman, Mr. Nehru, stands on these two basic philosophies, let him re-read Mr. Nehru’s address to the American people given during his recent visit to the United States. There is no question where the basic agreement stands—with democracy and idealism.

India and America do not see eye to eye on every whit and tittle of their philosophies of life, however. It would be a miracle if they did—or if any two people did. Most of our differences are relatively insignificant as far as the present world-crisis is concerned: some possible or alleged differences on the status of law as related to people who rule and people who are ruled, some differences concerning the status of the family in relation to the individuals in the family and in relation to the country (although this, if it ever was significant, is not so now), some differences in the meaning of religion and in the hoped-for destiny of man. These are there, but they are not vital for mutual understanding or for kinship in the world of international relations, as in philosophy.

There is one major contrast of points of view, however, which, until properly understood and respected, can and does force these two nations in opposite directions and threaten any meeting of the minds on important international questions and allegiances. This is a somewhat technical point and somewhat difficult to state or explain. To put it one way: in all things—in religion, in politics, in philosophy, in logic—the West, including America, is exclusive, dominated by the either/or, the black-or-white, point of view, whereas India, along with most of the Orient, takes the inclusive point of view, that of both/and. In India, many roads lead to salvation, to God, and the one God is called by many names and worshipped in many ways, but that makes no great difference. The exclusive attitude of the West says that our religion is right and yours is wrong—how could they both be right? In politics and international relations it says that if you are not with us you must be against us. There is no middle ground. Neutralism? Logically, for the Western mind, there can be no such attitude, and so there can be none in international relations either. Of course, this inclusiveness does not mean that every view or every attitude is equally true. It does mean, though, that there is some truth in every view, and that exclusiveness misses the real or whole truth. To the Westerner this is naive eclecticism, if not outright inconsistency of thought. To the Indian, in logic and in life, this is submission to the all-comprehensiveness of the truth. Herein lies a basic difficulty for India and America, because it is at the root of the present "conflict" over India's relations with Communism and her refusal to side in and sign up with America. But, once we see the reason for this point of view, and once we are willing to admit that there may be some good in the worst of us, then we might be able to understand India's unwillingness to reject all that is Communism and to accept all that is our kind of Democracy. It is not that India is against America—she could not be so, in view of her over-all philosophical and religious point of view. It is simply that she is not willing to take an all-or-nothing point of view. We, with our either-or mentality, demand the impossible from India, and India, with its comprehensive

type of mentality, cannot understand our demand of "friend-or-enemy." We are both wrong, because we fail to understand the background and basis of a point of view which, on the surface, seems merely arbitrary and malicious. Because we fail to understand each other's basic point of view, we find ourselves in mutual condemnation. Such condemnation is without actual basis in fundamental beliefs of India and America.

There are innumerable other factors involved in the complicated picture of the present world-crisis, nationalism, domestic problems, emotionalism, acceptance even by leaders of appearances for reality, continentalism, provincialism, mistaken identity, personal ambition, fear, common sense, realistic considerations, and so on. These cannot be overcome overnight, and they are very important, of course. But, once the basic similarity of the fundamental beliefs of India and America is clearly understood and realized, and once the basic contrast of mentalities in the matter of exclusiveness and inclusiveness is understood and accepted as equally one-sided on both sides—one view is theirs and the other is ours, and that's the end of it—then the present dilemma, the present mortal conflict between these two idealistic and democratic nations must come to an end. Mutual understanding in terms of fundamental principles and beliefs cannot overcome or explain away all differences of action on the international scene, to be sure, but it is the only basis of sound relationship—and, actually, it is so easy of accomplishment to anyone who will only look for the fundamental agreement in our ways of life, in our most important ideas and ideals. Conflict or friendship is based ultimately on conflict or similarity of belief on the all-important things of life. With such basic understanding the picture of India, America, and Communism falls into easy focus for those who are willing to seek such understanding. India and America stand apart today because they don't understand each other. Philosophy is the object of much scorn in the world of politics, but the philosophy of a nation, like that of an individual man, is that nation. Only here can understanding be achieved, and only here can be found the basis for a sound friendship and a sound peace.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XII) Fundamental Rights: Right Against Exploitation and to Freedom of Religion

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I

In our preceding articles in this series we have dealt, among other things, with our fundamental rights to "equality" and "freedom" as guaranteed by our Constitution and, further, as determined by our Supreme Court. In this article we propose to deal with what have been described in the Constitution as our fundamental right against exploitation, and our similar right to freedom of religion.

II

So far as the fundamental right against exploitation is concerned, it has been embodied in Articles 23 and 24 of our Constitution. Article 23 which prohibits traffic in human beings as well as forced labour, has laid down as follows:

"23(1) Traffic in human beings and *begar* and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

"(2) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them."

And Article 24 has declared that "no child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment."

It may be noted in connexion with our Article 23 that there is a corresponding provision in the Constitution of the United States of America in Amendment XIII thereto, adopted in 1865. It runs as follows:

"Amendment XIII—

"Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The amendment was obviously "aimed at Negro slavery". In the course of its judgment in *Butler vs. Perry*, however, the Supreme Court of the United States declared¹ in 1916:

"This amendment was adopted with reference to conditions existing since the foundation of our Government, and the term involuntary servitude was intended to cover those forms of compulsory labour akin to African slavery, which, in practical operation, were intended to produce like undesirable results. It was not intended to interdict enforcement of those duties which individuals owe to the State, such as services in the Army, militia, and the jury, etc. The great purpose in view was liberty under the protection of effective government, not the destruction of the latter by depriving it of essential powers."

Let us now deal with our Article 23. The expression "traffic in human beings" is a comprehensive one. It certainly includes slavery and, presumably, traffic in human beings for immoral purposes. Thus we find in the judgment² of the Calcutta High Court, dated 17th February, 1953, in *Raj Bahadur, Petitioner, vs. The Legal Remembrancer to the Government of West Bengal and others*:

"Article 23 of the Constitution provides for prohibition of traffic, *inter alia*, in human beings, which would include traffic in women and children for immoral or other purposes. . . . The scheme of the Bengal (Suppression of Immoral Traffic) Act (1933)³ is to provide for salvage of such children as are being exploited or are likely to be exploited for immoral purposes. While the Constitution prohibits discrimination, it provides for protection of women and children who may be said to suffer from a

1. Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, p. 114.

2. *Butler vs. Perry*, 240 U.S. 328 (1916).—See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 184.

3. Of Mitter and Sen JJ. in Criminal Miscellaneous Case No. 14 of 1953.—*The All India Reporter*, 1953, Vol. 40, Calcutta Section, pp. 522-24.

4. Bengal Act VI of 1933.

certain amount of disability either by reason of their sex or age. In our view, nothing has been shown in the Bengal Act⁵ which can be said to infringe either Article 21 or Article 22 of the Constitution, and we would, therefore, hold that the removal and the subsequent detention of the girl⁶ under the provisions of the said Act were and are legal."

The non-English word *Begar* in Clause (1) of Article 23 has not been defined anywhere in the Constitution. It appears, however, from the context in which the word occurs that it means a sort of forced work from a labourer, presumably, without any payment for the service rendered by him. The enormity of this social abuse would appear from the following extracts from speeches delivered in our Constituent Assembly⁷ on 3rd December, 1948, during the consideration of Article 17 of the *Draft Constitution of India*, which practically corresponded to Article 23 of the Constitution. Shri Raj Bahadur (United State of Matsya) observed:⁸

"*Begar* like slavery has a dark and dismal history behind it. As a man coming from an Indian State, I know what this *begar*, this extortion of forced labour, has meant to the down-trodden and dumb people of the Indian States. If the whole story of this *begar* is written, it will be replete with human misery, human suffering, blood and tears. I know how some of the Princes have indulged in their pomp and luxury, in their reckless life, at the expense of the ordinary man, how they have used the down-

trodden labourers and dumb ignorant people for the sake of their pleasure. I know, for instance, how for duck-shooting a very large number of people are roped in forcibly to stand all day long in mud and slush during cold chilly wintry days. I know how for the sake of their game and hunting people have been roped in large numbers for beating (up) the lion so that the Princes may shoot it. I have also seen how poor people are employed for domestic and other kinds of labour, no matter whether they are ailing or some members of their family are ill. These people are paid nothing or paid very little for the labour extorted from them. This is not the whole story. As I said in the beginning, it would make really a terrible reading if the whole story is told. I know that very often these tyrannies are perpetuated upon poor people by the petty officials. Not only do these petty officials perpetrate such tyrannies but they also extort bribes from the labourers who want to escape the curse of this *begar*. . . . Summing up, I may add that Article 13⁹ constitutes the charter of freedom for the common man, and this Article¹⁰ is a sort of complement to that charter of freedom. This frees the poor, down-trodden and dumb people of the Indian States—I cannot say anything of other provinces—from this curse of *begar*. This *begar* has been a blot on humanity and has been a denial of all that has been good and noble in human civilisation. Through the centuries this curse has remained as a dead weight on the shoulders of the common man like the practice of slavery. The members of the Drafting Committee¹¹ and this Constituent Assembly are entitled to the grateful thanks of the dumb, down-trodden millions who would be freed by this Article¹² from this curse of *begar*."

Shri S. Nagappa (Madras: General) stated:¹³

"This practice of *begar* is prevalent in my own part of the country, especially among the Harijans. I am glad that the Drafting Committee has inserted this Clause to abolish *begar*."

9. Of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution.

10. I.e., Article 17 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 23 of the Constitution.

11. Of the Constituent Assembly of India.

12. See footnote 10 above.

13. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd December, 1948, pp. 810-11.

5 Bengal Act VI of 1933.

6 This girl, Panna Bai by name, had been "recovered" by an Inspector of Police from a brothel in Calcutta, and had been detained in a Rescue Home under a Magisterial order issued under Section 14(2) of the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933, as she was under the age of eighteen years. The case in question arose in the Calcutta High Court as a result of an application under Article 226 of the Constitution for a Writ in the nature of *Habeas Corpus*, directing the production of the girl, then "in the custody of the Lady Superintendent of the Government Rescue Home." Raj Bahadur, petitioner, claimed to be known to the girl. His case was that, as by reason of her incarceration, the girl was unable to move the High Court herself, he was entitled to ask for appropriate orders for her release.—For further details see *The All India Reporter* referred to footnote 3 above.

7. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 3rd December, 1948, pp. 803-14.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 809-10.

... Whenever cattle die, the owner of the cattle wants these poor Harijans to come and remove the dead cattle, remove the skins, tan them and make chappals and supply them free of cost. For this, what do they get? Some food during festival days. Often . . . this forced labour is practised even by the Government. For instance, if there is any murder, after the post-mortem, the police force these people to remove the dead body and look to the other funeral processes. I am glad that hereafter this sort of forced labour will have no place . . . This is practised in zamindaries also. For instance, if there is a marriage in the zamindar's family, he will ask these poor people, especially the Harijans, to come and whitewash his whole house, for which they will be given nothing except food for the day. This sort of forced labour is still prevalent in most parts of the Presidency. Another thing that I want to bring to the notice of the House is that whenever the big zamindar's lands are to be ploughed, immediately he will send word for these poor people, the Harijans, the previous day, and say: 'All your services are confiscated for the whole of tomorrow; you will have to work throughout the day and night. No one should go to any other work.' In return, the zamindar will give one morsel of food to these poor fellows. . . . This sort of forced labour is in practice in the 20th century in our so-called civilised country. I am very thankful to this Drafting Committee. I support this Article."¹⁴

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari (Madras: General) also stated:¹⁵

"I think some form of forced labour does exist in practically all parts of India, call it 'begar' or anything like that, and in my part of the country, the tenant oftentimes is more or less a helot attached to the land and he has certain rights and those are contingent on his continuing to be a slave."

Presumably the expression "begar and other similar forms of forced labour" in Clause (1) of Article 23, does not include forced labour in a prison on conviction for a crime committed by a person. It would perhaps have

been well if this point had been clarified in the Constitution.*

It may also be noted here that, under Sub-clause (ii) of Clause (a) of Article 35 of the Constitution, the Parliament of India alone, and not the Legislature of a State, is competent, subject to what is provided for in Clause (b) of the Article, to make laws contemplated by Clause (1) of Article 23. This provision has obviously been made in the Constitution with a view to ensuring uniformity of such legislation in the country.

Clause (2) of Article 23 as quoted before, is to be treated as an exception to what has been laid down in Clause (1) thereof. It empowers the State, as defined in Article 12 of the Constitution, to impose "compulsory service for public purposes," subject, however, to this condition that in imposing such service it must not "make any discrimination on grounds *only* of religion, race, caste or class or any of them." The word "only" here is significant: There may be discrimination on any other ground, say, on the ground of merits, or of fitness for the service in question. It may also be noted here that the expression "public purposes" in this context means, as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, made it clear before the Constituent Assembly on 3rd December, 1948, both "social" and "national" purposes.¹⁶

With regard to the suggestion made by a member¹⁷ in the Constituent Assembly that compulsory service required by the State should be paid for by it, what Dr. Ambedkar observed in connexion with Clause (2) of Article 17 of the *Draft Constitution of India* which practi-

* In the *Annexure* to the Interim Report of the Advisory Committee on the subject of Fundamental Rights, presented to the Constituent Assembly of India on 29th April, 1947, the corresponding recommendation was:

"Traffic in human beings, and forced labour in any form including *begar* and involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been convicted, are hereby prohibited and any contravention of this prohibition shall be an offence."—See *Reports of Committees (Constituent Assembly of India)*, First Series, 1947, p. 23.

The wording of the corresponding American law referred to in an earlier part of this article, may also be noted in this connexion.

16. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd December, 1948, pp. 812-13.

17. Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man (East Punjab: General).—*Ibid*, p. 806.

14. See footnote 10 above.

15. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd December, 1948, p. 811.

cally corresponded to Clause (2) of Article 23 of the Constitution, is worthy of note here. "I do not think," he said,¹⁸ "that it is desirable to put any such limitation upon the authority of the State requiring compulsory service. It may be perfectly possible that the compulsory service demanded by the State may be restricted to such hours that it may not debar the citizen who is subjected to the operation of this Clause to find sufficient time to earn his livelihood, and if, for instance, such compulsory labour is restricted to what might be called 'hours of leisure' or the hours, when, for instance, he is not otherwise occupied in earning his living, it would be perfectly justifiable for the State to say that it shall not pay any compensation. In this Clause, it may be seen that non-payment of compensation could not be a ground of attack; because the fundamental proposition enunciated in Sub-clause (2) is this: That whenever compulsory labour or compulsory service is demanded, it shall be demanded from all and if the State demands service from all and does not pay any, I do not think the State is committing any very great inequity. I feel . . . it is very desirable to leave the situation as fluid as it has been left in the article as it stands."

Thus it is evident from what is shown above that it is not obligatory on the part of the State to pay any remuneration for any compulsory service for a public purpose. Presumably, whether the imposition of compulsory service in a particular case is for a public purpose or not is, in the event of a dispute, subject to determination by the court of law.

We have referred before to Article 24 of the Constitution. So far as this Article is concerned, the determination of what is "hazardous employment" in a particular instance, finally rests, it is submitted, also with the court of law. At any rate, it is gratifying to note that in India it is a fundamental right of a child below the age of fourteen, not to be engaged in any hazardous employment.

III

We shall now deal with the group of Articles in our Constitution which guarantee what has compendiously been described as the "right to freedom of religion." Perhaps it would be con-

venient to the reader to quote the Articles first and then to deal with their implications.

Article "25. (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part,"¹⁹ all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

"(2) Nothing in this Article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—

- "(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;
- "(b) providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

"Explanation I.—The wearing and carrying of *kirpans* shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

"Explanation II.—In Sub-clause (b) of Clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly."

Article "26. Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

- (a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;
- (b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;
- (c) to own and acquire movable and immovable property; and
- (d) to administer such property in accordance with law."

Article "27. No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination."

Article "28. (1) No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

"(2) Nothing in Clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered

18. *Ibid*, pp. 812-13.

19. *I.e.*, Part III of the Constitution which deals with our fundamental rights.

by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

"(3) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person, or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto."

(A careful perusal of these provisions of our Constitution will convince the reader that underlying them all there is one principle, namely, the principle of deliberate dissociation of politics from religion. Or, to put it in another language, there is a determined attempt in them all to avoid an alliance of religion and politics, which often leads to dangerous consequences to the stability of a State. The authors of our Constitution have seriously tried to avoid what is called in Western parlance the union of the Church and the State—a characteristic feature of mediaevalism. This is as it should be in a progressive modern democracy. We have accepted as a basis of our Constitution that the State in India should be secular in character. And what exactly is meant by the concept of a secular State?) The ideal of a secular State was nicely expressed by some of the authors of our Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, and we cannot do better than reproduce here what they stated there. "By secular State, as I understand it," said Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General) on 6th December, 1948, "is meant that the State is not going to make any discrimination whatsoever on the ground of religion or community against any person professing any particular form of religious faith. This means in essence that no particular religion in the State will receive any State patronage whatsoever. The State is not going to establish, patronise or endow any particular religion to the exclusion of, or in preference to, others and that no citizen in the State will have any preferential treatment or

will be discriminated against simply on the ground that he professed a particular form of religion. In other words, in the affairs of the State the professing of any particular religion will not be taken into consideration at all. This I consider to be the essence of a secular State. At the same time we must be very careful to see that in this land of ours we do not deny to anybody the right not only to profess or practise but also to propagate any particular religion the Constitution has rightly provided for this not only as a right but also as a fundamental right. In the exercise of this fundamental right every community inhabiting this State professing any religion will have equal right and equal facilities to do whatever it likes in accordance with its religion provided (that) it does not clash with the conditions laid down here" (namely, the requirements of public order, morality and health as well as the other provisions relating to our fundamental rights.)

Shri H. V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General) observed:"

"It is clear to my mind that if a State identifies itself with any particular religion, there will be rift within the State. After all, the State represents all the people who live within its territories, and, therefore, it cannot afford to identify itself with the religion of any particular section of the population."

And Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar stated:"

"We are pledged to make the State a secular one. I do not, by the word 'secular,' mean that we do not believe in any religion, and that we have nothing to do with it in our day-to-day life. It only means that the State or the Government cannot aid one religion or give preference to one religion as against another. Therefore it is obliged to be absolutely secular in character."

As shown above, the right to freedom of religion as guaranteed by our Constitution is not an absolute or unqualified right. It is, in the first place, subject to the requirements of public order, morality and health. Secondly, it is subject to what has been provided for in Clause (2) of Article 25 of the Constitution as quoted before. These conditions are suffi-

20. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 831-32.

21. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948, p. 825.

22. *Ibid*, 7th December, 1948, pp. 881-82.

ciently comprehensive and, as Shri K. Santhanam pointed out in the Constituent Assembly on 6th December, 1948, their full implications "are not easy to discover." "Naturally," he added,²³ "they will grow with the growing social and moral conscience of the people. For instance, I do not know if for a considerable period of time the people of India will think that *pardah*²⁴ is consistent with the health of the people. Similarly, there are many institutions of Hindu religion which the future conscience of the Hindu community will consider as inconsistent with morality." This argument may equally apply to other religious communities in India. Of course, the final decision of what is consistent with Articles 25 or 26 of the Constitution will rest with our judiciary.

It may be noted here that during the consideration of Article 19 of the Draft Constitution of India which in effect became later on Article 25 of the Constitution, some members of the Constituent Assembly had objected²⁵ to the inclusion of the word 'propagate' therein in connexion with religion as, it had been apprehended, [this might lead to inter-communal conflict in the country. It was, however, argued²⁶ against this view, in the first place, that the right to propagate religion followed from the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression as guaranteed by Article 13 of the Draft Constitution, which corresponded to Article 19 of the Constitution. Secondly, it was pointed out that the exercise of this right was subject to the requirements of public order, morality and health, and that it must not be in violation of any other provision of Part III of the Constitution which dealt with fundamental rights. This was considered to be a sufficient safeguard against any possible abuse of this right. Thirdly, it was brought²⁷ to the notice of the Constituent Assembly that the proposed right to propagate religion was based upon a compromise with Indian minorities, and that it was desirable that the compromise should be respected.] What Shri K. M. Munshi stated in this connexion in the Constituent

Assembly on 6th December, 1948, is worthy of note here. "I have," he said,²⁸ "only a few words to say with regard to the objections taken to the word 'propagate' . . . In the present set-up that we are now creating under this Constitution, there is a secular State. There is no particular advantage to a member of one community over another; nor is there any political advantage by increasing one's fold. In those circumstances, the word 'propagate' cannot possibly have dangerous implications which some of the Members think that it has. Moreover, I was a party from the very beginning to the compromise with the minorities, which ultimately led to many of these clauses being inserted in the Constitution and I know it was on this word that the Indian Christian community laid the greatest emphasis, not because they wanted to convert people aggressively, but because the word 'propagate' was a fundamental part of their tenet. Even if the word were not there, I am sure, under the freedom of speech which the Constitution guarantees it will be open to any religious community to persuade other people to join their faith. So long as religion is religion, conversion by free exercise of the conscience has to be recognised. The word 'propagate' in this Clause²⁹ is nothing very much out of the way as some people think, nor is it fraught with dangerous consequences. Speaking frankly, whatever its results we ought to respect the compromise. The Minorities Committee³⁰ the year before the last performed a great achievement by having a unanimous vote on almost every provision of its report. This unanimity created an atmosphere of harmony and confidence in the majority community. Therefore, the word 'propagate' should be maintained in this Article in order that the compromise so laudably achieved by the Minority Committee should not be disturbed."

We have quoted Article 26 before. So far as the rights conferred by Clauses (a), (b), (c), and (d) of the Article are concerned, they, too, are subject to the requirements of public

23. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948, p. 834.

24. The italics are ours.

* See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd and 6th December 1948.

25. See *ibid*, 6th December, 1948.

26. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948.

27. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 837-38.

28. I.e., Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Clause (1) of Article 25 of the Constitution of India.

29. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Minorities.

order, morality and health. Thus they are not "absolute rights," and, as Dr. Ambedkar made³⁰ it clear in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, the State reserved to itself the right to regulate them whenever public order, morality and health would require it.

IV

We shall now refer to the views of our Supreme Court on Articles 25, 26 and 27 of the Constitution, as expressed in connexion with its judgment,³¹ dated 16th March, 1954, in *The Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras vs. Sri Lakshmindra Thirtha Swamiar of Sri Shirur Mutt* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Swamiar* case), its judgment,³² also dated 16th March, 1954, in *Mahant Sri Jagannath Ramanuj Das and another vs. The State of Orissa and another* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Jagannath Das* case), and its judgment,³³ dated 18th March, 1954, in *Ratilal Panachand Gandhi vs. The State of Bombay and Others* and *Sri Shappoorjee Bomanji Billimoria and Others vs. The State of Bombay and Another* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Ratilal Gandhi* case). These judgments were unanimous and were delivered in each case by Mukherjea J.

In the course of its judgment in the *Swamiar* case the Supreme Court declared:³⁴

"We now come to Article 25 (of the Constitution) which, as its language indicates, secures to every person, subject to public order, health and morality, a freedom not only to entertain such religious belief, as may be

approved of by his judgment and conscience, but also to exhibit his belief in such outward acts as he thinks proper and to propagate or disseminate his ideas for the edification of others. A question is raised as to whether the word 'person' here means individuals only or includes corporate bodies as well. The question, in our opinion, is not at all relevant for our present purpose. A Mathadhipati³⁵ is certainly not a corporate body; he is the head of a spiritual fraternity and by virtue of his office has to perform the duties of a religious teacher. It is his duty to practise and propagate the religious tenets, of which he is an adherent and if any provision of law prevents him from propagating his doctrines, that would certainly affect the religious freedom which is guaranteed to every person under Article 25. Institutions as such cannot practise and propagate religion; it can be done only by individual persons and whether these persons propagate their personal views or the tenets for which the institution stands is really immaterial for purposes of Article 25. It is the propagation of belief that is protected, no matter whether the propagation takes place in a church or monastery, or in a temple or parlour meeting."

With regard to Article 26 of the Constitution, the Supreme Court first held:³⁶

"As regards Article 26, the first question is, what is the precise meaning or connotation of the expression 'religious denomination' and whether a Math could come within this expression. The word 'denomination' has been defined in the Oxford Dictionary to mean 'a collection of individuals classed together under the same name: a religious sect or body having a common faith and organization and designated by a distinctive name.' It is well known that the practice of setting up Maths as centres of theological teaching was started by Shri Sankaracharya and was followed by various teachers since then. After Sankara came a galaxy of religious teachers and philosophers who founded the different sects and sub-sects of the Hindu religion that we find in India at the present day. Each one of such sects or sub-sects can certainly be called a religious denomina-

30. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 859.

31. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1005-1046.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 1046-1055.

33. *Supreme Court Appeals*, 1954, Chaudhuri, Calcutta, pp. 538-57.

34. *Civil Appellate Jurisdiction: Civil Appeal No. 38 of 1953* (Supreme Court).

This appeal was "directed against the judgment of a Division Bench of the Madras High Court, dated the 13th of December, 1951, by which the learned Judges allowed a petition, presented by the respondent (Sri Lakshmindra Thirtha Swamiar) under Article 226 of the Constitution, and directed a writ of prohibition to issue in his favour prohibiting the appellant (the Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras) from proceeding with the settlement of a scheme in connection with a Math, known as the Shirur Math, of which the petitioner" happened to be the head or superior (or Mathadhipati).—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October 1954, pp. 1007 and 1021.

35. The head or superior of a Math (a religious institution).

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1021-1022.

tion, as it is designated by a distinctive name, —in many cases it is the name of the founder,— and has a common faith and a common spiritual organization . . . (As Article 26 contemplates not merely a religious denomination but also a section thereof, the Math or the spiritual fraternity represented by it can legitimately come within the purview of this Article.”)

“The other thing”, the Supreme Court further observed,³⁷ “that remains to be considered in regard to Article 26 is, (what is the scope of Clause (b) of the Article which speaks of management ‘of its own affairs in matters of religion’? The language undoubtedly suggests that there could be other affairs of a religious denomination or a section thereof which are not matters of religion and to which the guarantees given by this Clause would not apply. The question is, where is the line to be drawn between what are matters of religion and what are not? It will be seen that besides the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion, which is given by Clause (b), the next two Clauses of Article 26 guarantee to a religious denomination the right to acquire and own property and to administer such property in accordance with law. (The administration of its property by a religious denomination has thus been placed on a different footing from the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion. The latter is a fundamental right which no legislature can take away, whereas the former can be regulated by laws which the legislature can validly impose.) It is clear, therefore, that questions merely relating to administration of properties belonging to a religious group or institution are not matters of religion to which Clause (b) of the Article applies. What then are matters of religion? The word ‘religion’ has not been defined in the Constitution and it is a term which is hardly susceptible of any rigid definition . . . Religion is certainly a matter of faith with individuals or communities and it is not necessarily theistic. There are well-known religions in India, take Buddhism and Jainism which do not believe in God or in any Intelligent First Cause. A religion undoubtedly has its basis in a system of beliefs or doctrines which are regarded by those who profess that

religion is conducive to their spiritual well-being, but it would not be correct to say that religion is nothing else but (*sic*) a doctrine or belief. A religion may not only lay down a code of ethical rules for its followers to accept, it might prescribe rituals and observances, ceremonies and modes of worship which are regarded as integral parts of religion, and these forms and observances might extend even to matters of food and dress.”

(“The guarantee under our Constitution”, continued³⁸ the Supreme Court, “not only protects the freedom of religious opinion but it protects also acts done in pursuance of a religion and this is made clear by the use of the expression ‘practice of religion’ in Article 25. Latham C. J. of the High Court of Australia, while dealing with the provision of Section 116³⁹ of the Australian Constitution which *inter alia* forbids of the Commonwealth to prohibit the ‘free exercise of any religion,’ made the following weighty observations:”

“It is sometimes suggested in discussions on the subject of freedom of religion that, though the civil Government should not interfere with religious *opinions*, it nevertheless may deal as it pleases with any *acts* which are done in pursuance of religious belief without infringing the principle of freedom of religion.) It appears to me to be difficult to maintain this distinction as relevant to the interpretation of Section 116. The section refers in express terms to the *exercise* of religion, and therefore it is intended to protect from the operation of any Commonwealth laws acts which are done in the exercise of religion. Thus the section goes far beyond protecting liberty of opinion. It protects also acts done in pursuance of religious belief as part of religion.”

“These observations apply fully to the protection of religion as guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. (Restrictions by the State

38. *Ibid*, pp. 1024-1029.

39. Section 116 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, runs as follows:

“116. The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.”

40. In connexion with his judgment in *Adelaide Company vs. The Commonwealth* (67 C.L.R. 116, 127).

37. *Ibid*, pp. 1022-1024.

upon free exercise of religion are permitted both under Articles 25 and 26 on grounds of public order, morality and health. Clause (2) (a) of Article 25 reserves the right of the State to regulate or restrict any economic, financial, political and other secular activities which may be associated with religious practice and there is a further right given to the State by Sub-clause (b)⁴¹ under which the State can legislate for social welfare and reform even though by so doing it might interfere with religious practices. The learned Attorney-General lays stress upon Clause (2) (a) of the Article (25) and his contention is that all secular activities, which may be associated with religion but do not really constitute an essential part of it, are amenable to State regulation.

The contention formulated in such broad terms cannot, we think, be supported. In the first place, what constitutes the essential part of a religion is primarily to be ascertained with reference to the doctrines of that religion itself. If the tenets of any religious sect of the Hindus prescribe that offerings of food should be given to the idol at particular hours of the day, that periodical ceremonies should be performed in a certain way at certain periods of the year or that there should be daily recital of sacred texts or oblations to the sacred fire, all these would be regarded as parts of religion and the mere fact that they involve expenditure of money or employment of priests and servants, or the use of marketable commodities would not make them secular activities partaking of commercial or economic character; all of them are religious practices and should be regarded as matters of religion within the meaning of Article 26(b). What Article 25(2) (a) contemplates is not regulation by the State of religious practices as such, the freedom of which is guaranteed by the Constitution except when they run counter to public order, health and morality, but regulation of activities which are economic, commercial or political in their character though they are associated with religious practices. We may refer in this connexion to a few American and Australian cases, all of which arose out of the activities of persons connected with the religious association known as 'Jehova's Witnesses.' This association of persons loosely

organized throughout Australia, U.S.A. and other countries regard the literal interpretation of the Bible as fundamental to proper religious beliefs. This belief in the supreme authority of the Bible colours many of their political ideas. They refuse to take oath of allegiance to the king or other constituted human authority and even to show respect to the national flag, and they decry all wars between nations and all kinds of war activities. In 1941, a company of 'Jehova's Witnesses' incorporated in Australia commenced proclaiming and teaching matters which were prejudicial to war activities and the defence of the Commonwealth and steps were taken against them under the National Security Regulations of the State. The legality of the action of the Government was questioned by means of a writ petition before the High Court and the High Court held that the action of the Government was justified and that Section 116⁴², which guaranteed freedom of religion under the Australian Constitution, was not in any way infringed by the National Security Regulations (*Adelaide Company vs. The Commonwealth*, 67 C.L.R. 116, 127). These were undoubtedly political activities though arising out of religious belief entertained by a particular community. In such cases, as Chief Justice Latham pointed out, the provision for (the) protection of religion was not an absolute protection to be interpreted and applied independently of other provisions of the Constitution. These privileges must be reconciled with the right of the State to employ the sovereign power to ensure peace, security and orderly living without which constitutional guarantee of civil liberty would be a mockery.⁴³)

The Supreme Court next referred to some American cases⁴⁴ and then remarked*:

"It is to be noted that both in the American as well as in the Australian Constitution (*sic*) the right to freedom of religion has been declared in unrestricted terms without any limitation whatsoever. Limitations, therefore, have been introduced by courts of law in these countries on grounds of morality, order and

42. See foot-note 39 above.

43. Considerations of space do not permit us to state the cases here. Reference may be made to the original judgment for details in this connexion.

* * *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1028-1029.

41. Of Clause (2) of Article 25 of the Constitution.

social protection. An adjustment of the competing demands of the interests of Government and constitutional liberties is always a delicate and a difficult task and that is why we find difference of judicial opinion to such an extent in cases decided by the American courts where questions of religious freedom were involved. Our Constitution-makers, however, have embodied the limitations which have been evolved by judicial pronouncements in America or Australia in the Constitution itself and the language of Articles 25 and 26 is sufficiently clear to enable us to determine without the aid of foreign authorities as to what matters come within the purview of religion and what do not. As we have already indicated, freedom of religion in our Constitution is not confined to religious beliefs only; it extends to religious practices as well subject to the restrictions which the Constitution itself has laid down. (Under Article 26(b), therefore, a religious denomination or organization enjoys complete autonomy in the matter of deciding as to what rites and ceremonies are essential according to the tenets of the religion they hold and no outside authority has any jurisdiction to interfere with their decision in such matters. Of course, the scale of expenses to be incurred in connexion with these religious observances would be a matter of administration of property belonging to the religious denomination and can be controlled by secular authorities in accordance with any law laid down by a competent legislature; for it could not be the injunction of any religion to destroy the institution and its endowments by incurring wasteful expenditure on rites and ceremonies. It should be noticed, however, that under Article 26(d), it is the fundamental right of a religious denomination or its representative to administer its properties in accordance with law; and the law, therefore, must leave the right of administration to the religious denomination itself subject to such restrictions and regulations as it might choose to impose. A law which takes away the right of administration from the hands of a religious denomination altogether and vests it in any other authority would amount to a violation of the right guaranteed under Clause (d) of Article 26.")

The decision of the Supreme Court on another point in connexion with the case under consideration is also interesting. It held⁴⁴ with

regard to Section 21 of the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act, 1951:⁴⁵

"We agree . . . with the High Court (of Madras) in the view taken by it about Section 21. This section empowers the Commissioner (Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras) and his subordinate officers and also persons authorised by them to enter the premises of any religious institution or place of worship for the purpose of exercising any power conferred or any duty imposed by or under the Act. It is well known that there could be no such thing as an unregulated and unrestricted right of entry in a public temple or other religious institution, for persons who are not connected with the spiritual functions thereof. It is a traditional custom universally observed not to allow access to any outsider to the particularly sacred parts of a temple as, for example, the place where the deity is located. There are also fixed hours of worship and rest for the idol when no disturbance by any member of the public is allowed. Section 21, it is to be noted, does not confine the right of entry to the outer portion of the premises; it does not even exclude the inner sanctuary, 'the Holy of Holies' as it is said, the sanctity of which is zealously preserved. It does not say that the entry may be made after due notice to the head of the institution and at such hours which would not interfere with the due observance of the rites and ceremonies in the institution. We think that as the section stands, it interferes with the fundamental rights of the Mathadhipati⁴⁶ and the denomination of which he is head, guaranteed under Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution . . . In our opinion, Section 21 has been rightly held to be invalid."

We have quoted before Article 27 of the Constitution and may note here what the Supreme Court has stated in regard to its implication. "What is forbidden by the Article", the Court observed⁴⁷ in the course of its judgment in the *Swamiar* case, "is the specific appropriation of the proceeds of any tax in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1030-31.

45. Madras Act XIX of 1951.

46. The head or superior of a Math.

47. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, p. 1045.

denomination.) The reason underlying this provision is obvious. Ours being a secular State and there being freedom of religion guaranteed by the Constitution, both to individuals and to groups, it is against the policy of the Constitution to pay out of public funds any money for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination." The Court reiterated this view in its judgment in the *Jagannath Das* case. "What is forbidden by Article 27", it said⁴⁸ in it, "is the specific appropriation of the proceeds of any tax in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination". This is only fair. As Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras: General) observed in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948* in connexion with Article 21 of the Draft Constitution of India which in essence corresponded to Article 27 of the Constitution: ("In a secular State where the State is expected to view all denominations in the same light, and not give encouragement to any one particular denomination at the expense of others, this provision is absolutely necessary. This is part and parcel of the Charter of liberty and religious freedom to see that no particular denomination is given any advantage over another denomination. This Article is very important and it safeguards the interests of all minorities and religious pursuits.) (But, it should be pointed out here, if the imposition levied by the State is in the nature of a fee and not a tax,⁴⁹ that is to say, if it be "for some special service rendered or some special work done for the benefit of those from whom payments are demanded," the question of application of Article 27 will not arise. This was the view taken by the Supreme Court in their judgments in the *Swamiar* case, *Jagannath Das* case and in the *Ratilal Gandhi* case. Thus, for instance, we find that in the *Jagannath Das* case the

Supreme Court held⁵⁰ that the annual contribution payable by a Math or temple under Section 49 of the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1939, as amended in 1952, which had laid down that every Math or temple having an annual income exceeding Rs. 250 must make an annual contribution, on a certain percentage basis of a progressive character, for meeting the expenses of the Commissioner of Hindu Religious Endowments and his staff, was not to be hit by Article 27 of the Constitution. The reason was that the object of such contribution under Section 49 of the said Act was "not the fostering or preservation of the Hindu religion or of any denomination within it", but "to see that religious trusts and institutions", wherever they existed, were properly administered. "It is the secular administration of the religious institutions", the Court further declared,⁵¹ "that the Legislature seeks to control and the object, as enunciated in the Act,⁵² is to ensure that the endowments attached to the religious institutions are properly administered and their income is duly appropriated for purposes for which they were founded or exist. As there is no question of favouring any particular religion or religious denomination, Article 27 could not possibly apply."⁵³ Thus, it is clear that Article 27 only requires that, to quote Dr. Ambedkar, "public funds raised by taxes shall not be utilised for the benefit of any particular community" or religious denomination.⁵⁴)

The view taken by the Supreme Court of Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution in connexion with the *Swamiar* case was in essence reiterated by it in the course of its judgment in what we have called, for the sake of brevity, the *Ratilal Gandhi* case.⁵⁵ Thus we find in this judgment:

50. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954; pp. 1052-1055.

51. *Ibid*, pp. 1054-1055.

52. I.e., the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1939, as amended in 1952.

53. Also see in this connexion the judgment of the Supreme Court in what we have called the *Ratilal Gandhi* case.—*Supreme Court Appeals*, 1954, Chaudhuri, Calcutta, pp. 538-57.

54. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 883.

55. *Supreme Court Appeals*, 1954, Chaudhuri, Calcutta, pp. 545-49.

48. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, p. 1054.

* *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, pp. 865-66.

49. There is an elaborate discussion by the Supreme Court of the distinction between a tax and a fee in its judgments in the *Swamiar* case, *Jagannath Das* case, and in the *Ratilal Gandhi* case. Reference may be made to them by the interested reader. We have not quoted the discussion here as it is not very relevant to our purpose.

Article 25 of the Constitution guarantees to every person and not merely to the citizens of India the freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion. This is subject, in every case, to public order, health and morality. Further, exceptions are engrafted upon this right by Clause (2) of the Article. Sub-clause (a) of Clause (2) saves the power of the State to make laws regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice; and Sub-clause (b) reserves the State's power to make laws providing for social reform and social welfare even though they might interfere with religious practices. (Thus, subject to the restrictions which this Article imposes, every person has a fundamental right under our Constitution not merely to entertain such religious belief as may be approved of by his judgment or conscience but to exhibit his belief and ideas in such overt acts as are enjoined or sanctioned by his religion and, further, to propagate his religious views for the edification of others. It is immaterial also whether the propagation is made by a person in his individual capacity or on behalf of any church or institution. The free exercise of religion by which is meant the performance of outward acts in pursuance of religious belief, is, as stated above, subject to State regulation, imposed to secure order, public health and morals of the people. What Sub-clause (a) of Clause (2) of Article 25 contemplates is not State regulation of the religious practices as such which are protected unless they run counter to public health or morality but of activities which are really of an economic, commercial or political character though they are associated with religious practices.

“So far as Article 26 is concerned, it deals with a particular aspect of the subject of religious freedom. Under this Article, any religious denomination or a section of it has the guaranteed right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage in its own way all affairs in matters of religion. Rights are also given to such denomination or a section of it to acquire and own movable and immovable properties and to administer such properties in accordance with law. The language of the two Clauses (b) and (d) of Article 26 would at

once bring out the difference between the two. In regard to affairs in matters of religion, the right of management given to a religious body is a guaranteed fundamental right which no legislation can take away. On the other hand, as regards administration of property which a religious denomination is entitled to own and acquire, it has undoubtedly the right to administer such property but only in accordance with law. This means that the State can regulate the administration of trust properties by means of laws validly enacted; but here again it should be remembered that under Article 26 (d), it is the religious denomination itself which has been given the right to administer its property in accordance with any law which the State may validly impose. A law which takes away the right of administration altogether from the religious denomination and vests it in any other or secular authority (*sic*), would amount to violation of the right which is guaranteed by Article 26(d) of the Constitution.

“The moot point for consideration, therefore, is: Where is the line to be drawn between what are matters of religion and what are not? Our Constitution-makers have made no attempt to define what ‘religion’ is and it is certainly not possible to frame an exhaustive definition of the word ‘religion’ which would be applicable to all classes of persons . . . Religious practices or performances of acts in pursuance of religious belief are as much a part of religion as faith or belief in particular doctrines . . . (The distinction between matters of religion and those of secular administration of religious properties may, at times, appear to be a thin one. But in cases of doubt, as Chief Justice Latham pointed out . . ., the Court should take a commonsense view and be actuated by considerations of practical necessity.)”

V

(Let us pass on to Article 28 of the Constitution, as quoted before. So far as Clause (1) of the Article is concerned, we may say at once that it follows as a corollary to the principle of neutrality in regard to religious matters which the authors of our Constitution have accepted as one of its fundamental principles. And it is really unavoidable in a country like India where there is a “multiplicity of religions”. Dr.

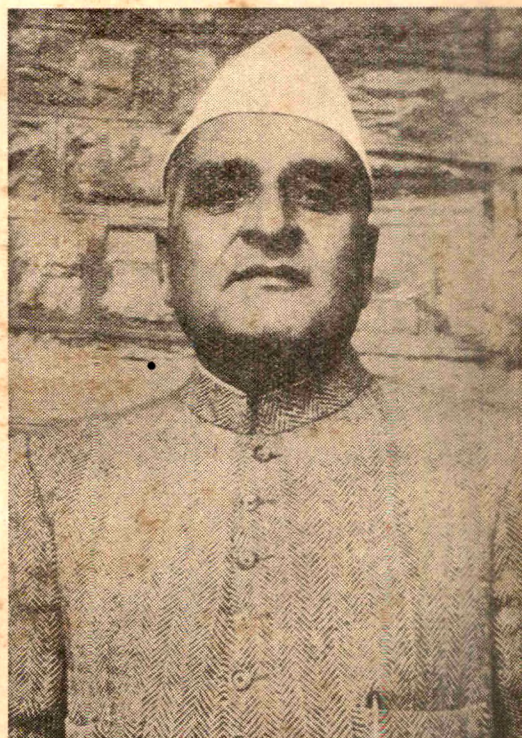
50. Of Australia in *Adelaide Company vs. The Commonwealth*, 67 C.L.R. 116, 129.



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad attending the 'Children's Corner'-special broadcast organised by All-India Radio at Rashtrapati Bhavan Gardens



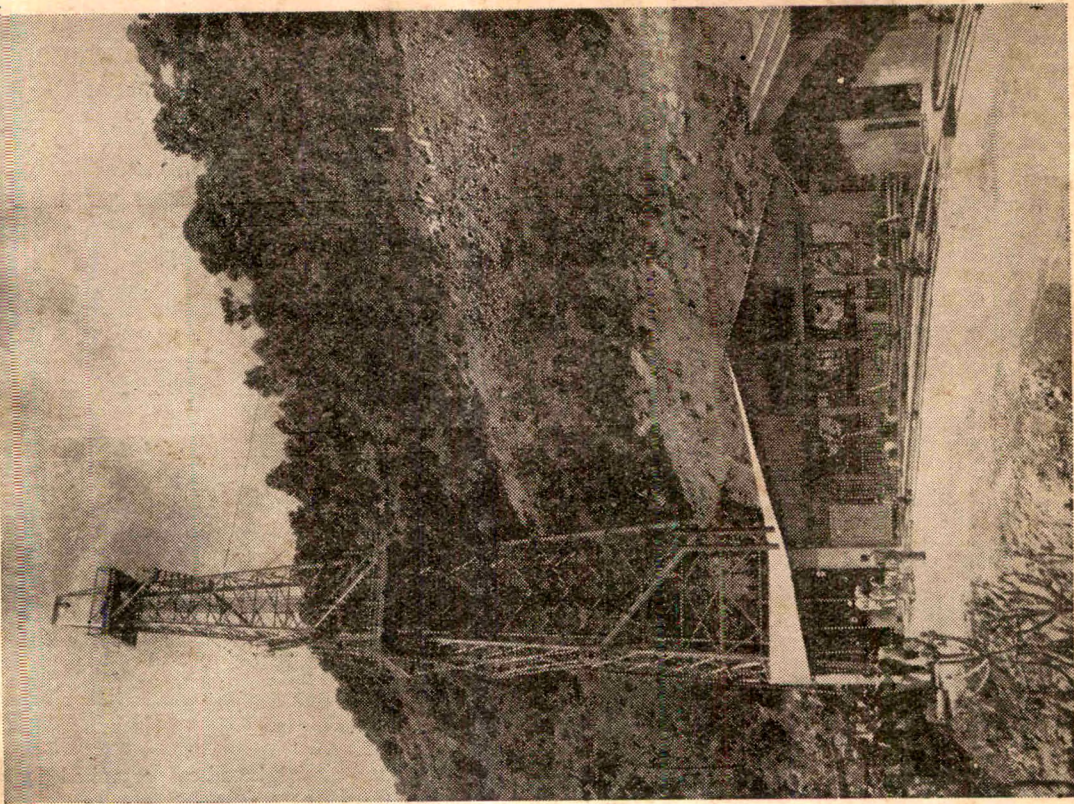
Sri Y. N. Sukhthankar, Governor-designate of Orissa



Sri Bhimsen Sachar, Governor-designate of Andhra Pradesh



The knell of parting day
Photo by Ananda Mukherji



A view of the derrick at Jwalamukhi in Punjab. It can drill up to 10,000 ft. to explore the possibilities of oil

B. R. Ambedkar was, therefore, hardly wrong when he stated⁵⁷ in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, in connexion with Article 22(1) of the Draft Constitution of India which practically corresponded to Article 28(1) of the Constitution:

"Take a city like Bombay which contains a heterogeneous population believing in different creeds. Suppose, for instance, there was a school in the City of Bombay maintained by the Municipality. Obviously, such a school would contain children of the Hindus believing in the Hindu religion, there will be pupils belonging to the Christian community, Zoroastrian community, or to the Jewish community. If one went further, and I think it would be desirable to go further than this, the Hindus again would be divided into several varieties: there would be the *Sanatani* Hindus, Vedic Hindus believing in the Vedic religion, there would be the Buddhists, there would be the Jains—even amongst Hindus there would be the Shaivites, there would be the Vaishnavites. Is the educational institution to be required to treat all these children on a footing of equality and to provide religious instruction in all the denominations? It seems to me that to assign such a task to the State would be to ask it to do the impossible." What is true of a city like Bombay does apply *a fortiori* to the Union of India as a whole or even to any of its constituent States.

Clause (2) of Article 28 seems to be very fair. And what Dr. Ambedkar stated⁵⁸ in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, in its justification may be noted here. "There have been cases," he said,⁵⁹ "where institutions in the early part of the history of this country have been established with the object of giving religious instruction, and for some reason they were unable to have people to manage them and they were taken over by the State as a trustee for them. Now, it is obvious that when you accept a trust you must fulfil that trust in all respects. If the State has already taken over these institutions and placed itself in the posi-

tion of trustee, then obviously you cannot say to the Government that notwithstanding the fact that you were giving religious instruction in these institutions, hereafter you shall not give such instruction. I think that would be not only permitting the State but forcing it to commit a breach of trust."

Clause (3) of Article 28 achieves, to quote the words of Dr. Ambedkar again, "two purposes." "One is," he said,⁶⁰ "that we are permitting a community which has established its (educational) institutions for the advancement of its religious or its cultural life, to give such instruction in the school. We have also provided that (the) children of other communities who attend that school shall not be compelled to attend such religious instructions (*sic*) which undoubtedly and obviously must be the instruction in the religion of that particular community, unless the(ir) parents consent to it. As I say, we have achieved this double purpose and those who want religious instruction to be given are free to establish their institutions and claim aid from the State, give religious instruction, but shall not be in a position to force that religious instruction on other communities." Thus, under Clause (3) while a community "is free to give religious instruction" in its educational institutions and the grant, if any, "made by the State shall not be a bar to the giving of such instruction, it shall not give (religious) instruction to, or make it compulsory upon, the children belonging to other communities unless and until" the consent of their parents has been obtained.⁶¹ Further, the continuance of the recognition of an educational institution by the State would, it is submitted, depend on the fulfilment by the institution of the requirements of Clause (3). It may also be noted here that, according to Dr. Ambedkar, once an educational institution, whether maintained by a community or not, gets a grant out of State funds, it must be open to all communities.⁶² Presumably this follows from Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution.

It should, however, be pointed out here

57. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 883.

* In connexion with the proviso to Article 22(1) of the Draft Constitution of India which in essence corresponded to Clause (2) of Article 28 of the Constitution.

58. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 886.

59. In the course of his speech on Article 22 of the Draft Constitution of India, which in effect corresponded to Article 28 of the Constitution.—*Ibid*, p. 884.

60. *Ibid*, p. 881.

61. *Ibid*, p. 884.

that religious instruction as contemplated by Article 28 of the Constitution, should not be confused with the pursuit of academic studies or the course of training in cultural subjects. This point seems to have been established from the following discussion⁶² in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, although it must be admitted that, in the absence of any authoritative definition, the court of law alone is competent to state what exactly is meant by religious instruction:

"Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I put the honorable Member one question? There is, for instance, an educational institution wholly managed by the Government, like the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. There the *Vedas* are taught, *Smritis* are taught, the *Gita* is taught, the *Upanishads* are taught. Similarly in several parts of Bengal there are Sanskrit Institutions where instructions in these subjects are given. You provide in Article 22(1)⁶³ that no religious instruction can be given by an institution wholly maintained out of State funds. These are absolutely maintained by State funds. My point is, would it be interpreted that the teaching of *Vedas*, or *Smritis*, or *Shastras* or *Upanishads* comes within the meaning of a religious instruction? In that case all these institutions will have to be closed down.)

"The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, I do not know exactly the character of the institutions to which my friend Mr. Maitra has made reference . . .

"Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Take, for instance, the teaching of *Gita*, *Upanishads*, the *Vedas* and things like that in Government Sanskrit Colleges and schools. •

"The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: My own view is this, that religious instruction

is to be distinguished from research or study. Those are quite different things. Religious instruction means this. For instance, so far as the Islam(ic) religion is concerned, it means that you believe in one God, that you believe that *Pagambar* the Prophet is the last Prophet and so on, in other words, what we call 'dogma.' A dogma is quite different from study.

"Mr. Vice-President: May I interpose for one minute? As Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I used to inspect the Sanskrit College, where, as Pandit Maitra is aware, students have to study not only the University course but books outside it in Sanskrit literature and, in fact, Sanskrit sacred books, but this was never regarded as religious instruction; it was regarded as a course in culture.

"Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: My point is this. It is not a question of research. It is a mere instruction in religion or religious branches of study. I ask whether lecturing on *Gita* and *Upanishads* would be considered as giving religious instruction? Expounding *Upanishads* is not a matter of research.

"Mr. Vice-President: It is a question of teaching students and I know at least one instance where there was a Muslim student in the Sanskrit College."

(Thus religious instruction as contemplated by Article 28 of the Constitution is to be interpreted in a different way from the teaching of a particular religious subject—even a religious treatise—as a part of an academic curriculum. Of course, as already stated, the final decision on a disputed question like this rests with the court of law, and the court of law is expected to take a commonsense view of things in a matter like this.)

In our later articles in this series we propose to deal with some other Fundamental Rights under our Constitution.

62. *Ibid*, pp. 884-85.

63. Of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 28(1) of the Constitution of India.

64. Dr. H. C. Mookherjee.



THE JORDANIAN WHIRLWIND

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AND now Jordan has been caught in the whirlwind of international power politics. The divergent air-currents of Russian communism, American capitalism and militarism, British imperialism and Arab nationalism have lifted this small State, in the centre of the Middle East political pressure zone, from the surface realities. The young king Hussain has dismissed the Nationalist leader Nabulsi and his cabinet which was opposed to Eisenhower Doctrine, and Nabulsi was a great exponent of Arab Nationalism. According to the king he had communist leanings. Another ministry was formed under Dr. Khaladi but he also could not carry on for more than a few days. He had to resign. The House of Representatives was dissolved, all political parties were banned and Martial Law was declared. Now the whole country is under the heels of military rule. The United States sixth fleet has been moved to the eastern Mediterranean and U.S. military men and politicians have indicated the possibility of dropping of parachute units any moment at the deterioration of conditions there. A substantial dollar aid is waiting to hear the king say, 'Yes, come.' The USSR, on the other hand, has threatened grave consequences of any interference by the Western Powers in the affairs of Jordan. Arab heads of States, specially Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria are disturbed at these developments.

The genesis of the trouble is not far to seek. The Jordanian crisis is a symptom of the broader Middle East problem. The situation of the Middle East at the junction of three continents, has placed it at the cross-roads of commerce and trade, and the western countries which are most advanced industrially and commercially have a vital stake in maintaining there ocean, air and land routes to Eastern Africa and Southern, South Eastern and Far Eastern Asia. Besides, this is also at the route of 'logistics' for these regions. Economically also the Middle East is vital for the West. It has about 70 per cent of the world's oil reserve

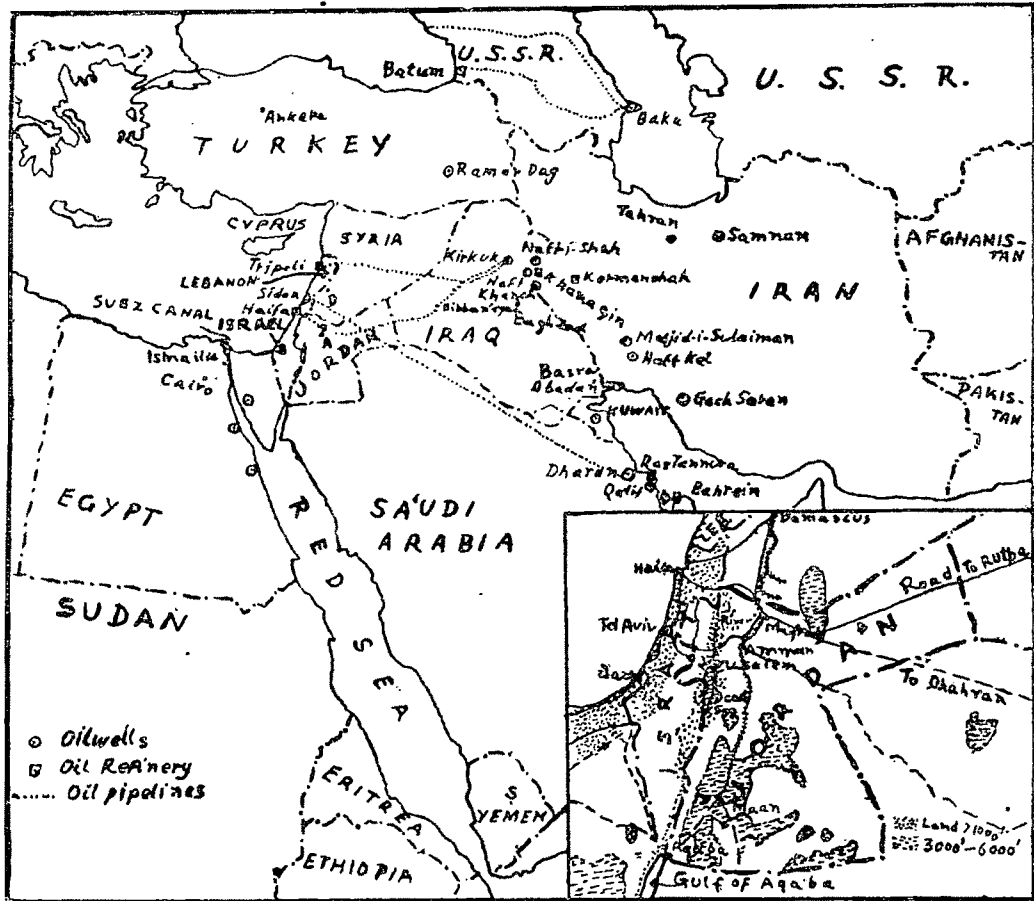
and produces about 20 per cent of world's output which supplies about 80 per cent of the Western European requirements on which depend their industrial and military strength and their standard of living. The entire plan of NATO defence will be shattered to pieces in the event of stoppage of supply for a long time. NATO being the 'first line of defence' in the American Hemispherical Defence scheme is of vital importance to the U.S.A. The U.S.A. cannot satisfy the oil needs of the Western European countries for a long time because of her own soaring requirements and dwindling home and the Caribbean supplies. The location of this vital region close to the southern border of communist Russia has made the area strategically important in the 'Power Bloc Politics,' for if once the region through communist subversion and infiltration falls in line with Russia, the freedom and security of the 'democracies' will be jeopardised. Except for Israel and Turkey which are a bit advanced, the whole area is subject to arid climate, backward economy, low standard of living, social weakness, and political instability resulting from their natural environment and political domination by Britain and France and lately by the U.S.A. This has made the whole of the Middle East a fertile ground for communist activities. After the decline of British power in the region the U.S.A. has been trying to gain strength on the pretext that the Middle East has become a 'Power Vacuum'. Now it will be easier to understand the Jordanian situation in this regional setting.

Historically speaking, Jordan is a young kingdom. Formerly it formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. After the fall of this Empire in World War I several small political States came into being and Trans-Jordan was one of them. According to the promises of France and Britain the liberated States were to have national governments and administrations but after the cessation of hostilities the promises

were forgotten and according to the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement the region was divided between them. Other great powers did not come in the picture because Russia was going through her revolution and the U.S.A. had characteristically recoiled to her isolationist policy. Thus France got the League of Nations' mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, and Britain received the mandate over Iraq and Palestine which also included Trans-Jordan. The breach of promises by these powers fanned the flames of nationalism. Germany's propaganda and subversive activities against Britain and France gained ground in the 'Fertile Crescent'. The U.S.A. also became interested by then and sided with the national movements in the name of their national heroes Abraham Lincoln and George Washington. Britain cleverly adjusted her relations with the countries of the region. Palestine was divided into two parts, the area east of the Jordan river being Trans-Jordan. In 1922 it was turned into an Emirate under a pro-British Emir Abdullah while his brother Faisal was made the King of Iraq. But the British controlled the Jordanian armed forces, the Arab Legion, by modernising and putting it under the command of General Peake and later on of John Glubb (known as Glubb Pasha) who became a *de facto* ruler. Thus Britain was successful for the time being in keeping the national emotionalism under control. During World War II, Britain, U.S.A. and Russia occupied nearly the whole of the Middle East to check the advance of Hitler. But again at the end of the war there arose intense opposition to foreign domination specially by Britain and France. The U.S.A. was now more interested both economically and strategically; and now that Britain was reduced to a third-rate power, the U.S.A. also waited to take her due place as the defender of the region against any outside interference, specially by the U.S.S.R.

In the face of all these combined forces Britain withdrew her rule from Trans-Jordan in 1946. Trans-Jordan became independent but even then the military control was maintained through the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 1948 which granted Britain the right to maintain bases at Amman, Mafraq and Aqaba and station troops for twenty years. Glubb Pasha was still

the commander. In return for this Jordan was to receive an annual subsidy of £12,000,000. The creation of the Jewish State of Israel as a fulfilment of the British promise (Balfour Declaration of 1917) and the influx of 500,000 Arab refugees created grave rehabilitation problems for the desert State. This made Jordan (as now it began to be called due to the inclusion of the trans-part of Palestine west of the River Jordan) a bitter enemy of Britain and also of the U.S.A. which helped in the creation of Israel and gave it economic sustenance. There was also the inner rivalry between Britain and the U.S.A. The assassination of King Abdullah in 1952 and the accession of Prince Talat who was openly anti-British and Pro-American is said to be an American intrigue. But Britain also intrigued and influenced the Jordanian parliament to dethrone Talat on the pretext that he was mentally deranged. The minor King Hussain was put under a temporary Regency Council of pro-British men. But in the meantime Arab nationalism was growing stronger every day. The patriotic political parties, especially the National Socialist Party, headed by Suleiman Nabulsi, worked against all sorts of foreign interference in domestic affairs. The Baghdad Pact was rejected outright, Glubb Pasha was dismissed and the first free elections were held in 1956 which brought Nabulsi at the head of the government. Nabulsi had a mandate from the people to end the humiliating treaty of 1948. Anglo-French aggression over Egypt hastened his steps. He refused Britain the use of R.A.F. bases in Jordan against Egypt, joined the Joint Military Command with Egypt and Syria and abrogated the 1948 treaty as soon as the only financial implication was solved by the promises of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt to full the gap created by the stoppage of the annual British payment. Thus Britain was expelled from Jordan. When the British treaty of 1930 with Iraq ended she kept her hold there by bringing Iraq in the Baghdad Pact but as Jordan had rejected the idea of any such pact earlier there was no thread to bind. With British exit Jordan became a place where both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. looked for influence. Jordan was showing inclinations to enter into diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and China, and hence the U.S.A. became impatient to influence King Hussain not to let his country



THE MIDDLE EAST AND JORDAN

go that way. And what has followed is a result of this.

But why Jordan is considered to be vital for the big powers involved in the region? The answer is given by one very important geographical element of Jordan, her location. Though not even a single drop of oil is obtained from her territory, it is only Jordan's geographical location which has made the country so important in the Middle East where the political cross-currents are primarily seen on the surface of liquid oil. Jordan is brought into oil politics because oil pipe-lines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia pass through this State to touch the Mediterranean ports on the west. In times of war even between the Middle East States themselves, as between Jordan and either of the neighbouring States, Israel, the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq or Saudi Arabia, the pipe-line can be cut

to stop the flow of oil with all its disastrous consequences on the defence and economy of the West European countries. The Suez Canal crisis, after the withdrawal of British forces from the canal zone, has made this pipe-line even more important than before. One of the reasons for the domination over Egypt was to maintain the transport of oil through the canal and this is also the case with Jordan. Interested Powers are trying to bully Egypt to bring her in line with them and the same story may be repeated as regards Jordan on account of the similar situation from the point of view of oil transit. Renan's theory that 'a land so important to the rest of the world cannot be entirely independent politically' is working in the region.

The same locational factor has made Jordan a vital link in the ocean, land and air

communications of the Middle East in particular and the whole world in general. With the reluctant British exit from Egypt and subsequent disturbances over the control of the Suez Canal, the door to the East, Britain and her friends are considering the possibility of the construction of an out-flanking ship canal *via* Israel to the Dead Sea and thence to Aqaba and out to the Gulf for the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Both the Dead Sea and the port of Aqaba are in Jordanian territory. Port Aqaba at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba has a better port-site than that of their Umm Rashrash and, is therefore, covered by the Israelis as a port on Asiatic waters, which among other advantages would obviate Suez Canal passage which has become a serious point of contention with the non-Baghdad Pact Arab countries. The closure of the Suez Canal by Egypt against Israeli ships was also one of the reasons for the Israeli attack on Egypt; even the Gulf of Aqaba is considered by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan to be territorial water whereas Israel and her western supporters hold it to be an international water with right to free access to Israeli ships. If Jordan is anyhow brought to term with the Western Powers, two powers out of the four bordering its shores would be practically brought in favour of the internationalization of the Gulf, though its possibility is quite remote. The strategic role of this ocean lane has been exemplified in the last world war when this 'back-door route' was successfully used to build up powerful forces for the annihilation of the enemy forces in North Africa. This route also included the road from Aqaba to Mann and thereafter the Hejaz Railway entering into Syria. In the event of invasion from the north the same port of entry and lines of supply can be used to defend the oil-wells and the pipe-lines of the region.

The new all-weather trunk road runs from Haifa, the Israeli Mediterranean Port, *via* Amman, the Jordanian capital, to Rutba and Baghdad and then to Basra near the head of the Persian Gulf. This road traverses the land-bridge between the heads of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. This communicational interest had prompted the British to make a curious north-east extension of the Jordanian territory to form a continuous frontier with that of the equally curious western extension of the

Iraqi territory. At that time Britain, Jordan and Iraq had close treaty aims, and Syria in the north and Saudi Arabia in the south were potential enemies. The curious extension of the territories gave protection to the oil pipe-lines and the road and air routes. But now that Jordan has gone out of hand a serious breach in the communication line has occurred.

The air-routes from London to Karachi pass *via* Jordan, and Mafraq had become a big R.A.F. station and airfield of major importance. Thus Jordan was important both as a way-station for the commercial and civil airlines and as a strategic air-base near the Soviet southern rim. Even if the conventional warfare is ruled out in the future, air-bases are indispensable for nuclear warfare also. Ismailia in Egypt had gone out of hand earlier and now the evacuation of Jordan had made Mafraq useless for the Western Powers. There remains only Hibbaniya in Iraq which is the only airfield of major importance near the Russian border in the whole of the Middle East. With hostile Syria in the north the landing facilities and air passages might be denied to the Western Powers in the event of war as it was denied during the Suez crisis.

Thus we see that the geographical location of Jordan is such that if she is allowed to remain out of the western camp she may present a serious breach in the ocean, land and air communication system and thus substantially affect the defence strategy of the Western Powers led by the U.S.A. in the region.

The locational factor gains added importance in view of the recent political developments and set-ups in the Middle East. The Baghdad Pact countries of the Middle East—Turkey, Iraq and Iran—are close friends of the Western Powers, but they are separated from Israel, another friend of the Western Powers (though not recognised by Iraq and Iran) by Jordan. Thus the Pact area (Iraq and Iran) fails to have a free and direct outlet to the Mediterranean. If Jordan is forced to be a friend of the U.S.A., there will be a continuous zone of friendly States right from the southern Mediterranean shores to the western borders of India. This will make the Pact stronger and more effective. This zone will separate Syria and the Lebanon in the north from Saudi Arabia and Egypt in the south and south-west respectively. Jordan

will be broken away from the united front of the hostile Arab States and the joint army command between Egypt, Jordan and Syria will be nullified. This will foil the attempt of the three joint command countries to form a federation between them which has been their declared objective. This will strike at the very root of the leadership of Nasser, the worst enemy of the west in the Middle East. The Damascus Pact, which came into being as a reaction to the Baghdad Pact, will be considerably weakened. Israel, the stooge of the West, which is the breathing space for them if the surrounding atmosphere at any time becomes suffocating, will become a bit safe from the Jordan side where she has the longest frontier, in case Jordan rejects the shadow of the West. Because all these developments will make the Western Powers, especially the U.S.A., militarily, economically, and politically stronger in the Middle East, the U.S.S.R. would dislike it and would try to keep Jordan as far away from the West as possible. With this end in view she will try to instigate her communist and other leftist friends in Jordan to influence the vocal and active politicians as well as the public sentiment and to foment trouble if necessary.

But the U.S.A. is more likely to gain, at least temporarily, in the contest for supremacy in Jordan on account of three factors. Firstly, because Jordan is governed by a king who fears the rise of leftists in whose scheme of things there is no place for a king. The U.S.A. is no enemy to kingship in the Middle East, rather she favours this system because it is easier to influence one man and keep the whole nation under domination. The history of the grant of oil concessions to the U.S.A. in Saudi Arabia shows that it was King Saud who in spite of popular opposition granted concession on one-fourth royalty basis. The nationalist rising in Egypt has swept away the king and there is no kingship in Syria and the Lebanon. Thus the king finds these countries dangerous for his personal future and finds a closer friend in Iraq and Saudi Arabia. As the U.S.A. preaches against these countries, he stands to gain. Secondly, the King of Jordan and the King of Iraq belong to the same Hashamite family. Iraq being a member of the Baghdad Pact leans towards the West and carries his cousin in

Jordan with him. The family has old enmity with Syria. The King of Jordan remembers how they were driven out of Damascus and how their plan of Greater Syria had been foiled. This blood relation which is very thick in the Arab World, prevented the Jordanian king from joining the Damascus Pact which was aimed against the Baghdad Pact and one of the aims of which was to turn out Iraq from the Arab League because she had joined the Pact in spite of repeated warnings to the contrary. The only fact that holds the king closer to the anti-Baghdad Pact Arab countries is the danger of her immediate neighbour Israel which has demonstrated her aggressive strength several times after her inception, the attack on Egypt being the most recent. But this relation between Israel and Jordan may be expected to change for the better if Jordan accepts the Eisenhower Doctrine which has been introduced in the Middle East to give economic and military help to the countries in the region in case there is communist activity or open aggression. In that case both Israel and Jordan will be under the strong hands of the U.S.A. and their policies will be guided by her.

Thirdly, Jordan's economy requires substantial financial backing from a rich nation. After the exit of the U.K. she has lost a financier as well as a source of financial organisers, technicians and skilled personnel. The future of Jordan's 1,400,000 people, 500,000 of whom are disgruntled refugees from Palestine, depends on the implementation of the economic programme. The greater part of the country is bare sandy tableland; only the higher and rainier western part of the tableland near the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea is suitable for crop raising while further east where rainfall drops sharply, nomadic tribes find only a poor living. To rehabilitate the backward economy Jordan has planned for irrigation and agriculture schemes, extension of the port of Aqaba, a road link between Aqaba and Amman, the capital, a national oil refinery, the development of potash and phosphate industries and the rehabilitation of Jordan's part of the Hejaz Railway. Though Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria filled up the gap made by the stoppage of British annual subsidy, they are not able to finance all these projects as they have serious financial limitations. For the Arabian Potash Company which

is a Jordanian project, Egypt and Saudi Arabia had agreed to subsidise £125,000 each and Syria and the Lebanon had promised £62,500 each while the rest £625,000 had to be found out by Jordan herself. Besides, the oil refinery project is expected to cost £4,100,000 and the Aqaba port development and the road link with Amman are expected to cost about £4,500,000. All this money cannot be expected from the poor Middle East anti-Baghdad Pact neighbours and the king smells the danger in the communist money (though openly he is to admit help from any quarter). So there is a great temptation to accept the Eisenhower Doctrine, if not in name, in spirit.

If due to these factors Jordan is lured in the trap laid out by the U.S.A. the whole scheme of things in the Middle East is going to be changed. The plan of Nasser will be shattered and the entire political and

military set-up in the Middle East will go through a drastic change. This will be a defeat not only of Nasser but of all the anti-Baghdad Pact countries of the Middle East. This is why they are trying to influence King Hussain not to go for the Eisenhower Doctrine. But the king is trying to play the role of the man with the donkey trying to please everyone. He swears in the name of Arab nationalism and abhors the idea of pacts to please his people, and to seek the hands of his neighbours and at the same time welcomes financial help (with no strings attached) from any quarter whatsoever to please both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. But will this role succeed for long? People doubt. The wind must blow this way or that. Even today it is apparent, the wind has the tendency to be westerly. This may prevail for sometime only; the cyclone in the people's mind cannot be far behind.

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PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF BENGAL NATIONALISM (1905-1910)

An Analysis of Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought During the Swadeshi Days

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THE Swadeshi Movement in Bengal was not a mere political agitation. It was the dynamic outburst of the soul of a nation which was trying to obtain crystallised self-expression. Behind the movement lay the philosophical and sociological teachings of Lokamanya Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Bipin Chandra Pal, Surendranath Banerjee and also Rabindranath Tagore. Sri Aurobindo's political thought provides us an insight into the foundations of that movement and its basically spiritual-political orientation.

Aurobindo illustrates his theory of divine determinism in history with reference to Bengal nationalist movement:

"Nationalism is immortal, nationalism cannot die because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail."

He considers God or Atman to be the leader of the movement and hence in his speeches

he advocates a return to the spirit and the realisation of its plans and dictates. If the voice of the spirit would have been rightly listened to and apprehended there could always be found people who would act according to the commands of a God-inspired leader. If the movement of nationalism was in the divine plan, the British invasion of India was also, according to Aurobindo, a part of the spiritual mechanism because the former was the antithesis of the latter. In the eighteenth century the country was full of traitors, self-seekers and powerful men. It was the reign of Tamas. The time was ready for the slavery and political dependence of the people of the country. At that period the British appeared on the scene to effectuate the inscrutable design of providence. Hence the cruel and inhuman repressions perpetrated by British imperialism were also a part of the divine plan.

"Repression is nothing but the hammer of

God that is beating us into shape so that we may be moulded into a mighty nation and an instrument for his work in the world."

The principal aim of the divine power behind British imperialism was the effectuation of India's unification, a task which Aurobindo considers to be the central trend in the history of India for the last two thousand years. Being a mystic who reads the will of God in history he interprets all the principal events in the course of the Bengal movement and the general movement of Indian nationalism to be designed and willed by God. He considers the historic breach of the Congress at Surat also to be a part of the divine will in action. Tilak's deportation to Mandalay in Burma was also the will of God.

"It is He, not any other, who has taken them and His ways are not the ways of men, for He is all-wise."

Since the real leaders of the movement were not Aswini Kumar Datta or Tilak, however great they might be, but God himself, hence his will had to be accepted.

This theory of divine determinism of history and the ultimate leadership of political movements (like Indian nationalism and the French Revolution) by God is a cardinal belief of the Hindu philosophical mind. In the Mahabharata and the Puranas there are instances of providential interventions in course of history. In the Gita it is stated that wherever there is anything great and colossal in human and cosmic history that is to be considered as a manifestation of the divine. The Vedas contain the classic history of the fight between Indra and Vritra, where the king of the gods is solicited for killing a great destructive demon. Thus what Aurobindo is doing is only restating a vital Hindu theological creed. The difference however is that he brings in other illustrations from the different countries of the world to substantiate his point of view. Such a divine and providential historical interpretation was suited to the sociology of the time because it not only provided a rationalisation of much that would have appeared otherwise as terrible, cruel and frustrating but it also suffused the people, the leaders and the movement with great consolation and a tremendous optimism in terms of the belief in an inevitable future success.

The metaphysics of divine determinism

implies the concept of "God-sent leader." All great movements in history require leaders who are voluntary agents for executing the divine will. They are infused with divine energy and force. The philosophy behind such a conception is that Kali works through these great men. Kali is the dynamic aspect of the absolute being and she is the embodiment of divine force, dynamics and energy. It is not accidental that she works more in one man than in another. A leader is chosen because he vindicates the possibilities of a willing channel of the divine force. Once chosen, Kali never rejects him, nor allows him to reject her, unless the main objective has been realised. In the Bhagavadgita Krishna tells Arjuna that although being over-powered with an egoistic notion the latter would like to renounce warfare still it could not be possible because the great powerful force of Nature would almost compulsively goad and impel him to action. For the concrete success of any movement several types of instruments are needed. Some may be rejected and thrown while some are preserved. "This is the greatness of the great man, not that by their own strength they can determine great events but that they are serviceable and specially forged instruments of the Power which determines them." Kali takes possession of them and hence such leaders can achieve results beyond any ordinary canons of rational calculation, prediction and expectation. Rationality and foreseeable possibility are the human criteria of judgment but since Kali is the divine dynamism acting in the cosmos she can effectuate the impossible. Hence the people commissioned to work out the will and design of the divine manifest signs of superhuman strength and will-power because they are 'full of force of the *Zeitgeist*.' The idea that a power beyond man was working in the nationalist movement in Bengal was a matter of strong faith in Aurobindo and in a speech in Bombay in January, 1908 he said :

" . . . this great nation will rise again and become once more what it was in the days of its spiritual greatness. You are the instruments of God to save the light, to save the spirit of India from lasting obscurity and abasement."

The political theory of the God-sent leader as the divine instrument for effective terrestrial action is a logical implication from the teachings

of the Bhagavadgita and the Tantra. Vivekananda honestly believed that by grace of the spiritual realization of his great teacher Ramakrishna, Kali had entered into him and was using him as the instrument for reviving the ancient gospel of the Vedanta. A psychologist or a psychoanalyst or a materialist may try to explain this phenomenon as a mental hallucination or a chimera or even as a kind of opium to dupe oneself or the people. But several great leaders had this kind of faith. Christ, Mahomed, Napoleon believed that they were being goaded and guided by a divine power; Moses, St. Paul and Savonarola had such faith. In our days Gandhi believed himself to be a divine agent to reveal the greatness of non-violence as a political method by attaining the political salvation of India through it. The honest belief in their being the instrument of a higher power or destiny which transcends the ordinary notions of causality has been a vital force guiding several great leaders. The German Nazi cult of Fuhrer inculcated that the leader is not chosen by a democratic process but he emerges like Joan of Arc at critical epochs to save the nation from immediate peril. It is very true that there are great differences between the consequences which have followed in imperialistic fascism and the other ethical movements like Christianity or Gardhism from the acceptance of the idea of a destined or a God-sent leader but the sociological typology of the claim is similar because the basic thing is the transcendence of normal social causality and the operation of laws and factors which have an appearance of the gigantic and the colossal. This theory of the God-sent leader as found in Aurobindo has a remarkable similarity to the concept of the world-historical-individual in Hegel's philosophy of history.

Bengal and pre-war Ireland were attempting to realize the soul of the nation. In the Bengal Swadeshi Movement there was a pronounced and conscious subjectivism. The nation was conceived not as a territory but as a psychological, even a spiritual being and even when political and economic motivations were prevalent it seemed that they were "instruments of self-

expression rather than objects in themselves."

Hence the Bengal nationalist movement was not an imitation of and derivation from the West but was unique. Bengal through a galaxy of great leaders and thinkers recovered the ancient spirit of the Vedanta and Yoga and Tantra and "forced the world to hear of its spiritual personalities." Spiritualism imparted to the Bengal movement a vital political consciousness. In his speeches as a nationalist leader Aurobindo referred to the realisation of God in the nation:

" Your common Mother. That is not merely the soil. That is not merely a division of land but it is a living thing. It is the Mother in whom you move and have your being. Realize God in the nation, realize God in your brother, realize God in a wide human association."

" the three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land, or by so much money, or by so many lives. You will then realize that it is something immortal, that the idea for which you are working is something immortal and that it is an immortal power that is working in you."

This realization of the immortal power and spirit of the divine being was to be achieved by a total surrender and consecration of oneself to the great cause. Even poverty and obscurity were to be devoted to the motherland. This notion of surrender does not imply exhaustion of the impulse to action but it emphasises the creative role of the subject as the instrument of the supreme divine being. This idea of the new national religion putting emphasis on the realization of God in the lives of the three hundred millions was a new note in the traditions of Indian Vedanta. It signified almost an apotheosis of social and national work. People were advised to see "the birth of the Avatar in the nation." The emphasis on the realisation of God in the country through the visualisation of the omnipresent "Motherhood of God" distinguishes Bengal nationalism from the European counterparts.



KATHODIAS OF RAJASTHAN

A Tragedy of Lost Souls in the Woods

By N. K. PAREEK

IN Rajasthan which, incidentally, has less than 10 per cent of its total area under forests, the Aravalli forest in Udaipur has been serving as an 'iron curtain' around an aboriginal tribe leading a life of perpetual misery and dishonour for 50 years or more. Thanks to Shri L. M. Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, and the zealous workers of the Rajasthan Seva Sangh for raising this 'iron curtain' and leading these poor and ignorant people from what may be called darkness to light.

Engaged as labour for the manufacture of Katha or catechu, the tribe came to be known as Kathodia by their Muslim employers, the Bohras, a noted commercial community, who impressed with their skill at Katha-making persuaded about 250 families to part with their parent stock of Bhils of Western Khandesh district of Bombay State in search of new fortune in the forests of Udaipur. They were employed in the remote interior of Phalasiya, Kotra and Kherwara tehsils of Udaipur district which abounded in Kher trees, the raw material for manufacturing Katha. The process involves the removal of the bark of this tree and cutting the tender portion underneath into small chips which are boiled in earthen pots to form a paste to be dried up later. The dried up substance becomes the superior Katha or red catechu which only the master-manufacturers, the Kathodia women, can prepare. The inferior or black Katha, which does not require so much of skill, is manufactured by a group of other Kathodias from Vindhya Pradesh who visit these areas every year during the Katha season from October to February.

It was about half a century ago that these simple and manly Bhils of Khandesh led away by the rosy promises of the Bohras migrated to Rajasthan to degrade themselves into Kathodias. Their struggle for existence all these 50 years has been a tale of woe, of unceasing sorrow resulting from the crafty technique and cunning

manoeuvres of the greedy contractors of the forests.

In the thick of the forest in these areas the sight of men, women and children, all under-fed and semi-nude, felling and fetching the Kher trees on their bony shoulders and dirty heads is the typical picture of a Kathodia family. They work under atrocious conditions as many hours as the contractor wishes them to do. And for all this hard toil, they are paid at the rate of one 'Pali' or two per day per family of 2 to 3 persons. A 'Pali' includes slightly over a seer



This is the home these Kathodia women have known for the first time as their own at Ambasidaiya in Phalasia Tehsil of Udaipur District

of maize and chillies, salt and garlic in proportion to the quantity of maize. Half a bottle of liquor once a week is more than a mere temptation to these people who naturally are addicted to alcohol to forget the insults and injuries to their human dignity. The contractor is kind enough to supply one *dhoti* to the male and another one to the female in the name of clothing at the close of the season. This *dhoti* is 2 to 3 yards of cloth with which the men and women can hardly cover their hips and knees. A loan of 5 to 6 maunds of grain is also given to pull on during off-season. This loan the Kathodia can in no case re-pay before

the next season is on and thus he remains bound to work for the same contractor for many successive seasons.

stone was 5 sears even when it was more. With it the Katha is weighed and on this basis the wages calculated.

The amount thus summed up is then reduced, often to a few coins, by deducting from the price of the grains, spices, liquor and cloth supplied since the previous season.

The shelters of leaves and bamboos under which they pass their leisure hopelessly fail to serve their purpose during the rains and they would wait for clear weather under a huge tree. The chill winter nights they pass by covering their shivering children with leaves, the grown-ups singing and dancing around a huge jungle fire to the accompaniment of the Dholak.

Socially, the Kathodias are no better than what they are economically. The only link between them and the outside world has been the contractor and his men, who have tended only to stiffen their attitude towards things modern. Their personality and life has marked



A group of Kathodia women and children photographed near Ambasidaiya before the Rehabilitation Scheme was launched in 1953-54

During the interval between two seasons, generally extending to 7 months, the Kathodias find themselves in a miserable plight. The rainy season is still worst when the Kathodias without anything which they can call their own, keep themselves on the move from one forest to another, surviving on Mahua and wild root-union, Koli Kanda, which causes itching even when one touches it. Sometimes these wild roots and grains also become scarce and the Kathodias are left with no other alternative than to live on the hunting of birds and the flesh of dead animals in the forest.

When the season is on the Kathodias report to the contractors to earn a living again. After the day's work the Katha manufactured would be arbitrarily weighed against a stone picked up from a nearby Nalla. The Naik or the leader of the Kathodia group, a simple and ignorant man like others of his clan, would agree that the



A rehabilitated Kathodia family at Ambasidaiya

tribal traits. They are a truthful and hospitable people; on the whole a good stuff of labour with stamina and capacity for hard work. They

speak a mixture of Marathi, Gujrati and Bagdi, the dialect of the local Bhils.

Social customs of the Kathodias resemble those of the Hindus, but the dead are buried instead of being cremated. Five relatives put rice in the mouth of the deceased and some pice or a rupee on his palm. After burial the spot is marked by a stone. Five days later the male members of the family get themselves shaved.

Diwali, Holi and Rakshabandha are the popular festivals when they sing and dance collectively. The worship of Kalika is prevalent among them and often during the illness of their dear ones they would burn the forests to propitiate this deity. Forest drugs are the only medicines they know, but they would rely more on superstitions, witchcraft or Jantra-Mantra for the recovery of a patient.

The birth of a son is announced by the beating of a *Thali*—a plate of brass or bronze. The mother worships the Sun after taking her bath and while the new-born is swung in a cradle of cloth hung under a tree, the members of the family sing and dance to celebrate the event.

Marriage is the best occasion for community dancing. The bridegroom has to pay *Dapa* ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 21 to the bride's father. A *Mandap* is erected by pitching up four sticks of the Saldi tree covered by the leaves of the Jamun tree. Under it the marriage is solemnised with the burning fire as the witness.

An average Kathodia is quite ignorant of his appalling poverty and exploitation. The prolonged sufferings have made him quite indifferent to his surroundings. He would endure all mal-treatment and see his woman beaten and dishonoured by the contractor's men before his very eyes. During the course of half a century many had thought of going back to their home-land, but how could they evade the burden of debt on the one hand and find money to meet the expenses of journey on the other! So they remained stranded and waylaid by the contractors until the rainy season of 1953, when the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, then on a tour of the Bhil areas, came across a group of these lost souls in the woods—almost naked and half-starved people sojourning in the jungle in Kherwara Tehsil. A scheme was soon sanctioned by the Government of India for the rehabilitation of 100 Kathodia families in the first instance. As the scheme was initiated, the

vested interests came forward to nullify the good work undertaken and keep these unfortunate people where they were. Ultimately, however, sense prevailed and 89 families were settled on agricultural lands at Ambasidaiya in the extreme western corner of Udaipur district. In 1954-55, 60 more families were settled at Ambasa, 5 miles from the former settlement.

Under the scheme subsidies for the purchase of bullocks, seeds, agricultural implements and reclamation of land were given at the rate of Rs. 380 per family. Every family was allotted agricultural plots measuring 10 to 15 bighas free of charge. But even this was not enough. Agriculture was a novel adventure for these people who could take to it only gradually with the help and guidance of a whole-time Supervisor posted there for the purpose.

At Ambasidaiya a multi-purpose co-operative society has been formed of all the Kathodia families and another has been organised at Ambasa to look after the rehabilitation work and promote the trade of forest produce like *mahua*, *mahua seeds*, *gum*, *honey* and *dholi musli*, an indigenous herb used in medicines. A pucca school building dominates their fields where education is imparted to their children with agricultural bias. A part of the building is Panchayatghar, the place of their evening gossips and social education and community entertainment programmes.

From Katha-making and semi-slavery to agriculture and independence was a far cry for these people, who only four years ago, were driven from forest to forest like a flock of sheep. But the progress achieved so far has enabled the settlers at Ambasidaiya to dress themselves well although to their women the *odhani* (Sari), the blouse and the skirt seem apparently to be burdens imposed by the new order. Women in a few well-to-do families have come to possess silver ornaments too. The average income per individual family has so far gone up to Rs. 135 for Kharif and Rs. 162 for Rabi. The income from the forest produce may roughly be estimated at Rs. 170 per family per year.

However, the settlement of these 149 families in the two villages at a total expenditure of about Rs. 1,50,000 so far has solved the problem of their liberation and rehabilitation only partially for about 100 Kathodia families are still in the wilderness leading the same life of beasts of burden, exploited and starved by their employers.

HISTORIC BLAIR HOUSE WELCOMES WORLD LEADERS TO WASHINGTON

A dignified, yellow-stucco mansion, popularly known as Blair House, has since 1942 been placed at the disposal of official guests of the President of the United States. Among its famous occupants have been the present Queen of England when she was Princess Elizabeth, the King and Queen of Greece, the Emperor of Ethiopia, the Prime Minister of India, the Chancellor of Germany, the Crown Prince of Japan, the President of Turkey, a Premier of Burma, the President of Liberia, the President and the Premier of France, and the President of Korea.

Situated diagonally across from the White House, Blair House which is now known officially as the President's Guest House, fronts broad Pennsylvania Avenue which offers a quick route to the Capitol and other Government buildings, the various embassies, as well as many cultural and historic points of interest.

Drawing rooms, separated from a large panelled dining room by a central hall, stretch the full length of the first floor of Blair House. A spacious second floor library overlooks a formal garden in the rear of the house. On the third and fourth floors are sitting rooms and bedrooms.

The house is furnished with English, French and American antiques, tapestried chairs, long mirrors, Aubusson rugs, fourposter beds, crystal chandeliers. On the walls hang rare Currier and Ives prints, portraits, oil paintings and an autographed pencil drawing of Abraham Lincoln.

Fine china, glass and antique silver are used in the dining room. Food is prepared on the premises according to the special wishes of the guests.

For three years, from 1948 to 1951 while the White House was being reconstructed, President Harry S. Truman and his family lived at Blair House. In its dining room the President and his Cabinet held their regular weekly luncheon meetings, while the Berlin airlift, the launching of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the resistance to Communist aggression in Korea held the newspaper headlines.

The Blair House takes its name from a Washington family which at one period was referred to as "perhaps the most influential

family in the country." Originally built in 1824 by Dr. Joseph Lovell, the first Surgeon General of the U.S. Medical Corps, the house was purchased by Francis Preston Blair in 1836. Six years previously Mr. Blair was asked by President Andrew Jackson to come from the state of Kentucky to edit the *Washington Globe* as a means of winning support for Jackson's policies.

Mr. Blair was personally close to President Jackson, who often visited the Blair House. Over the years, Presidents Martin Van Buren, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and many other political leaders came to Blair House to consult with Mr. Blair on national policies.

From 1845 to 1852, Blair House was rented successively to the historian George Bancroft, while he was U.S. Secretary of the Navy, then to Secretary of the Navy John Y. Mason, Thomas Ewing, the first Secretary of the Interior, and Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury.

Montgomery Blair, son of Francis Preston Blair, moved back to Blair House in 1852. He played a prominent part in the formation of the Republican Party, at the first convention of which his father presided.

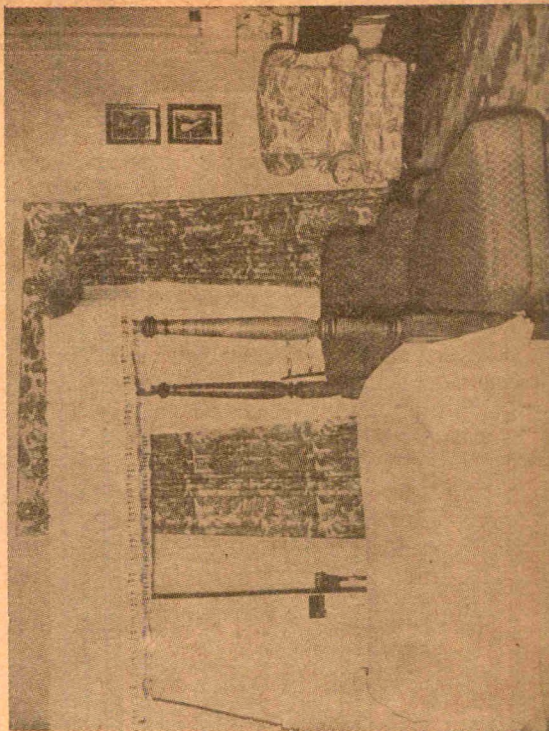
President Lincoln appointed Montgomery Blair his Postmaster General. He often walked across the street from the White House to visit the Blair House. In July, 1862, in a small room on the first floor of Blair House, Lincoln wrote the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation.

After the death of Montgomery Blair in 1883, the house was occupied by his son, Gist Blair, who lived there until his death in 1940. One of Gist Blair's great concerns was to keep the house and its furnishings intact as a family memorial.

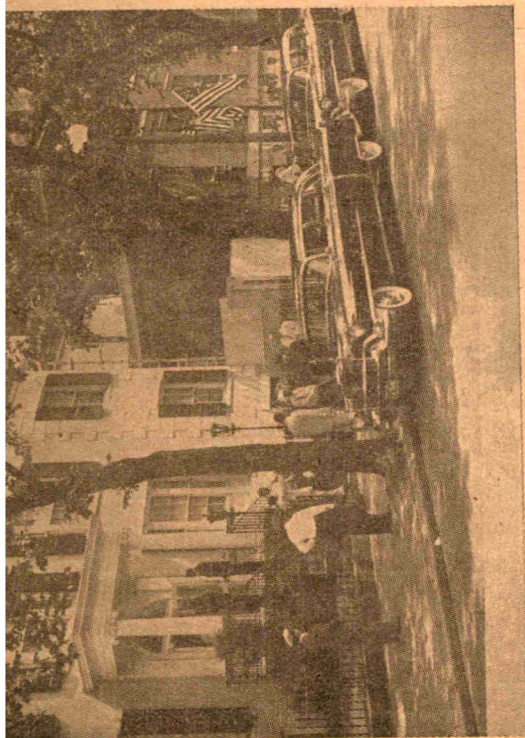
Under such conditions Blair House was purchased by the United States in October, 1942. Two years later the Government bought the adjoining Blair-Lee House which was built next door just before the Civil War for Elizabeth Blair Lee. The only daughter of Francis Preston Blair, she had married Samuel Phillips Lee, who became a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. A few years ago a passageway was made through the walls to connect both houses.—USIS



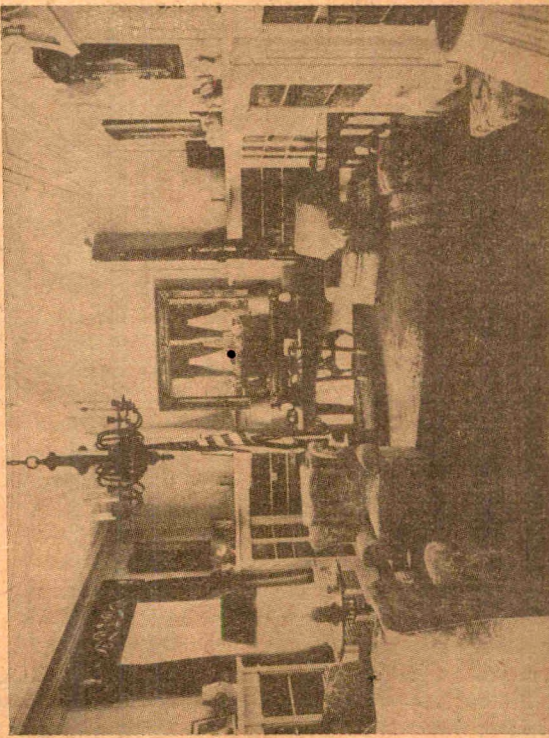
The Library of the Blair House



The President's room in the Blair House



Premier U Nu of Burma leaving Blair House



Mrs. Victoria Geaney who manages the affairs of the house
for the U. S. Government

A VISIT TO DARJEELING

By RABINDRANATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.Com.

THE hill-stations of the Himalayas have peculiar charms. The scenic beauty, the relative coldness of the place and the sportive feeling evoking the visitor's mind to climb up and down the hills are definitely exhilarating to body and mind. Darjeeling, aptly called 'the queen of the hills', is superb. The gorgeousness of Kanchanjangha covered all over her peaks with fleecy white snow is really a wonderful sight to look at. She has been alluring people particularly of the plains from time immemorial to stand by and gaze at her colourful grace and beauty making one to forget his earthly cares and anxieties for the time being. No pen can describe the wonderful display of colour on her peaks during sunrise and sunset.



Kanchanjangha from Rajbhavan

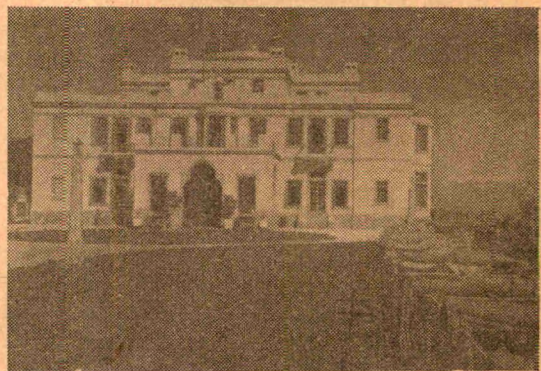
This realm of beauty has an interesting history behind it. Prior to 1835 it was in the territory of Bhutan. In the same year the then British ruler of India received it as a gift from the king of Bhutan when it was practically no man's land. Immediately it was attached to and came within the boundary of Bengal. Since then the hill tribes, viz., Gurkhas, Bhutias and Lepchas have been immigrating together with the Bengalis because of the economic advancement of the place. At present the majority of the population are Bengalis and Gurkhas, and the other hill tribes are gradually merging into Gurkha community. These people generally speak in Khaskura language which has affinity with that of Rajputana. Now-a-days the hill tribes are fast growing modern through education and the contact of world tourists.

Our sojourn was planned in proper time when the cold air of winter was fast fading away

with the advent of spring, the flora attiring with the cloak of new green leaves, the fauna setting out for breathing in the open air the rumbling streams rushing forth and the sky looking turquoise blue.

Visitors go to the hill-stations primarily for two objectives—respite and sporting purposes. We were in the latter group. The odd journey between Calcutta and Darjeeling did not embarrass us at all. It gave us varieties of enjoyment. From broad-gauge to steamer to meter-gauge and then to narrow gauge were full of fun. To leave one sort of conveyance with bag and baggage and to enter the other with an untiring spirit and energy was as exciting as anything could be.

The journey from Siliguri to Darjeeling by train captivated our mind. The rail-road of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is a unique engineering feat. The train goes sometimes straight, sometimes halts abruptly to turn back and then again moves up by which a considerable height is covered. The natural view of this place is always appreciated by the connoisseur of beauty. On the way, we saw Kurseong the second and the most important hill-station of this region. The population is remarkable. Educational institutions, markets and shops have come into existence through the growing need of the people. But it is more noted as a sanatorium.



Rajbhavan

Our party was composed of six young men. When we reached Darjeeling it was midday. The station is situated at the height of 6812 ft., above sea-level. At this time the weather of this place was similar to that of Calcutta in December.

What a difference of temperature was recorded in the thermometer between plains and the hills! While Calcutta was sweltering with tremendous heat, the people of Darjeeling were still using woollen garments and taking hot baths.



A Darjeeling School of repute

Towards Darjeeling, Ghoom is the highest point which is above 8000 ft., high. The train goes downward from here towards north making the entire picturesque Darjeeling visible. More conspicuous than this is the glamorous Kanchanjanga which seemed to us that she was situated at one end of the town but the distance was considerable. The natural vegetation of Darjeeling is worth seeing. Of these vegetations cinchona plays an important part for humanitarian purposes. Most of the quinine of the world is being manufactured and exported from this place. Besides plantations of good quality tea, fir, pines and other varieties of trees adorn the town and its surroundings in a pleasant setting.

Immediately after arriving at a hotel on Ladenla Road we chalked out a plan to visit the spots worth seeing. The most attractive place of the hill-station is the Mall. We pierced the heart of the town towards the Mall on foot. On both sides of the streets there were big and small shops dealing in varieties of goods. We reached the Mall within a quarter of an hour from our hotel. It was a square plot of land with well-planned position. On either side there were shops, the Tourists Information Office, the children's park and horses' stables. From the northern side of the Mall a narrow path went downhill. A few minutes' walk would lead one to a sacred place, sacred to all Indians especially to the Bengalis, "The Step Aside," where the immortal Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das breathed his last. Now it is a public hospital.

From the Mall we took recourse to riding which was very amusing. We rode to the Birch

Hill though a narrow zig-zag way. The top of the hill was well-decorated with nursery. There were deck chairs to sit on. The view of Kanchanjanga was very clear from this summit. On another peak stood the magnificent Raj Bhavan which a few years back was practically closed to the public. But now it is open to all. We had the opportunity of visiting the beautiful garden within the compound of the Raj Bhavan which we enjoyed fully. Below Raj Bhavan the Himalayan Mountaineering School has newly been started. Towards further north was Lebong, the site for military barracks and a race-course ground. On way back we halted at St. Joseph's School. It is an old institution with spacious compound. We met students. They hailed from different parts of the country. Their sense of discipline and courtesy gave us much pleasure. Next, we went down the hill where we found the 'Happy Valley' tea garden and the Botanical garden. 'Happy Valley' tea is said to be one of the best of its kind. We saw the process of manufacturing tea. In the Botanical garden we were astonished to see varieties of trees and orchids.



We met Mr. Norkay Tenzing

When we were about to arrive at our hotel a patch of cloud appeared and overcast the horizon. It gradually grew in density. Within a few minutes it began to drizzle and we got wet. This state continued for the whole day. The entire Darjeeling town was veiled with a white sheet of fog.

After two days there was an end of such weather and without losing further time we started for Kalimpong by a jeep car. Kalimpong is situated on the eastern range of Darjeeling and is 4000 ft., high. The distance by road is about 42 miles. It takes about six hours for the up and down journey. Though Kalimpong is easier to go from Siliguri yet we had heard the name of Darjeeling-Kalimpong road and

its thrilling journey. Visitors, it was reported, go to Kalimpong by this road to enjoy the panoramic sight. When our car was crawling from the steep mountain towards the bank of the roaring Teesta at the bottom of the two mountain ranges, amidst the bush of firs against the background of peaks touching the horizon, the silvery Teesta was seen beyond and varieties of flowery plants and tea gardens stretched in an unending procession. We were enraptured with the beauties of nature.



With the niece of Tenzing

Kalimpong is a small hilly town and noted for its business centre. It connects the Indian Union with countries in the heart of the Himalayas. People come from Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet with sheep, goats and wool to exchange for their daily necessities. We saw all the places of interest there, viz., nursing homes, cottage industry, churches and the market. We came back from Kalimpong the same afternoon.

Next day in the late hours of night we started for the Tiger Hill to see Mount Everest and sunrise against the silvery Kanchanjangha. When it was two hours yet to be dawn we boarded a jeep car. Our car was slowly getting up the hill with a roaring sound of its engine breaking the silence of the late hours of night. The search-light of other cars followed us. It was no doubt an adventurous trip. Our car stopped at 300 ft. below the highest point of our goal. We started on foot. It was severely cold and our leg was aching as we climbed. The path was very steep and required heavy physical strain. Though the top of the Tiger Hill had the provision of parking cars it was extremely risky to go there by car.

It was just a quarter to five when the eastern

horizon was coming into light from darkness. The sky was becoming beautifully pink and crimson. Then after various changes in colour, it reflected as dazzling silvery white against the snow peaks of Kanchanjangha. Mount Everest was very far from the Tiger Hill from which only the remote peak was seen amidst vapours rising from it. Leaving at 6-30 A.M. we went straight to another peak opposite to it. Between them at the bottom lay a wide space of land surrounded by hills on all sides where two water reservoirs were constructed. These are 'Senchal lakes'. Water is supplied to Darjeeling town from these lakes. To enter here permission was required. We secured it from the Municipal authorities. On our way back we halted at Rose Bank, the summer residence of Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. It looked similar to Raj Bhavan. From here the house of Mr. Tenzing was visible. We had already visited his house on several occasions to meet him but we were baffled. But fortune favoured us this time. Mr. Norkay Tenzing was at home. We were cordially welcomed by him and were delighted to learn from his lips about his famous and successful conquest



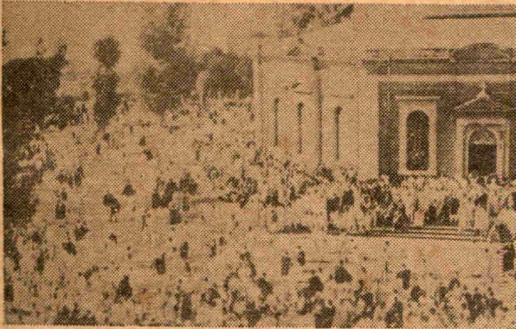
Towards Kalimpong

of the highest peak on earth, Mount Everest (29002 ft.). We also learnt that Tenzing was very busy with his mountaineering school and it was his aim to make it in no way inferior to that of any Swiss School on the Alps, the playground of Europe. He would try to remove the apathy of the Eastern world, particularly the people of the tropical and sub-tropical regions, towards mountaineering sports in spite of the fact that the world's largest and highest mountain was within their easy reach. We pray to God that his dream may come to fruition in the near future.

GLIMPSES OF ETHIOPIA

By ZAMIR HASAN KAZMI

INDO-ETHIOPIAN links date from antiquity. Friendly relations between India and Ethiopia can be traced as far back as the seventh century B.C., when there was a regular exchange of goods between the two countries. The old contacts were re-established during World War II when the gallant Indian soldiers helped their African brethren throw off the cruel fascist yoke.



The Church of St. George at Addis Ababa

Emperor Haile Sellasie's recent visit to this country has not only revived the sweet memories of the age-old ties but has also brought the two of the world's ancient countries much closer.

The word 'Abyssinia' by which the country was formerly known, is tabooed by the Ethiopians because it connotes 'mixed'. It is now officially called 'Ethiopia' after a Greek word meaning 'burnt face'.

Situated in the north-east Africa, Ethiopia is a high table-land with a delightful climate, dotted with snow-clad peaks and scored by deep chasms, a fringe of low-lying desert around and within it a miscellany of varied races and religions.

Ethiopia put together with Eritrea which was federated with it in 1952, covers an area of nearly 4,000,000 square miles and estimates of its population range from 15 to 20 million. Half of the population is Christian and the rest is either Muslim or Pagan.

The country has vast tracts of virgin soil, untapped deposits of mineral wealth and abundant supply of water.

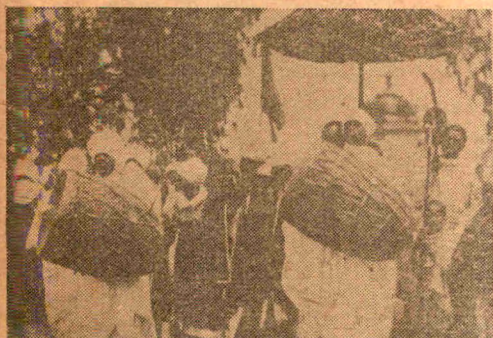
Ethiopia's beautiful hills, smiling dales, magnificent lakes and numerous rivers, green fields and thick forests, fauna and fascinating ancient buildings make it a paradise for curious tourists.

Ethiopian history goes back to three thousand years. A popular Ethiopian legend has it that the fame of wisdom and the miraculous healing power possessed by King Solomon of Palestine reached the ears of the celebrated Queen of Sheba who suffered from a mysterious disease; and she went all the way to Jerusalem to see if Hakim Solomon could help her. The legend goes that the royal meeting united both the sovereigns in a life-long partnership and the child—Menelik I—who was born to them, ascended the throne of Ethiopia in 930 B.C.; and all the Ethiopian monarchs are the descendants of that illustrious potentate.



Learned and enlightened, Emperor Haile Sellasie—the name means 'Power of Trinity'—commands great respect among his people. Besides Amharic, the official language of his multi-lingual kingdom, the King speaks English and French fluently. Despite his apparently weak physique and advancing age, he works most of the day and much of the night to bring his primitive country into step with the modern world.

A firm believer in the democratic system of Government, Emperor Haile Sellasie granted a Constitution to his subjects just after his Coronation in 1930 and revised it in November, 1955 delegating greater prerogatives to his people through their elected representatives. He has established a net-work of schools and colleges throughout the country, has sent pick of the flowering youth abroad for training and is struggling against the unprogressive feudal-lords to develop the enormous reserves of the sub-soil wealth of his domain.



A Christian procession in Addis Ababa accompanied by throbbing drums, bells and brass-sistra

In short, Haile Sellasie is a completely devoted patriot who is gradually and steadfastly directing his backward people towards progressive enlightenment.

Ethiopia has in the past been a victim of Italian imperialism. Italian aggression on the country goes back to the last century when encouraged by their successes in Eritrea and Somaliland, the Italians invaded the vast Ethiopian hinterland in 1896 but in the battle that was fought at Adua, Emperor Menelik II repulsed the aggressors with frightful slaughter.

Ethiopians continued to enjoy freedom unchallenged till October, 1935 when a minor border clash at Mal-Mal, a water-station in the desert gave the much-desired opportunity to Mussolini to march his fascist troops into the country with modern arms, aeroplanes and gases. The freedom-loving and fearless Ethiopians put up a heroic resistance with whatever arms they had but were subjugated with the utmost barbarity.

Undaunted by this forcible occupation of their country, the Ethiopian patriots continued to wage a relentless guerilla war against the enemy until in 1941, the intruders were finally overthrown with the help of the British and the Indian troops. The enthusiasm and courage with which the Indian soldiers fought to liberate their oppressed brethren

won for them the eternal love and veneration of the Ethiopian people.

Religion plays a major part in the life of the Christian population which follows the Coptic Church, an ancient branch of Christianity. Accompanied by melodious tolling of bells, chanting of rituals and dancing by the priests to the cadence of cymbals, drums and brass-sistra, the weekly church service lasts throughout the night and has much in common with the religious rites performed by the Jews during the days of King Solomon.

Except for the criminal cases which are decided by the official courts, the litigants generally approach a third person and request him to act as a judge in their dispute. The parties plead their cases before the judge thus chosen and abide by his decision.

Amidst much merry-making and prolonged feasting, the marriage ceremonies are performed both according to the religious rites and the ancient customs of the land. In case of divorce, the chattels pooled at the marriage are equally divided among the divorced couples, and their children below the age of three remain with their mothers.



Ethiopian priests dancing in front of a church

Surrounded and punctuated by the fragrant and fast-growing Eucalyptus trees, Addis Ababa, the capital of the country sprawls over many hills and reminds one of the topography of ancient Rome. Two rivers run through the hill-girt city which houses about a quarter million people. Constructed on the summit of a hill are the Imperial Palace, the Audience-Hall and the Parliament building while another hill is crowned by the Church of St. George which was built in commemoration of the great victory at Adua.

With modern buildings rapidly replacing the age-old tukols or the round huts and its market

flooded with the European and American goods, the Ethiopian metropolis appears to be well on the road to westernization. 50-mile-long French owned railway line—the only one in the country—connects Addis Ababa with Jibuti, the headquarters of the French Somaliland on the Gulf of Aden. The capital is also linked up with the Eritrean Red-Sea ports and other provincial headquarters by motorable roads.



Ethiopian peasants enjoying hubble-bubble (*hukka*) outside a hut.

Centuries of history and legend surround the ancient city of Axum lying far away in the northwest. Glories of country's past are enshrined in this great old town where all the Ethiopian rulers—right from the founder of the dynasty down to the present monarch—have been crowned. The proposed excavation of the archaeological treasures of Axum will unravel many a mystery which shroud the history of Ethiopia.



Two women with water-jars on their heads and other necessities of life on their backs, passing through a rye-field.

Among other notable towns are Harar, the picturesque capital at the province of the same name and the religious centre of the Ethiopian Muslims; Goudar, once the capital of the kingdom where stand the ruins of some of the fine

buildings erected by the Portuguese architects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Lalibela which is known as the 'Jerusalem of Ethiopia,' is famous for its wonderful churches hewn out of the rocks in the twelfth century; and Asmara, the decently built capital of Eritrea.

Coffee, a popular beverage, is by far the most profitable export of the country. Originally grown in Kafa, a province in southern Ethiopia



King Haile Sellasie

whence it derives its name, Coffee is now extensively cultivated in the fertile province of Harar, the 'Garden of Ethiopia.'



Curly-haired Ethiopian women weaving baskets. Basket-weaving is one of the most important and popular cottage industries of Ethiopia.

Among agricultural produce are *teff* (a kind of millet used for bread-making), barley, maize, wheat, pepper and cotton. Agriculture is still carried on mainly by primitive methods but sufficient crops are grown to provide for home consumption.

Manufacture is confined to home-made cotton cloth, with finer woven fabrics and coarsely decorated leather. Basket-weaving is popular among the women and is an important cottage industry.

The vast salt-works are at Massua, the main port of the former Italian Colony of Eritrea. There the sea-water is led into the pans or the

basins formed by the dykes and the intense heat of the Eritrean Coast quickly dries up the brine leaving deposits of crystallised salt.

Salt-making is the chief industry of the country.

Despite the lack of funds and technical skill which stand in the way of Emperor Haile Sellasie's plan for the rapid development of the rich agricultural and mineral resources of his country and for harnessing its limited water power, Ethiopia has, since the end of World War II, made a remarkable progress all round under His Majesty's benevolent and enlightened rule.

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DR. TARAKNATH DAS

By LEON SINDER

DR. TARAKNATH DAS, whose work has been justly acclaimed and whose lifetime efforts for Indian independence are so well known to all the readers of *The Modern Review*, as they are to most Indians, suffered a heart attack in New York City. The same heart that bled and fought for India's freedom now fought for Dr. Das's life and, we are happy to report, has succeeded in winning the fight. Although Dr. Das is now on the road to recovery, the fight to foster greater friendship between India and the West, based upon greater knowledge and understanding, has suffered the blow of his illness with him. Dr. Das has to cancel two courses he was planning to give at the University of Hawaii this summer on India and World Politics, and Indian Civilization and Culture, as well as the opening lecture of a series of public lectures on the Middle East and World Peace.

A series of public lectures that were to be held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Iowa and

Chicago on India and the Current International Relations that would have attracted large audiences as is usual with Dr. Das, were also cancelled. The students at the University of Hawaii, India and the Americans fortunate enough to attend these lectures, all will be a bit poorer by this unfortunate illness. In a world so beset by so many troubles, the strong, sane and wise voice of understanding, as personified by a Taraknath Das, is sorely missed even for a little while. So we all say, in India and in America, get well soon . . . you are needed now as much as when you were in the forefront of India's and Asia's fight for freedom and dignity.*

* June 15, 1957.—Today was his 73rd birthday, and it was celebrated quietly by his niece Nilima Das in the Fifth Avenue Flower Hospital of New York with one 'mango'—the symbol of success in India—and a symbol of India.



OPIMUM PROHIBITION IN WEST BENGAL

By B. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., LL.B., D.J.

Two views, diametrically opposed to each other, long held the field in the matter of Opium prohibition in India. The official view of the British Government was embodied in the famous Despatch of Lord Hardinge in 1911 stating that "the prohibition of Opium-eating in India, we regard as impossible, and any attempt at it is fraught with the most serious consequences to the people and the Government." The All-India Congress Committee resolution in 1924, on the other hand, called for a total prohibition of opium consumption, and was typical of the public opinion in this country.

A system of rationing in opium has been in force in West Bengal for the last four years. Two lakhs of registered opium-eaters were each given a ration-card with quotas which have been subjected to progressive reduction from year to year. In the next few months, however, all this will go, and opium will be totally prohibited throughout the State. A few States have already given a lead in the matter. The target-date for West Bengal and a few other States is 31st March, 1958. The remaining States will follow suit in course of another year. This does not, of course, mean that India will have nothing to do with opium any more. The cultivation of poppy, the source of opium, will in fact, continue on a controlled scale in order to feed the Central Opium Factories at Ghazipur and Neemuch. Opium, thus produced, will be partly used for medicinal and scientific purposes leaving the rest for the manufacture of opium alkaloids which has a ready market at home and abroad.

Thanks to the insistent public opinion in the country as also to the international criticism of the Indian policy, the deleterious effects of opium have at last been recognized. The story of its use is long and interesting. We have the authority of Abul Fazl's "Institutes of Akbar" to tell us that the use of opium for infants was common in Malwa as far back as the 16th century. The activities of the British Society for the suppression of the opium trade resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1893 to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the production and the sale of

Indian opium. It was a time when opium was freely administered to children by their mothers in many parts of India. This was sometimes done to prevent diarrhoea and other infantile ailments or to correct certain properties in the milk, but mostly to lull the children to sleep so that the mothers could pursue their duties at home or in the fields undisturbed. The adults used the drug widely as a stimulant or in the popular belief of its medicinal value. Cases of opium-smoking and the use of decoction were not unknown. Yet the Commission concluded that "the obstacles, administrative, financial, and political, to a system of prohibition appear to us to be at present insurmountable." The chief obstacle to the enforcement of prohibition, it pointed out, was the disposition of the people of India, "a matter on which we are specially required to report by the Order of Reference." Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P., in his minute of dissent to the report of the Commission, however, stated that the "Minutes of evidence contain a large body of testimony showing that prohibition or restriction would be approved by the mass of the people in many parts of India. More than a hundred witnesses (three-fourths of whom are natives of India) were in favour of prohibition in addition to a number of others who desired some form of restriction short of prohibition."

The findings of the Royal Commission were a guide to the British Opium policy in India throughout. This policy was backed by medical and expert advice, and the readers may be interested to know how even the doctors differed in their approach. Sir Charles Macwatt, Director-General, Indian Medical Service (in 1925), described "Opium as one of the greatest blessings to India, far more than can be realised by residents in Western countries I myself when I travel, as well as at home, always keep for personal use, as necessary, a certain amount of some preparation of opium; and I should feel very much if I were not a medical man and could not obtain it." But even Sir Charles could not but say that "its abuse may be one of the greatest curses." The risk of laymen

administering opium doses to themselves cannot be over-emphasized.

The twenties of the present century saw the formation of public opinion against the Government's Opium policy. A series of articles by Mr. Kodanda Rao appeared in the *Servant of India*. The Indian National Congress authorized Rev. C. F. Andrews to make an unofficial enquiry into the question of Indian opium with special reference to Assam. The International Opium Conference, held about this time, received a petition from India demanding worldwide restriction of the traffic in narcotic drugs to the needs of medicine and science. The petition was signed, among others, by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Needless to say, the production of opium was grossly in excess of the medical or scientific needs of the country, and it was an imperative necessity then, no less than it is now, to abolish opium traffic for purposes of revenue, thereby ensuring the moral well-being of the people.

The association with the example of other addicts is the usual cause of taking to opium. Disease came next as a cause of addiction. Referring to the national leaders' demand for immediate prohibition, Mr. H. C. Alexander, the author of the book, *Narcotics in India and South Asia*, rightly observed:

"The official already quoted and some other Europeans I met declare that this would mean the death of thousands of addicts. This seems incredible. I spoke to a prison medical officer, who told me that many opium-addicts go to prison, and he never allows them any opium there; in many years' experience, he had only once thought it wise to give a dose for two or three days. For the first few days, he said, the addicts feel very miserable and think that they will die; they continue in a mad state for about a month; after three months, without opium, they are entirely new men, robust and strong, hardly recognisable even by their own wives. Testimony to the same effect was given before the Jubbulpore Opium Enquiry Committee; only five per cent of the opium-addicts who go to prison require the drug, and even they are broken of the habit within a fortnight. Col. R. N. Chopra's account of withdrawal symptoms is almost to the same effect. The essential

thing is that a man should know that his source of supply is cut off. Then he will soon get rid of the craving."

A resolution to purge the country of "this terrible social, economic, and moral evil," moved by no less a person than Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary in the Council of State in 1925, was rejected by the Government. At last, in 1947, the Government of India bowed to the international opinion and the wishes of the people in the country, and declared as their policy "the prohibition of Opium production except for medical and scientific use." The All-India Opium Conference, 1949, recommended that within a maximum period of ten years, the use of opium for other than scientific and medical purposes should be totally prohibited. A progressive annual ten per cent cut in production and internal supplies came into force during the financial year 1949-50. We are now well on the way to achieve Opium prohibition in this country. The example of China is before us. A drastic action by the Government, it is said, rid that country of the widespread evil of opium. We, in this country, have been following a gradual programme in this matter and have every reason to expect an abiding success. The All-India Narcotics Board has been doing useful work in this connection. The Government considers sympathetically every case of acute hardship to the opium-addicts so far as its means permit. A scheme of hospitalization is under preparation and is designed to treat the obstinate cases of addiction.

The baneful drug will soon be a thing of the past. With increased medical facilities in the country, the quasi-medical uses of opium constitute a threat to the national health. The production of the drug will be strictly limited to the requirements of science and medicine, and all the available resources will be utilized to manufacture opium-alkaloids under the supervision of the Government of India. This newly-started industry has a bright future and is bound to give a fillip to India's exports for earning dollars. Opium, the killer, will, thus, undergo a sea-change in its role and turn into a blessing to the country. The field of constructive activities has known many a silent and far-reaching achievement. The Opium prohibition is surely a significant step in that direction.

RELIGIOSITY OF OMAR KHAIIYAM

BY PROF. DR. MOHAMMAD YASIN, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
And Wilderness is Paradise enow.

—KHAIIYAM

OMAR Khaiyam needs no introduction. Born at Naishapur in Khorasan in the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era, and dead within the first quarter of the twelfth, Omar has been raised to the pinnacle of prominence and popularity from the limbo of oblivion in which he had otherwise been destined to live. Today, Khaiyam's adherents hail from all over the world disregarding the barriers of race and religion. He is worshipped as an apostle who preached the gospel of "eat, drink and be merry"—a doctrine having the charms of its own, and most practical in many ways.

Khaiyam's outlook of life and the world has been a matter of great controversy and speculation. Zealots of various schools of philosophy and religion try to snatch away Khaiyam within their fold. Some believe him to be a mystic of high order. Others regard him to be a man of religion. There are also others who condemn Omar Khaiyam as the most sensuous of men, having nothing to do with religion or philosophy satisfying his lust with women and wine. Cold critics hold that Khaiyam offers nothing categorically. He was a poet, pure and simple, and in his flights of poetic imagination wrote what he felt and perceived at different times and in varying circumstances. He has no cut-and-dried system of thought whatsoever. But a dispassionate study of Khaiyam based on his *Rubaiyat* reveals the man and his philosophy.

The venom poured by Khaiyam on the instability of the world and its passing glory, the emphasis on the Present, the homage paid to wine, the all-wise, and a disregard for worldly pursuits owes its gradual hardness as Khaiyam moves on and on to expound a philosophy of life, characteristic of himself.

Khaiyam teaches that a man must care for the Present as he thinks it fruitless to brood over the dead Past which is not to return. The Future is unforeseen, and no one could foretell what is to come. Far-sighted and sagacious persons may ridicule it as unwise, but Khaiyam knows that the element of accident plays the determining role in a man's life. Time at one's disposal is very short; hence he hastens to make the best of it:

Ah, fill the Cup:—what boots it to repeat
How Time is slipping underneath our
Feet:

Unborn Tomorrow, and dead Yesterday,
Why fret about them if Today be sweet!

One Moment in Annihilation's Waste.
One Movement, of the Well of Life to
taste—

The Stars are setting and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make
haste!

Notwithstanding the outward profession of profligacy and frivolity there is a deep and touching strain of sobriety in Khaiyam, the man and the philosopher. Khaiyam is not inconsistent, neither does he indulge in hasty generalisations. He ponders over the matter, argues, and then comes to a conclusion—a creed for himself, an article of faith for his admirers, almost sacred like any book of religion.

THE POEMS OF SOROJINI NAIDU

By SATYA GANGOPADHYAYA

PROMENADING through the streets of the sprawling city of Hyderabad, one suddenly comes across a quiet walled bungalow with bushy tall trees casting shadow on the entrance, where a marble plate announces its name "The Golden Threshold." A furtive look inside discovers a cosy swing in the verandah and some lonely bird croons in some corner. Here lived Sm. Sorojini Naidu, the nightingale of India. *The Golden Threshold* is the name of her favourite book of poems.

Altogether she wrote three books of poems—*The Broken Wing*, *The Bird of Time* and *The Golden Threshold*. Most of the poems were written at a comparatively tender age when she was in England for study. Her poetry is said to have sprung from Mathematics, but it does not smack of the latter's abstruseness. She acquired surprising mastery over the English language even at that age. Even a casual study of her poems convinces about her large stock of words and their sensitive application. It is no wonder that she later grew to be one of the best orators in English in this country.

Love has always inspired the best and the majority of the world's literary works. Sm. Naidu is no exception; her love-poems outnumber all others. Sometimes their sincerity and her romantic approach to love reminds one of the romantic poets of England. Here is one instance:

Forgive me the sin of mine eyes,
O Love, if they dared for a space
Invade the dear shrine of your face
With eager, insistent delight,
Like wild birds intrepid of flight
That raid the high sanctuaried skies—
O pardon the sin of mine eyes!
(*The Sins of Love*)

Or we may quote the first stanza of her poem entitled "Devotion":

Take my flesh to feed your dogs if
you choose,
Water your garden trees with my blood
if you will,

Turn my heart into ashes, my dream
into dust,
Am I not yours, O Love, to cherish
or kill?

And in her love-poems what surprises is a strain of melancholia, a sigh for unfrilled desire and for absence of reciprocation. Such attitude is born of wide experience which is not expected in a young poet. In "Caprice," she compares her heart and soul with a ravished flower and an emptied wine-cup, flung away:

You held a wild flower in your finger tips,
Idly you pressed it to indifferent lips,
Idly tore its crimson leaves apart,
Alas! it was my heart.
You held a wine-cup in your finger-tips,
Lightly you raised it to indifferent lips,
Lightly you drank and flung away the bowl,

Alas it was my soul.

Or, in "Destiny," the unfaithfulness of man and the consequent suffering of the woman are described in these touching lines:

Love came, with his ivory flute,
His pleading eye, and winged foot.
"I am weary," he murmured, "O let
me rest
In the sheltering joy of your fragrant
breast."

At dawn he fled and he left no token....
Who cares if a woman's heart be broken?

This tone of frustration in love dominates her poems. The reader hardly comes across one which gives expression to the joy of love and life.

The most dynamic feminine personality among the freedom-fighters of later days could be traced in poet Sorojini as well. Apart from writing poems on the yearning for freedom and for the rejuvenation of the motherland such as

"To India," "The Gift of India" "Memorial Verses," "An Anthem of Love," etc., she also associated such personalities as M. A. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi and Gokhale with her verses. Referring to her book *The Broken Wing*, Gokhale had asked: "Why should a song-bird like you have a broken wing?", and she replied in a verse. One poem, entitled "Awake" and dedicated to M. A. Jinnah, was recited at the India-National Congress, 1915. Of course, qualitatively these poems do not deserve much attention.

Through some poems vibrates the heart of a loving mother. Her son Dr. Jayasurya, ex-M.P., and daughters, Sm. Padmaja, Governor of West Bengal and Sm. Lilamani are well-known today. Her other son Ranadhera died prematurely. She has dedicated some of her poems to them. She wished Sri Jayasurya, whom she affectionately called "Golden Sun of Victory, born in my life's unclouded morn, in my lambent sky a love," to be the sun of song and liberty. Her poem on Sm. Padmaja runs thus:

Lotus maiden, you who claim
All the sweetness of your name,
Lakshmi, fortune's queen, defend you,
Lotus-born like you, and send you
Balmy moons of love to bless you,
Gentle joy-winds to caress you.
Lotus-maiden, may you be
Fragrant of all ecstasy.

And for "Limpid Jewel of Delight," "Living Jewel" youngest Sm. Lilamani, she wished that she would be 'securely set in love's magic coronet' and be 'laughter-bound and sorrow-free.' Some other poems such as "The Queen's Rival," or "The Cradle Song" are also projections of her loving heart. In the former, Gulnar, queen of Persia, ill at ease, could find her rival in her own baby only and not in the seven most beautiful brides brought for the king, who

'. . . Shone round her ivory bed
Like seven soft gems on a silken thread?"

In 'Cradle Song' and 'Slumber Song for Sunalin,' the rhythm of swinging and the beat of the lullaby can almost be felt:

From groves of spice,
O'er fields of rice,

Athwart the lotus-stream,
I bring for you
Aglint with dew
A little lovely dream.

When I visited Hyderabad, the swing in her verandah, referred to in the opening paragraph of this article, which must have been used by Sm. Naidu in her respite, instantaneously reminded me of these poems.

The cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad have grown like twin sisters. Sparsely populated, they have the Charminar, the Hussain Sagar Lake, the Victoria Garden, etc., as the places of interest. The hill-stream Musi passes through Hyderabad and is spanned by about half a dozen bridges, some of which look attractive at night. The ancient fort of Golkunda is not far away. All these had a strange fascination for Sm. Naidu. She composed several poems on the city she loved so dearly. Some such poems are "Nightfall in the City of Hyderabad," "The Royal Tombs of Golkunda," "Songs of my City," "The Hussain Sagar," etc. Her father Dr. Aghorenath Chattopadhyay who was the Principal of the Nizam College of Hyderabad was widely respected. His young talented daughter also therefore had access to the court. One ode written by her, was presented to H.H. the Nizam at a Ramzan Durbar. Another poem she dedicated to Her Highness the Begum of Janjira, with whom she developed intimacy.

Hyderabad was the centre of Muslim life and culture in the Deccan. Sm. Naidu was brought up in its air and she learnt to like and respect it. This is manifest in many poems composed by her. In the "Call to Evening Prayer," she pays her tribute to Islam in the following lines.

Allah ho Akbar! Allah ho Akbar!
From mosque and minar the muezzins
are calling,
Pour forth your praise, O chosen of
Islam.
Swiftly the shadows of sunset are falling;
Allah ho Akbar! Allah ho Akbar!

In "The Old Woman," her sympathy for the old Muslim woman sweals in the following lines:

GENEVA STORY

By NRIPENDRANATH GHOSH

THE UNO building in Geneva stood like a flower-bedecked white elephant. Sunshine added indescribable grandeur to it. Inside, delegates of all nations were discussing something less romantic,—hydrogen bomb to be exact. Oddly enough a canopy of secrecy shrouded the entire proceedings. Pressmen were not allowed to know exactly what they discussed except that (radiation from explosions adversely affects not only those alive but also those in mothers' wombs.)

How to make such an evil weapon is no more a secret than the making of my portable Corona. But the subject of its effect of radiation is!

The chief of the press department is a good-hearted fellow with a great deal of respect for power. He gave me one look and at once saw that I was neither powerful nor connected—even remotely—with anything like it. His two lady secretaries were politely rude. They don't tell you to get out. They make you wait, wait and wait and upset your whole day's programme. But I bear no ill-feeling towards them. The chief or his secretaries are no exception.

It was 18th April. The night before I heard on the Radio about the new Indian Cabinet. But due to my shaky knowledge of German I missed the bit about the Ministry of External Affairs. I was relieved to see in the *Manchester Guardian* that 'he' after all did not get that post. As our new Minister of Defence he will not be our mouthpiece in the United Nations. Secondly, foreign diplomats will not be offended by aggressive mannerisms just because they happen to be white. His London apparatus will be deprived of his occasional *abirhaba* during which it made brisk political business.

This news certainly compensated for the sadness caused by the secrecy of the Conference. Our mental peace restored, three of us—a German, an Italian and myself—climbed on a car and left Geneva.

Geneva—and Switzerland as a whole—is more of a state of mind than a place. Dethroned and reigning monarchs, exiled leaders and official delegates, tourists rich and not so rich, spies, interpolate agents, consuls and press re-

porters are its permanent features. Lenin lived here for years.

What I shall remember most about this town is a little yellow building in Rue Neckar behind the Catholic Church near the Station. Three of its rooms house the international HQs of the I.L.M., short for the International Labour Movement. It is active throughout Western Europe. It organises schools, film shows, libraries, maternity clinics, excursions and discussions with world-famous men of art and science for the workers and peasants of the region. With the help of Swiss Government and the UNO it helped rehabilitate 11,000 Hungarian refugees* in Switzerland which is half the size of West Bengal. Madame Ban, the secretary, told me point-blank, "Yes, we are prepared to extend such aid to the Asian countries provided there is a centralised body to use it." I had no answer to this offer—so sudden, so generous and so unconditional.

Our car sped along the mountainous road to Lugano. Each of us took a turn at the wheel. For we were, averaging 80 kilometers an hour. Silence enveloped the countryside. The only sound was the continuous humming noise of our German Ford engine. Other cars whizzed by almost at regular intervals. The whole atmosphere made us feel as if we were in the outer space. It takes one's mind off the road and causes sleepiness. That is the danger. Many a driver fall prey to this altitudinal magic, forget the hair-pin curve ahead of him and drive straight into the space—into his coffin. We slowed down our conversation but just about kept it up so as to make the driver feel that he had company. Meanwhile, we have covered a lot of Swiss territory as well as politics.

Swiss history has not been profaned by St. Bartholomew, York, or any form of inquisition. Her society is not polluted by any form of political leprosy. Hitler tried to provoke separatism among its German minority with the ultimate objective of parcelling out the country among Germany, France and Italy. He found no support whatsoever. The country has four official languages; The fourth one called Romansh is spoken by 50,000 people in the can-

* 38,957 are still left in Austria.

ton of Graubuenden. The people are not only confident and sober but contaminate the visitors with these virtues. Hence all nations come here to reach understanding and make peace. This land is a God-cum-man-made device to absorb the excitement of the contending powers. It is the highest country in Europe and a natural fortress except for the gap at Basle which has been recently fortified.

Everything in Switzerland looked good. So good that the whole air had a touch of unreality. Flags, flowers, festoons and sunshine whichever way you looked. Roads were spotlessly clean and so were the cars rolling on it. Every one wore clean suits. Very few have dared to travel in Switzerland in the type of clothes that I was wearing.

No one can discuss world politics without mentioning Geneva, Locarno, Lausanne and Montreaux. Although situated in Switzerland they have nothing to do with it. The Swiss hope is that some day, their country will form a part of a belt of neutral states composed of Finland, Sweden, Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia.

Women do not vote. Recently, in a nationwide referendum the women denied themselves of the right. I have questioned quite a few women of different social status on this issue (although there is little difference of status in practice). They had a 'Swiss' answer. "Politics is complicated enough without us adding fresh complications to it. We are more useful at home."

Swiss are not the herrenvolks. But their politics at the dirtiest level is cleaner than ours or that of any other nation at the cleanest. There has never been a political scandal or any casualty in any election campaign. People are literate but they never jaw about politics which occupies the back page of the newspapers. Social Democrats are the strongest as a party but they do not command majority in the Federal Assembly because of an alliance between the Conservative and Liberal parties.

Statistics show that an average of 2,950 people migrate abroad, mostly to the United States. Migration to U.S.A. is one of the pillars of national economies of the West European countries.

| Country | Population | Annual average migration |
|---------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Britain | 5 crores | 117,362 (1920-1947) |
| Germany | 8 crores | 35,798 (1920-1939) |
| Sweden | $\frac{1}{2}$ crore | 6,724 (1918-1947) |

These immigrants—physically fit and technically skilled—pay their own passage to the States. So the latter increase every year its number of technicians without spending a penny.

Most of our boys who come here in the private capacity are for the time being lost to our slowly expanding industry, if not for a considerable number of years, unless of course, they have good connections at home. I personally happen to know nearly a dozen of them scattered in Zurich, Stuttgart, Essen, Glasgow, London and places like that. Once they used to say, "There must be somebody in India who would want us". Now they talk differently. "Who the hell want us, anyway".

In the countries of middle Europe, Indian students and those from the Middle East can take bath everyday or even twice a day if they like and the 'hausfrau' will think nothing of it. If they feel lonely they could go to any cafe and do their homework over one single cup of coffee, and good coffee too. No sloppy waitress will turn them out. They do not go to bed worrying about tomorrow's humiliation either in their digs or in the factories where they are training. The absence of the constant irritant keeps them mentally healthy. They sleep better, eat better, work harder, learn better and behave more naturally than those trained in U.K. Their outlook is based on contact with different sorts of people, newspapers, Radio and Television programmes and cinema newsreels. There was a complete black-out in U.K. of our Prime Minister's visits in Moscow, Riyadh and Washington. It was not so on the Continent.

My visa allows me to stay in Switzerland for two more months, my railway-steamer ticket for one more week and my pocket less than a week. So, I took the train to Paris. My verdict—if I am entitled to one—is: No human energy is wasted in Switzerland. Nobody is neglected. If human right, honour and dignity are the criteria of democracy, then Switzerland is the greatest democracy on earth.

A SHEAF OF ART-BOOKS

A Review

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

It is a subject of stock complaint among artists and art-lovers in India that the years of Independence have not seen any quickened and live interest in the visual arts on the part of educated Indians whose enthusiasm in other forms of Art, such as Literature, Music, and Dancing, has progressed in geometrical progression. There are three ways through which public interest in pictorial art progresses in other countries: through illustrated lectures on the Fine Arts organized by the Art Museums; through temporary and permanent exhibitions of Art; and through Art-books. In Calcutta, hardly more than four illustrated lectures on Fine Art are delivered at the Indian Museum in the course of a year. The records of other cities are no more creditable. It must be conceded that in Calcutta, as in other cities, a fashion, a very healthy fashion, has grown up to have numerous temporary exhibitions of pictures, sculptures, and art-crafts throughout the year, though they seldom gather any respectable crowds of visitors and generally our educated brethren neglect or ignore them. There remains the third medium to stimulate interest in the Fine Arts—the medium of popularising them through the publications of illustrated books on Art. Here the Indian record is very poor and disappointing. There are practically no readers of books on Art. And publishers cannot take the risk of publishing even cheap books on Art, which are more or less expensive ventures, as, even the addition of coarse-grain cheap half-tone blocks is a formidable item of expense on the growing items of costs of paper and printing. India has not therefore been able to develop any manner of tradition in the publication of illustrated books on Art, for the simple reason that there is no manner of demands for this class of publications. We are tempted to refer to the achievements of the British Press in this branch of publishing enterprise. Apart from the expensive Art-books, published by the Oxford, Cambridge, and London Universities (which include many items on Indian Art), at least a dozen private publishers have for more than half a century stimulated public interest in Art by publishing attractive books on Art at popular

prices. The well-known houses of Murray, Methuen, Duckworth, Unwin, and Bell, to name only a few, have to their credits publications of Art-books, of which any nation could be proud. We will only refer to the series of Art-books published by George Bell & Sons from the beginning of the century. The *British Artist Series* (Large post—8vo, in special bindings, with 90 to 100 illustrations, priced at 7s. 6d. or roughly Rs. 5 each); *Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture* (post 8vo., with 40 illustrations and photogravure frontispiece at 5s. or Rs. 3-12 each); Bell's *Handbooks of the Great Craftsmen* (Imperial 16-mo, profusely illustrated, and priced at 5s. each); Bell's *Cathedral Series* (covering all the architectural monuments, profusely illustrated and priced at 1s. 6d. each); and, lastly, a remarkable series called Bell's *Miniature Series of Painters* (with 8 illustrations each, priced at a shilling each). This creditable record has been recently beaten by the Pelican books with several art-books with collotype illustrations, priced at ten annas each. In recent times the English traditions of art-publication have been creditably upheld by the enterprising House of Faber, which has stimulated art-studies by a brilliant series of publications with magnificent colour-plates which cover not only several phases of European painting, but many charming schools of Indian pictorial art. In India, a valiant attempt has been made by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information to give the lead in the matter of art-publications, but, not with any notable success. On the other hand, some private enterprises led by the Saraswatee Press, Calcutta, and by A. Gossain, a venturesome publisher, have made a distinguished contribution by publishing a number of well-produced books on Indian sculpture deserving highest praise.

From the sheaf of new art-books now before us one likes to believe that we are at the beginning of a new era of book-production dealing with the rich traditions of Indian Art. The first one, *Textiles and Ornaments of India*, a charming product of the world-famous Museum of Modern Art, New York, is based on an Exhibi-

tion of Indian Textiles and Ornaments held at the New York Museum in 1955. The aim of this book is not only to delight the eye and enrich the American aesthetic experience, but to give recognition to the great craftsmen of India, whose achievements are perhaps more representative and symbolic of their nation as a whole than any in the world. A nation, which could produce such dreams of beauty in the medium of the prosaic art of weaving and of metal-ware, attained the highest summit of aesthetic sensibility which is a sure index of the spiritual stuff of their culture and civilization. Progress in modern India and the quality of our life must be judged by the standard achieved in our art-products in the mediaeval times, rather than by the much-advertised irrigation projects and factories for fertilizers. This brilliant tribute to India's national genius is richly illustrated by 110 excellent plates, several in colour, and by two erudite essays contributed by P. Jayakar and John Irwin. The album is published by Simon and Schuster, New York and priced at four dollars.

Our second volume, very neatly printed and produced by Kala-Kshetra, Madras, (priced at Rs. 9-8), is a collection of essays *On Art*, by Dr. Nanda Lal Bose, originally written in Bengali and lucidly translated by Kanai Samanta. The valuable discussion of many practical phases of the understanding of Art and its many problems will be of use not only to all young practitioners of the visual arts, but to the would-be connoisseurs unable to find their way through the complicated mazes of canons of Art and the conundrums of technique. As a rule, practical artists however masterly in their productions of Art, are generally unqualified in interpreting the fundamental principles of Art to a lay public and this tragic truism is very happily confessed by G. Pene Du Bois, an American artist, in the funny title of his book: *Artists Say the Silliest Things*. The book before us in its excellent and illuminating discussion of many problems of art is an eloquent testimony of the fact that there are some artists who can *paint* as well as *interpret* in a masterly manner not unworthy of a Ruskin, or a Pater. The book is illustrated by a number of demonstrative drawings and twelve fine half-tone blocks reproducing a number of European and Asiatic masterpieces.

Our third volume is a new edition of Dr. Coomaraswamy's little booklet, *Introduction to Indian Art*, published in 1923 by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, and long out of print, and very much in demand. It is the most succinct and able presentation of the general outline of Indian art and most suitable as a text-book for art students. The book has now been reprinted and ably edited and supplemented by Sri M. R. Anand, distinguished Editor of *Marg*, by the addition of two chapters on architecture under Mussulman rule and on Moghul painting. But the most valuable emendation to this excellent handbook is the number of well-chosen illustrations (one in colour) and several significant brush-drawings, which present the basic quality of Indian art in demonstrative analysis which will be of great use to students. One will be unwilling to accept at its face value Coomaraswamy's confession that 'prejudices had crept into his approach to Indian art problems at an earlier period,' which led him to omit any presentation of Moghul art, a 'solecism,' which still persists in his comprehensive *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927), where he stated that "space did not permit the treatment of Mussulman art in India." The real reason was that the two streams of fundamentally different expressions of art could not be adequately and harmoniously treated in one volume. As a matter of fact long before the publication of the *Introduction*, Coomaraswamy had given illuminating and original presentation of Moghul Art in various lectures and articles, which contradicts the theory of a so-called prejudice. His confession is, therefore, in the nature of a courteous apology. In attempting to supplement the omission by adding two missing chapters to Coomaraswamy's booklet, the distinguished editor has been guilty of a greater "crime" by omitting altogether any significant illustrations or presentation of Hindu and Buddhist Architecture, for which the Taj can offer no compensation. Few will agree with the Editor's charge that the modern artist's recovery of possession of their old heritage in the frescoes of Ajanta has been 'disastrous', as for instance, in the works of Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar and Khitin Mazumdar. (They are no more disastrous than the result of Jamini Roy's copying and repeating worn-out formulas of Bengal Pata Paint-

ings. Yet we have nothing but praise for this able and revised edition of an excellent handbook, richly presented and illustrated. Priced at Rs. 7-8, the book must be in every library in India.

Our fourth volume is the new and revised edition of Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), recently published by the well-known Bombay publishers, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. The first edition published many years ago was a great success and was acclaimed as an exhaustive survey of the subject. In the revised and enlarged edition just published (355 pages of text, with over 500 illustrations, priced at Rs. 25), several new chapters have been added with excellent illustrations and plans dealing with the Architecture of Nepal and Ceylon, with four illuminating chapters on the Architecture of Greater India (Cambodia, Siam, Chams, Java and Bali) which help us to visualize the brilliant extension of Indian Architecture in the Indian Colonies. The great merit of Brown's excellent presentation consists in the fact that after Havell this is the only treatise of Indian Architecture studied by an artist and art-teacher who had analysed the structure and principles of the

great schools of Building Art in India with a penetrating aesthetic insight missed by antiquarians and archaeologists. Yet the author has carefully studied all relevant archaeological data with great industry and patience. His study of this great topic is illuminated by a number of conjectural restorations and isochromatic drawings, which help the students to understand the underlying structural principles, designs, and facades, in a manner which only the trained vision of an artist could have given us. The only imperfection, if an imperfection it might be called, is the insufficient utilization of the data of the *Silpa-sastras*, so skilfully used by Stella Kramrisch in her *Hindu Temples*. This is compensated by an exhaustive glossary of architectural terms (nine pages) appended at the end. A word of warm tribute is due to the publishers for producing such a profusely illustrated volume at a popular price. Taraporevalas have established a new tradition in book-production in India, with several sumptuous publications to their credit. This book has added a new feather to their cap and will fully justify their claim that their firm is a rich "Treasure-House of Books."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

JAINISM IN BIHAR: By P. C. Roy Choudhury. With foreword by Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras. Patna, 1956. Pp. 110 and 16 plates. Price Rs. 5.

In this work the author has attempted (Preface, p. ii) to bring to light some important but unexplored Jaina sites and shrines in different districts of Bihar, to indicate certain areas rich in Jaina antiquities for the purpose of their future exploration and discovery of the

potential historical material. This claim is justified in so far as the author devotes his sixth and longest chapter to a detailed account of the Jaina antiquities in the Manbhum district some of which were left unvisited even by J. D. Beglar, the indefatigable Archaeological Assistant of General Sir Alexander Cunningham in the seventies and eighties of the last century and many of which are not even mentioned in the authoritative *List of Ancient Monuments in Chhota Nagpur Division*, published in 1896. In another short chapter (Ch. V), the author

has dealt with the Jaina remains in the Kuluha Hills of Hazaribagh District, of which the last archaeological record was published by M. A. Stein in 1901. Other chapters deal with familiar Jaina sites such as Pareshnath Hill, Pawapuri, Rajgir and Vaisali. The present monograph is admittedly not a scholarly work, the author contenting himself as a rule with extensive quotations from the old Archaeological Survey Reports and District Gazetteers as well as works of recent scholars on various points relating to Jaina history and religion and archaeological remains. Frequently he gives details of the routes, conveyances and accommodation for the benefit of visitors. His system of transliteration of proper names follows as a rule the vernacular pronunciation. We have noticed a few serious defects in this work. The author quotes in all seriousness (p. 7) the reference in Jaina scriptures to the Tirthankara Rishabha preaching in Magadha "at the end of the Stone Age and beginning of the Age of Agriculture." The author, again, repeats such exploded views as that of Asoka's propaganda on *dhamma* bearing severely upon the Brahmanical Hindus (p. 66), and that crediting Kharavela, "Emperor of Utkal," with defeat of Pushyamitra Sunga, King of Magadha (p. 67). Among the useful features of this monograph are a short glossary and a bibliography, and above all, a series of sixteen well-executed plates. On the whole this book may be expected to fulfil the author's hope of stimulating the public interest in a neglected chapter of our history and culture.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PARAMAHANSA SRI RAMAKRISHNA:

By R. R. Diwakar. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Illustrated, Pp. xv + 300. Price Re. 1-12.*

The author has perused the Ramakrishna literature with great avidity since his youth in a worshipful mood, of which the book under review bears ample stamp. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa attracted notice of his contemporaries by his sincere devotion and austere practice. Swami Vivekananda explained the greatness of his *guru* to the outside world. But his countrymen at last also appreciated the saintliness of this Superman of Dakshineswar. Literature on and about him grew in volume even in his lifetime, and since his passing away, it has grown beyond proportions. Not only

West like Prof. Max Muller and Romain Rolland wrote appreciative treatises on the life and teachings of Paramahansa. The main characteristics of Mr. Diwakar's book lie in the fact that he has utilised most of the literature on Paramahansa, both old and new, and the result is the present volume. In twenty-three chapters and six appendices the author has been able to bring forth in writing the human and super-human aspects of Sri Ramakrishna. Illustrations, as many as fifteen, have been inserted in the book and have rendered it attractive to the general reader. Such a book of modest size and moderate price will go a long way to popularize the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna to non-Bengali readers in India and abroad. We congratulate the author and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on the production of such a useful treatise.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

GALLANT END OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE: *By Harin Shah. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 7-8 (India) and 12sh. 6d. and 2 dollars (Foreign).*

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is one of history's greatest patriots and revolutionaries. He lived for his country. A disciple of that great Indian Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das—whom, alas! an ungrateful nation has practically forgotten—Bose dedicated himself to the country's cause. His activities in South-East Asia during World War II hastened the liberation of the Motherland. As Harekrushna Mahtab, the veteran Congress leader, puts it, "It is perhaps correct to say now that, to the effect of the non-co-operation movement in India, the impact of the Indian National Army was a definite addition." Bose is said to have died in a plane crash in Taihouko (Taipeh in Formosa) on August 17, 1945. Many, however, do not believe that he is dead.

Mr. Harin Shah, the author of the volume under review, paid a visit to Formosa in August-September, 1946, as the only Indian member of a party of Foreign correspondents in China sent to Formosa by Chiang Kai-shek's Minister of Information. Mr. Shah conducted an on-the-spot inquiry into the mystery of Netaji's sudden disappearance. He met a number of people—Formosan, Chinese and Japanese—and on the basis of facts collected from them draws certain conclusions and presents them to the reading public. What these conclusions are, are apparent from the title of the volume in

It is not a little strange that Mr. Shah took the nation into confidence full ten years after he had collected proofs of Netaji's tragic end. The publication of the present volume practically synchronised with the appointment of a committee by the Government of India in 1956 to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the report in Netaji's death and other allied matters.

Those who hold that Netaji is alive may naturally suspect that Mr. Shah's book was meant to lend weight to the contention that Netaji is no more to influence the verdict of the above committee, which has since reported that Netaji died in plane crash in Formosa in 1945. One of the members of the committee—a brother of Netaji—however differs.

Mr. Shah's explanation for not having published the book earlier does not carry much consideration. In his own words, "Bewildered at the cruel debate (over the truth or otherwise of the news of Bose's death), fed and fanned by some public and neo-public figures, I suffered the forced silence for 10 years."

As to the book itself, it is bound tastefully in board, profusely illustrated and printed on good paper. But printing is definitely poor, printing mistakes being too many even for the proverbial patience of the Indian reader. In his attempt to make the book pleasant-reading the author has produced the opposite effect. The style is heavy, strained and artificial. With a little more than 150 pages of reading matter (including 43 pages of Appendices), the book seems to be fantastically priced.

THE UNIVERSITY ENVIRONS: *By J. M. Somasundaram. Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar. Price not stated.*

Education in British India owes much to private charities and enterprises—much more, indeed, than it owes to the Government patronage. The Annamalai University at Chidambaram in South Arcot district (Madras), "the only Tamil University in India—the first unitary, teaching and residential University of South India, with six Faculties and twenty-four departments and over 175 members of the teaching staff" and 2,006 students on its rolls in February, 1955, owes its foundation and development to the late lamented Dr. Rajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad (1881–1948). Founded in 1929—the Senate was formally inaugurated on March 24, 1930—the Annamalai University has had the unique good

luck of being piloted by an uninterrupted succession of eminent Vice-Chancellors including Sir Samuel E. Raghunathan (1929–35) and the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1935–40), among others. The Government, it must be admitted, have all along contributed liberally to the University funds. During the none-too-long span of its life the Annamalai University has developed into one of the finest intellectual and cultural centres in the country. We wish many of our older Universities took a leaf out of the book of this young institution.

The Annamalai University celebrated the Silver Jubilee of its foundation on February 9, 1955, and the volume under review was brought out as a souvenir to mark the occasion.

Mr. Somasundaram gives an ably written, brief account of the University from its inception. He gives besides a rather long but readable and learned history of the famous Nataraja Temple at Chidambaram, a principal stronghold of the Siva cult, and also of the places of interest within easy reach of Chidambaram. A number of plates and photographs add to the attractiveness of the volume.

It is a pity that so informative and interesting a volume suffers from a serious—almost unpardonable—omission. A University certainly needs funds, patrons, benefactors and administrators. But its reputation depends primarily on its teachers and students. More laurels have been won for Oxford and Cambridge by their teachers and taught than by any other agency. The learned author should have made at least a passing reference to the part played by the teachers of the institution to make the noble founder's dream a reality. A list of the distinguished alumni and of the eminent teachers who served the University in the past and serve it today would have enhanced the value of Mr. Somasundaram's *The University Environs*.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI
STORY OF THE SWELLING NUMBERS
IN INDIA: *By Anjan Kumar Banerji. Published by Benson's, 180-A, Upper Circular Rd., Calcutta-4. Pages 48. Price Re. 1-8.*

The writer has brought together in this booklet, articles published in newspapers sometime in 1954. The question of population is very important in India. Every increase of population means increased pressure on land and subsistence. The problem has been dealt with from different aspects—food, land, employment, etc., and ways out have been examined. Family

planning is recommended because family planning is a stepping-stone to social planning. In the words of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Delhi School of Economics, who has written a foreword, "The booklet will at least serve the purpose of drawing pointedly to the attention of the reading public the importance of undertaking family planning measures in the interests of employment, economic development and raising standards of living in the country."

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

(1) ANANDA CHANDRA VEDANTA-BAGISH, AYODHYANATH PAKRASI, HEMCHANDRA VIDYARATNA: (2) WILLIAM YATES, JOHN MACK, MADHUSUDAN GUPTA: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, 243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-6 Price Re. 1 each.*

These are volumes Nos. 95 and 96 in the series of biographies of important writers in Bengali—the *Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala*. The series, which now claims nearly a hundred volumes, owes its existence mainly to the untiring efforts of two persons—the late Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay and Sri Bagal. The latter, in the present volumes, has collected, with his characteristic care and judgment, information about six memorable writers of the last century and given us a clear outline of each one's life and work. Their contribution to the cause of the Bengali language is considerable, though their names are almost forgotten. Not great literary artists they still deserve our recognition and gratitude since they enriched our language by translations and educative writings and incidentally helped our intellectual development and social progress.

The three Hindu scholars, whose lives have been described in the first book, were all associates of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and intimately connected with the Adi Brahma Samaj. They rendered immense service in the revival of Sanskrit learning and the exposition of our *shastras*. Ananda Chandra was well-versed in the Vedas and the Upanishads, and Ayodhyanath and Hemchandra showed exceptional aptitude in their translations of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

William Yates and John Mack, missionaries of the Serampore Baptist Mission, helped the growth of Bengali language by their treatises and text-books on Science, History and Scripture. *Kimia Vidya Sar*, a pioneer work in

Bengali on Chemistry, was written by John Mack in a fairly lucid style. It evinces his command of the native language. Madhusudan Gupta was a devoted student of the Medical Science and as early as in the mid-nineteenth century wrote books in Bengali on Anatomy, Physiology and British Pharmacopoea.

The terminology adopted by these scholars in their scientific treatises are likely to be helpful today when we are trying to impart education through the language of the land.

To Sri Bagal goes the credit of discovering from old records much of our 'buried treasure' and impressing upon us the importance of our precious heritage. He happily possesses, with his spirit of research, the power to co-ordinate his findings and fashion out of them living forms and interesting personalities.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SIKSHA-VIJNAN: *By Jatindramohan Chaudhuri, B.A., B.T. Published by the Presidency Library, Calcutta-12. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a treatise on the science of education by an educationist who besides his knowledge of modern science of education is well-versed in ancient Sanskrit books on the subject. Education is a complex subject and authorities even differ as to the proper method suitable for a particular country. But there is unanimity as to the psychological approach of the problem of education. An universal attempt in fundamental education is being made at present by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, particularly in under-developed countries with satisfactory results.

Books on education for the benefit of teachers are not many in Bengali and the present book is a laudable attempt by one who has theoretical grasp and practical knowledge of the subject. The book is divided into fifteen chapters and the subject of child education has been dealt with from various angles. The modern approach is psychological and the author has quoted freely from the authorities both European and American to make the book dependable. It is interesting to find Sanskrit quotations also here and there in support of modern thesis. Most of the chapters are of technical nature and will benefit teachers but the last two chapters on 'Building of Character' and 'Psychology and Teacher' will be read with pleasure and profit by any person interested in the education of the young. We wish the treatise a wide circulation among the teachers of West Bengal.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

HIMALAYA PARICHAYA: By *Rahula Sankhayaana*. Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad. Pp. 569.

Judging from the number of volumes, which have emanated from the pen of the great pandit in the past, and the large variety of themes with which he has dealt, it would appear as if Rahulaji is in himself a-hundred-and-one-title Library! To this assorted assemblage of his enviable and unusual intellectual gifts, he has now added an encyclopaedic work on the Himalayas, of which the present publication dealing with Garhwal, is the first of the projected series of five. Here is a study of the well-known mid-Himalayan region from every possible angle, topographical, historical, sociological and cultural, in all their ramifications. Not a single feature of the life of the hill-folks seems to have escaped the argus-eyed author. The travelogue, towards the end of his pilgrimages to Jamunotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Mansarovar and other places rich in natural beauty as well as in associations of holy aspirations, is an excellent tourist-guide to would-be pilgrims. *Himalaya Parichaya* is, in-

deed, an omnibus approach to the highest and holiest mountain-range in the world.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SARVODAIANI KEYLAVANI: By G. J. Patel. *Gujrat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad*. April, 1956. Price Re. 1-4.

This has been a translation of Acharya Kripalani's Latest Fad—basic education—with about 30 pages of notes in small print. There is no doubt that it would help very much the Gujarati readers, to understand basic education in a lively manner from this book. However much basic education may have spread, there is no doubt that there is need of some book explaining the philosophy and the newness of the new system, its connection with the national culture and its development from our society: and this need the book fulfills.

This is really the way in which the book should be utilised by teachers and by educational thinkers alike—those who are engaged in spreading basic education and those who are merely watching it with interest.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Influence of Buddhist Philosophy in East and West

The concluding portion of the article under the above caption by Helmuth Von Glasnapp in *The Maha Bodhi* is given below :

As far as our present knowledge goes it was only gradually that Buddhism unveiled its essence to the occident. The Greeks already knew of the name of Buddha. They also knew of his supernatural birth and they were aware of the fact that the Samanaioi (sramana) were different from the Brahmanical ascetics. In the Middle Ages the story of Buddha's leaving His home was known in the Christianized form of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat. Marco Polo (1254-1323), the famous Italian traveller, paid his tributes to the saintly life of Gautama when he wrote in his Travel Diary : "Illec fist moult grans adbestinences, ainsi comme s'il eust este crestien. Car s'il l'eust este, il feust un grand saint avec notre Seigneur Jhesucrist, a la bonne vie et honneste qu'il mena." "He lived a life of grand abstinence as if he had been a Christian. For had he been, he would have been a great saint with our Lord Jesus Christ, considering the good and honest life he led." The first European I know of who mentions an important doctrine of Buddhism which distinguishes it from the other great religions of the world was the French traveller La Loubere, who wrote in his work "Du Royaume de Siam," published in 1691, (vol. 1, p. 395), "I think that one can establish that the Buddhists do not believe in a world-ruling deity." We are indebted to the great English Indologist Henry Thomas Colebrook for the first interpretation of the Buddhist theory that there is no transmigrating soul but nevertheless a rebirth caused by karmic influences. In the lecture "On Indian Sectaries," read at a public meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, February 3, 1827, he said: "There is not an eternal soul, but merely succession of thought, attended with individual consciousness abiding within body." Colebrooke also explained the "concatenation of causes and effects" which link one existence with another. Though many European scholars have dealt with this crucial point of Buddhist metaphysics it took many years of investigation before the true basis of this doctrine was elucidated. The two

Russian scholars Theodore Stcherbatsky and his pupil Otto Rosenberg have shown that the doctrine of the "dharma," i.e., impersonal soul forces, is the central philosophical conception which is at the bottom of all Buddhist philosophical thought. The great Belgian Indologist La Vallee Poussin has dealt more minutely with the problem in his magnificent translation of Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kosha. We understand now why the celebrated stanza "Ye dharmah hetuprabhava" is the credo of all Buddhists.

It is to be regretted that most European Indologists in former times have continued to occupy themselves less with the doctrines of living Buddhism as they have been taught for over at least 2000 years than with speculations on the doctrine that the Buddha may have taught. Many of these scholars have tried to show that Buddha's own doctrine differed greatly from the doctrines that to-day form the basis of all Buddhist philosophy. It seems to me very improbable that Buddha was no philosopher at all, as some scholars think. For in a time in which—as the texts show—a very highly developed philosophical life was going on in Ancient India, Buddha would not have been able to win adherents from the philosophically trained Brahmins and Kshatriyas if He had not propounded a doctrine which could hold its own in view of hair-splitting dialectics of materialists, agnostics, sceptics and the very elaborate systems of Brahmins and Jains. Other scholars are of opinion that Buddha's teaching was a special form of Vedanta and that the monks later on changed it to its present form. I do not think that this is probable. For to maintain this assertion it would be necessary to show in detail how the anatma-doctrine of the Buddhists has developed out of the alleged atma-doctrine of the Buddha. It will not do to quote some sayings of the Buddha unconnected with their context and to interpret them in the said manner. Nor is it to be understood that on the one side the texts at our disposal should be so reliable that the so-called true original Vedantic doctrine of the Buddha may be surmised therefrom, and that at the same time they should be so unreliable that most of their metaphysical contents have been fabricated by the monks of a later time. Nor do I understand what necessity there may have

been for the Buddha to teach a particular new doctrine, when it was only a re-hash of the Upanishadic teachings of His time. One may ask with Professor T. R. V. Murti in his excellent book on the Madhyamika system, "If the atman had been a cardinal doctrine with Buddhism, why was it so securely hidden under a bushel that even the immediate followers of the Master had no inkling of it?" In my opinion from the point of view of objective scholarship we may acknowledge that the real doctrine of the Buddha cannot be ascertained to-day because we do not possess manuscripts from His own hand nor were His teachings taken down on records. All we know of Him was taken down in writing only four centuries after His Nirvana. If we cannot ascertain with absolute certainty the original doctrine of the Buddha we may ask: what may it most probably have been? I think it most likely that His doctrine was, at least in its most essential points, a predecessor of what all Buddhists of today agree in. I can see two reasons for the Vedantic explanation of Buddha's teachings. One is an emotional one: the Vedantist has the natural endeavour to harmonize the teachings of the great Gautama with a system which he thinks to be the most sublime in the world. I myself having written several works on Vedanta have the greatest esteem for it. I consider Vedanta to be one of the most grandiose philosophical conceptions ever originated in the world of thought. But this admiration for the Vedanta does not carry me, as an historian of Indian Philosophy, so far as to interpret Vedantic ideas into the Buddhist texts. The other reason why many scholars have tried to interpret the teachings of the Buddha in a Vedantic fashion is one of a view of history. It is an undoubted duty of an investigator of the history of Indian thought to show the dependence of every new system on older ones preceding it, and to trace its very roots to contemporary ideas. Now there is no possible doubt that the sublime teachings of the Upanishads were in existence before Buddha. As Buddha's Nirvana in some respect resembles the Brahma of the Vedanta it seems plausible to believe that Buddha was a sort of Vedantist. But this, in my opinion, is a delusion. For Buddha's Nirvana is in no way like the Brahma, the absolute being which is the very foundation of the world, or out of which everything that is has developed and came to existence. It is only that Nirvana is a state of peace, of rest, of calm in which it may be compared to one of the aspects of the Brahma. But there are many different systems in the world the ultimate aim of which is such a state of redemption. But the

several systems as such differ widely from Advaita-Vedanta because they have a theistic basis, as the Mohammedan and Christian mysticism, or as Jainism, which denies the existence of a world-ruling deity. For this reason the reference to Vedanta carries no weight. One may, of course, argue that a similar need, or requirement, is deeply rooted in many religious minds, but there is neither a necessity nor a possibility to trace all kinds of quietism to the same source.

There is yet another deliberation which speaks against the exclusive dependence of Buddha's teachings on that of the Upanishads. The Buddhism of the Theravadins and all the older schools is a pluralistic system. Now a pluralistic interpretation of the world was very common in Magadha, for Jainism was spreading there just at Buddha's time. As far as I know nobody has ever tried to deduce Jainism from the Upanishads or to interpret its doctrine in a Vedantic manner. I cannot therefore see any reasonable ground for assuming that Buddhism must have sprung from an Upanishadic fountain. In my work on the stages of development of Indian thought published in 1940 I have tried to trace the Buddhist dharma-theory to antecedents in the Vedic time. For the Brahmanas and the Vedic texts teach a pluralism of substantial factors which have a strong similarity to Buddhist dharmas, for in that remote period of Indian thought qualities such as love, hatred, knowledge, etc., were considered as substances which had their own quasi-independent existence, and were not regarded as inherent in any substance. Of course by this I do not mean that the dharmas of Buddhism are in any way identical with these archaic concepts of the epoch of the Brahmana texts. What I would suggest is only this: that the Buddhist theory of dharmas many have arisen out of ideas that have their precursors in the Brahmana-time. Between the comparatively primitive and crude concepts of this archaic mode of thinking and the highly refined means of the Buddha there lay centuries of philosophical development. It may be that between these two periods other thinkers were active in shaping and perfecting these ideas, and in this respect the Buddhist doctrine that there were Buddhas before Gautama may not be without foundation.

I have tried to show the contribution of Buddhism to philosophy. I have tried to show how the knowledge of Buddhism has developed step by step in the realm of the mind of European scholars. I have tried to show some of the problems which European thinkers have tackled and I have taken the liberty of pointing out how I myself stand in this respect.

Far be it from me to maintain that the solutions I have tried to offer are in any way definitive nor do I want to force them upon others who may have more knowledge than I have. But perhaps the thoughts I have tried to expound here may form a basis for a discussion which may bring to light new facets of thinking and may serve to elucidate some problems of Buddhist philosophy.

My Travels in India

Arnold Toynbee writes in *Careers and Courses* :

For a historian, who is travelling round the world *via* South America and Southern Asia, India is the most important and interesting country on his route. She is important, to begin with, because of the sheer size of her population. No other single country, except China, carries so many of mankind's eggs in one national basket. The people of India are so large a contingent of the whole human race that their destiny is a matter of general human concern.

India is also important because she is one of the three great countries—the other two being China and Russia—that contain, between them, the bulk of the world's peasantry. When the peasants of Pakistan, Indonesia, Mexico, and Eastern Europe are reckoned in, the world's peasantry still amounts today to something between two-thirds and three-quarters of the world's total population. This means that the peasantry's future is going to be decisive for mankind's, and the crucial question for the peasantry is how they are to come to terms with the modern way of life that has suddenly been conjured into existence by the Industrial Revolution.

In Russia, China and India alike, energetic attempts, to modernise the peasantry are being made in our time; but the experiment in India is uniquely important and interesting, because, in India alone of the three titanic peasant countries, the campaign is being conducted on liberal lines. In the two communist peasant countries, the peasant is being taken by the scruff of the neck, and is being forcibly put through the modernisation process. It remains to be seen whether the effects of this dragooning will be permanent, but it is certain that the price has been the loss of freedom, and this is too high a price to pay, even for indispensable economic progress.

MODERNIZATION

India, on the other hand, has chosen the harder and slower way of trying to persuade the peasant's conservative mind to opt for modernisation voluntarily as a result of being rationally convinced of its advantages. It is obviously a

matter of immense importance for "the Free World" that this courageous and imaginative Indian experiment should succeed.

India is also an historian's cynosure for a dozen other good reasons. Will she succeed in her international policy of trying to persuade Russia and America to resign themselves to co-existence? As this is the only practical alternative to an atomic third world war, it is a major concern to the human race that the Indian policy of peace-making should not fail. And, anyway, whether it fails or succeeds, it is a matter of great interest for the contemporary historian to see something of it at first hand.

But, of course, the historian's interest is not confined to contemporary events. The whole of past history is equally his field; and major events in mankind's history, since the dawn of civilization, have taken place on Indian soil. India occupies a central position in the festoon of civilizations that is slung across the Old World from Japan at one top corner to the British Isles at the other. So the strategic, political and economic geography of the sub-continent—which for these purposes includes Pakistan—is meat and drink to the historian. He wants to see, with his own eyes, the lie of the land and the look of the landscape.

India reveals herself on her roads. An Indian road is never empty and never dull. There is a constant gentle flow of slowly-moving traffic: pedestrians and bullock-carts, flocks of sheep and goats and troops of monkeys: country buses (a revolutionary force) no longer pulled by bullock-power, but driven by internal combustion engines; an occasional lorry and a still less frequent elephant. Three or four millennia are ambling along side by side; and they do not even keep moving; they camp for the night by the wayside, with the bullocks unyoked and their drivers sleeping snugly under the wheels. In Southern India, the cartwheels are as big as the driving wheel of a locomotive; in Hindustan (Northern India) they are small with clumsily thick rims; in Upper Sind they are solid, with four holes scooped out of them to lighten their weight; and the turning wooden axle screeches and whines with a music familiar to travellers in Turkey. In Lower Sind, on the other hand, spokes reappear, and the wheels are small and elegant.

AGE-OLD LIFE

The bullock-cart is a fascinating object of study—and an important one too; for this must still be far the commonest form of wheeled vehicle in the world. The total number of the world's motorcars and rolling stock must be

trivial by comparison. So, on the Indian road, you meet the world's age-old peasantry following its age-old way of life, and the historian never tires of the spectacle. Read Kipling's description, in *Kim*, of life on the Grand Trunk Road, and you will know why.

But, alas for the Western wayfarer, all Indian roads lead, in a trice not to the 750,000 villages in which the people of India live but back into the Western World on Indian ground. Travelling through the countryside is an indulgence that is doled out to the inquiring visitors parsimoniously. After a day or two of seeing India, he is politely but firmly steered back into a British-made cantonment or factory; Rawalpindi or Bangalore or Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. In Calcutta you are still not quite out of India for, though Calcutta looks like Pimlico if you keep your line of vision tilted to the second storey, one glance at street level brings India back incarnate in her cows. But in Bombay the municipality has managed to banish the cows to the outskirts, and you find yourself interned in one of the standardised, supercities of the modern world.

OUTLINE OF GHATS

Bombay is full of interesting people; much of the world's business is transacted there; but you might as well be in Liverpool or New York. Through the windows of your too comfortable hotel, you look longingly, across the estranging sea, at the mist-veiled outlines of the Western Ghats. Over the top lies Maharashtra; but this authentic India is as remote as if a whole ocean lay between it and Bombay Island.

Next time I visit India, I shall not make any engagements or commit myself a terminal date. I shall buy a bullock-cart (Andhra type) and a pair of patient-eyed, white-oxen and then I shall set off on a journey without end. If ever I return, I shall come back this time with a cargo of real knowledge piled high between my slowly-turning wheels.

* * *

Is 'awaken' a transitive or an intransitive verb? I have never been able to decide, and I do not want to be told the answer now; for an ambivalent meaning of the word exactly fits my present subject.

The Indian peasantry are certainly being waked up today by a dedicated minority of their urban fellow-countrymen, but no amount of nudging and prodding would avail to arouse Rip Van Winkle from his long slumber if something were not astir inside the sleeper. And even if his would-be benefactors knew that they could awake him up against his will by sticking pins into him, they are too humane and wise and

scrupulous to administer this Russian treatment. Their aim is to help the Indian peasant to help himself; and they will put up with frustrations and set-backs rather than coerce him. This is why the present Indian community development work is both admirable and intensely interesting.

WEIGHT OF BURDENS

How long has the peasant been asleep? Almost as long as the time that has elapsed, up to date, since agriculture was invented. Perhaps as many as eight thousand harvests have been reaped in the world so far; so not much less than eight thousand years may have passed over the sleeping peasant's head.

What accounts for this prolonged state of coma? The peasant has been stupefied by the weight of the burdens placed on his shoulders. Cities and wars, pyramids and cathedrals, arts and crafts, kings and priests, soldiers and Brahmins—all these have climbed on to the peasant's back and have lived, as parasites, on his labours. They have stripped him of his surplus production, leaving him to live at starvation level, while these exotic institutions and privileged minorities have fattened on the fruits of his work. Civilization, with its two congenital diseases—war and slavery—has been built up at the peasant's expense; and, till the other day, the peasant had taken it for granted that this was his unalterable fate.

Look into his countenance, and you will see there the same suffering, and the same patient endurance of it, that you find in the beautiful eyes of the mild oxen who pull the peasant's plough and draw his cart until they drop in their tracks from sheer exhaustion. This is how the ox's lucid master and his womenfolk and his children, have lived and died since civilization began.

The peasant's fatalism has, of course, been intuitive. It has not been founded on a reasoned interpretation of economic facts. Yet the acts warranted it down to the outbreak of the 18th century agrarian and industrial revolution; for till then, mankind's surplus production was so small that, if there was to be such a thing as civilization at all, it was bound to be the monopoly of a minority enjoying it at the peasant majority's cost. Today, for the first time in history, there is a possibility of amenities for all. All over the world today, the peasantry are awakening to this revolutionary change in their age-old situation. In India today, it is the policy of the power-that-be to help the peasant to attain the better life that is now at last within his reach.

COMMUNITY WORK

When we are talking of human beings, 'better' means 'better spiritually.' But in human

life the distinction between soul and body is an artificial dichotomy. Man cannot develop his spiritual faculties if the material conditions of his existence are depressed to an animal level. Where the level is as low as this, spiritual and material betterment must go together; and both are catered for in the present community development work in India.

Any attempt to improve the condition of the teeming Indian peasantry has to be on a gigantic scale, and the whole mass cannot be leavened in a single operation. The work has been started in blocks of villages distributed all over the sub-continent. It is hoped that, in a few years, the network of the organization will cover all the villages that there are.

At the headquarters of each block there is a little team of experts—a medical officer, an agricultural adviser, a civil engineer—but the key-men and women on the professional staff are the workers in the villages who are in direct touch with the people. These village workers have to know something about road-building, well-digging, public health and crops, and they have also to be diplomatists, because it lies with them to get the villagers moving under their own steam. The work achieves success when leaders arise in the villages who take up the work themselves and persuade their neighbours to follow them.

The officers of the community development organization set great store by winning over the village women. If the women are not persuaded of the value of the work, they will effectively prevent the men from moving. But if once the women are convinced the men's concurrence is assured. Women are, of course, conservative-minded, but they are practical-minded too; and prejudice will not inhibit them from adopting sanitary arrangements, or even 'family planning,' it has been demonstrated to their satisfaction, that these innovations benefit their children.

PRIORITIES

What are the stages in the development process? The crowning achievement is a school-house built with substantial contributions, in labour and money, from the villagers themselves. But first things must come first and, for the improvement of life in an Indian village, the first necessities are wells and drains. In an unregenerate Indian village the lanes ooze with a mixture of cow-dung and human sewage, and this source of a hundred debilitating infections seeps into the well, if there is one. So the first step is to dig a cement-lined well with a high rim to shield it from contamination at ground level. The second step is to convert the poisonous lane into a concrete path with a concrete drain running

alongside of it. These elementary improvements work wonders not only for public health, but also for personal self-respect.

Such work may sound prosaic, but the spirit behind it is imaginative and humane and the practical idealism of this great Indian enterprise may be going to bring about one of the most beneficent revolutions in the peasantry's life that have been known, so far, to history.

* * *

India casts a spell over visitors from all quarters of the earth. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who made their way to Gandhara and Bihar in the fifth and seventh centuries of the Christian Era felt India's charm just as strongly as the present-day secular Western inquirer. There are few countries in which the foreign traveller is so much frustrated and exasperated: there are fewer that he so keenly regrets to leave and so eagerly looks forward to seeing again.

Long after one has seen that last of this fascinating sub-continent, the music of its life goes on singing in one's ears. It is a strange orchestration, in which a harmony is produced by a mixture of strains that would sound discordant in any other country. The creaking of bullock-cart axles comes into it; and the cawing of crows, but the dominant strain is the inaudible voice of the rivers, which speaks to the eye and transmutes itself into poetry in the enchanted mind.

I have not seen the rivers of India in their monsoon spate. Then, no doubt, they roar and rage like Shiva's bull lashed into fury. I can see them in this mood with my mind's eye, because in imagination, I can fill with foaming water the vast sand-beds or shingle-fields through which, in other seasons, each river roams like a beneficent python (beneficent because even the most tenuous trickle of running water is a gift of the gods in so thirsty a land).

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Medicine's Own Neurosis

Roy Bridger writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Millionaires, who usually make their money by thinking differently to other people, are apt to succumb to a disappointing respect for the conventional when the time comes to allocate legacies. Research work on specific diseases is an old favourite. Yet if results are a criterion such funds are sadly misdirected.

A living organism is an obstinate bit of work. It knows just what it wants. If the right conditions are not forthcoming, it begins to pine, and no matter how drastically local symptoms are treated, the tendency to pine still remains. This is a rock against which medicine has vainly flung all its resources. Instead of going on and on with research work on local symptoms, is it not time to look for the conditions under which pining would not arise?

Already the prophets who keep a little ahead of the crest of the wave can sense that big changes must come. The upward trend of costs in curative medicine, says Dr. G. Mathew Fife, medical officer of health for Fife, will force a recognition that the first aim of our health services must be the prevention of disease. Discussing the question whether the Society of Medical Officers of Health should merge with the British Medical Association, the *Medical Officer* has expressed the view that there might be something to be said for the proposal "if prevention were now fully understood and practised by the medical profession as a whole, but the indications are that this happy state has not yet been achieved."

Dr. H. Mackenzie-Wintle, medical officer of health for South Oxfordshire, scorns conventional attitudes to "expensive placebos," which he believes could well be thrown into the river without loss. Other critics lay the blame on the doctors themselves. "If they will take the easy way of prescribing bottles and pills for all and sundry," writes Dr. T. R. Wilkie Millar, Edinburgh, in a letter to the *British Medical Journal*, "they must expect to reap as they sow." To account for the "fantastic numbers" being treated under the National Health Service, Dr. A. K. Bowman, senior administrative medical officer, Western Regional Hospital Board, Scotland, is driven to conclude that, either attendance at clinics and hospitals is becoming a national pastime, or the medical profession is losing its sense of judgment.

The Times, commenting on Dr. Mackenzie-Wintle's attack on "the fantastic array of purges, nerve sedatives, tonics, concentrates, rejuvenators, smell banishers, night drinks, processed this and

irradiated that," is in no doubt that the cure lies with the doctors, who are prescribing an increasing amount of medicine. Harmful "cures" should be attacked as such, if necessary by strengthening legislation. Dr. Mackenzie-Wintle's point that palatable purgatives should be the first to go, since they perpetuate the very ills they purport to cure, is particularly approved.

Medicine, for long an uncertain stumbler on the path of truth, is in fact today joining forces with sinister company indeed. To Dr. Johnson vivisectionists were "a race of men who have practised tortures without pity, and related them without shame, and are yet suffered to erect their heads among human beings."

These days, says C. S. Lewis, we hardly dare to use such language—for we have let the other side win. Their victory is "symptomatic of matters more important still":

"The victory of vivisection marks a great advance in the triumph of ruthless, non-moral utilitarianism over the old world of ethical law; a triumph in which we, as well as animals, are already the victims, and of which Dachau and Hiroshima mark the more recent achievements."

In 1947 the number of experiments on captive animals was 1,287,341. In 1954 it was 2,433,487. Has our rate of elimination of disease doubled accordingly?

Commenting on the remarkable fact that with over two million experiments carried out, only three or four "minor irregularities" were reported, Dr. James F. Brailsford, in an eloquent attack, in the *Birmingham Post*, on vivisection, writes :

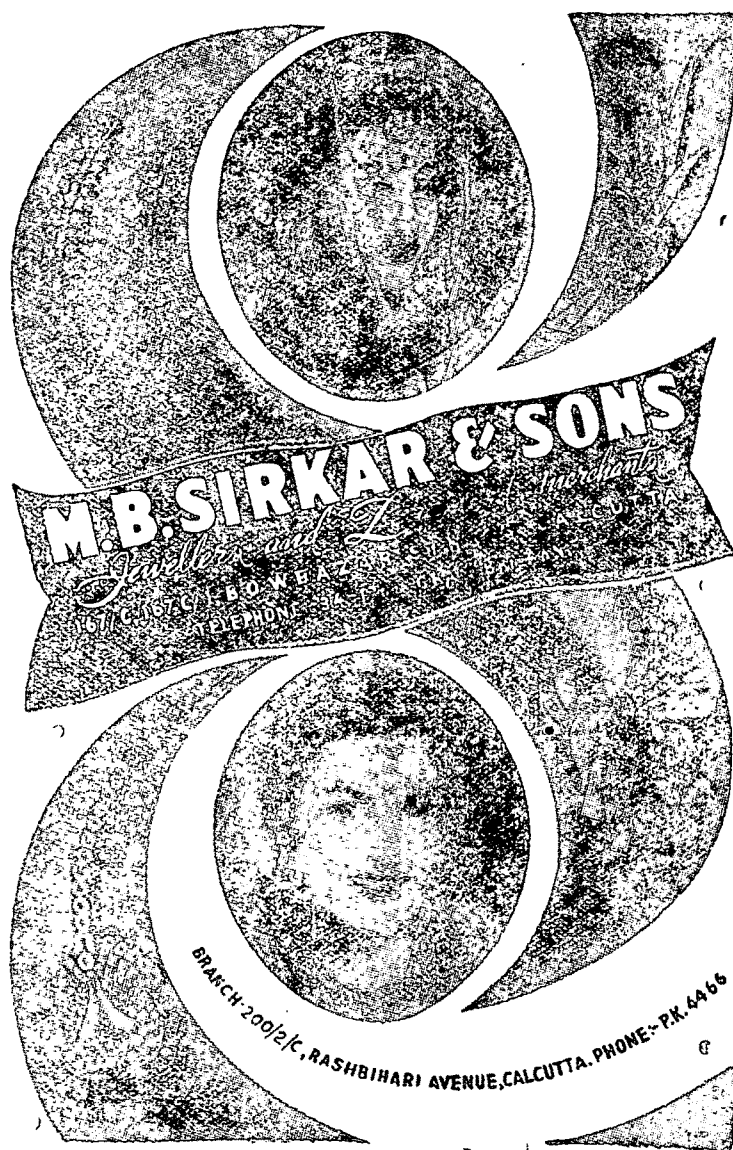
"With the knowledge that irregularities in the treatment of human beings by doctors were of a very much higher proportion, I cannot believe that these three or four were the only irregularities, or that the many more were of such a relatively trifling nature."

Lord Dowding has drawn attention to the disparity between the imprisonment of amateurs in cruelty, and the honours and rewards accorded to its pseudo-scientific professional wholesalers. "This crime," affirmed the late Peter Freeman, M.P., "will go down in history as one of the blackest ever committed by human beings."

"You labour in a torture chamber and
dissecting room,
I make my observations under the blue
sky to the song of the cicadas :
You subject cell and protoplasm to
chemical tests,
I study instinct in its loftiest manifesta-
tions :
You pry into death, I pry into life."

There is a close connection between the legalized cruelty to animals at which Fabre expressed such profound horror and contempt, and the growing movement to enforce compulsory vaccination of human beings. In this respect should be noted a tendency to attempt to rescue vaccination from the disrepute into which it has fallen, by referring to the practice as a "public health" measure. The relative importance of the "infection" factor is no higher than a century

ago, when sanitation as we know it was practically non-existent; yet even the Kinglake could relate in *Eothen* how he escaped unscathed from plague-stricken Cairo simply because he did not believe in contagion. This is not quite the whole story, but it is at least evident that advocacy of vaccination as a public health measure is a confession of failure in fields of greater relative importance.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Birth Control in China

Dr. Chou Ngo-fen of the Bureau of Women and Children's Health at the Ministry of Public Health of China writes for the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, New Delhi, as follows:

MODERN OBSTETRICAL METHODS

I am a gynaecologist and obstetrician, and my work for the Chinese Government has to do with the health of women and children. In discharging my duty I frequently have to go to factories, schools, government offices and the countryside to see how the new obstetrical methods and the new ways of bringing up babies so vigorously sponsored by the People's Government are being carried out. On my rounds I meet many obstetricians, health workers, and old-fashioned midwives who have taken a course in modern obstetrical methods since liberation. From actual observation I have come to the conclusion that these people know their job. They are not only capable of doing perfectly safe deliveries but also of giving sound advice to mothers on how to take care of their babies. Tetanus, so deadly a foe to new-born babies in the past, is now rarely heard of.

During the past few years the living standards of workers and peasants have risen sharply. They are better fed and better clothed than before, and their health and the health of their families are taken good care of. In the past the high death-rate among small babies was due to the generally bad living conditions and the fact that there was no medical treatment available when they were ill. Both these circumstances are vastly improved now. In the past, when grinding poverty was all too common, parents in the villages sometimes even drowned girl babies, as girls were looked down on; but this attitude, too, has changed. Malnutrition and insanitary conditions led to an appallingly high infant mortality rate. Parents with many children often lost half of them. But now-a-days practically every expectant mother knows she will have her child safely and that her baby has every chance of growing up safely. Calculations based on investigations made by the Ministry of Public Health in the rural areas

show that whereas in the past two million of the babies born annually would have had little chance of survival, now these babies, too, are saved.

On my trips to factories and the villages I constantly meet smiling mothers who will not let me go till I have seen their bonny babies; and they one and all praise the obstetricians and midwives trained in modern methods.

A NEW PROBLEM

Safe deliveries and bonny babies naturally please everyone. But there are problems, and knotty problems too. In the past, the age for marriage was shockingly low. This is being slowly altered through the Marriage Law, which, for a start, allows marriage at the age of 18 for girls and 20 for lads. It is only in the big cities that there is any practicable knowledge of birth control. But the Marriage Law is comparatively recent, so that we still frequently come across young women still in their early twenties who have four or five children and women in their thirties who have seven or eight or more. This is a heavy burden on them. It is from such considerations that the question of birth control arises.

Unfortunately, over the past few years the Ministry of Public Health has stressed the protection of children to the exclusion of other factors. Doctors were not allowed, save in exceptional cases, to give people information on contraception, and no contraceptive devices were on public sale. Unable to get scientific advice, people often resorted in desperation to charlatans or quack doctors, with the tragic result that many were maimed for life.

But in a country like ours reasonable demands by the people cannot be long ignored. Whenever deputies to the National People's Congress were visiting factories and the countryside, the workers and peasants told them how badly they needed to know about birth control, and asked them to urge the departments concerned to look into the problem at once and satisfy the people's demands as quickly as possible. In 1955, Mr. Shao Li-tzu, one of the deputies, made a speech at the First Session of the First National People's Congress urging the government to spread a knowledge of birth control.

DIFFERENT VIEWS

Shao Li-tzu's speech provoked heated discussion all over China. Some people still held out against the demand. Some looked at the matter solely from the standpoint of statistics. They say that since liberation industrial production has risen by about 10 per cent a year, agricultural production by 5 per cent, and population by only 2.2 per cent. Seeing how much faster both industrial and agricultural production are increasing than population, they say, we can give people a better livelihood without resorting to birth control. There are others who consider birth control as immoral or unethical. But the vast majority of people—the general public, population, specialists, doctors, educationists, members of the women's federations, the trade unions and the Youth League—are all advocates of birth control. Personally my sympathy lies with them.

As a woman I know from personal experience that to make the equality between women and men, which we won at the liberation, a real living thing, women must work and study hard. This means that they must be able to plan their families so that they are not tied down by the household drudgery which too many children entails. I am a mother myself and I know how difficult it all is. The children of New China are future builders of socialism and communism, and if they are to be equal to their task they must be brought up in a proper way. If you have too many children you simply cannot give them all the care and training that will fit them for their future work. My experience as an obstetrician tells me that women who have too many children or who have them too close together cannot get enough rest after pregnancies. That ruins their health and increases the incidence of diseases. Besides, children born under such conditions are frequently weakly themselves. All these evils can be got rid of if births can be properly spaced. There is nothing wrong, nothing immoral about birth control. Quite the reverse; *family planning* is in the highest interests of humanity.

As for the relationship between population and standards of living, I concede the point that production increases faster than population. All the same, China is a country with a huge population, and in the past her economy was dreadfully backward. The present rate of increase—over 10 million a year—is bound to hamper improvement of the people's lives and the provision of amenities like children's hos-

pitals, nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools.

SPREADING KNOWLEDGE

So, after weighing all the pros and cons, the People's Government decided to take steps to popularize and promote the practice of birth control. Needless to say, whether the people want to practise birth control or not is left entirely to their own discretion. The People's Government merely does the work of popularization and provides medical facilities.

I said just now that the majority of the Chinese people have no knowledge of birth control. The fact of the matter is that many people know very little about physiology and hygiene. Another stumbling block in the work of popularizing birth control is the fact that many people are still influenced by the old, feudal ways of thought. They still consider conception and birth as a completely mysterious process and, indeed, feel that even the mention of it is taboo. It requires both patience and tact to persuade such people to accept the modern view.

Our work of propagating birth control began in 1955, and ever since, the newspapers and magazines have had constant articles on the subject. The government departments concerned have issued pamphlets and posters, used lantern slides, held exhibitions, meetings and lectures to spread the knowledge of birth control. The aim is to explain both the technique and significance of birth control, to show that it is a matter which concerns both husband and wife, and that both must co-operate for successful family planning, and to strike a blow at feudal and obscurantist ideas. The various

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contraceptive methods and devices are explained and people are told where they can be bought and what places to go to or get in touch with for advice. All this has met with a warm welcome from the public.

PRACTICAL STEPS

In popularizing and promoting birth control we are now working on the following lines:

1. *Contraception.*—We consider this the most important method of family planning. There are large quantities of contraceptive devices, both mechanical and chemical, manufactured and put on sale at reasonable prices. The Ministry of Public Health has also urged the medical schools and colleges to see what both Chinese and Western medicine can provide in the way of simple and effective methods. Many hospitals have opened birth control clinics and organised teams which visit government offices, schools, factories and the countryside to give practical advice. The Chinese Medical Association has set up a committee on practical birth control which studies and gives advice on contraceptive methods. It is already showing results. For instance, the adult population of Tientsin in 1956 was much larger than in 1955, but the city's birth rate fell by several thousand. A similar drop is reported from other places.

2. *Later marriage.*—The Marriage Law sets the lowest age for marriage as 18 for women and 20 for men. That, as I said above, is largely a compromise with folk custom. Some medical scientists hold that women should marry at around twenty-five and men around thirty. They will then also be financially and intellectually better placed to bring up a family. Some people propose that the legal marriageable age for men and women should be raised by several years. The disadvantages and advantages of marrying later are now being explained to the young people. Some deputies to the National People's Congress are proposing to amend the Marriage Law to raise the marriageable age by several years.

3. *Clinical abortion.*—Strictly speaking, any outside interference with a normal pregnancy holds risks to a women's health, and has in the past been strictly prohibited. People are not encouraged to regard abortion as a contraceptive method.

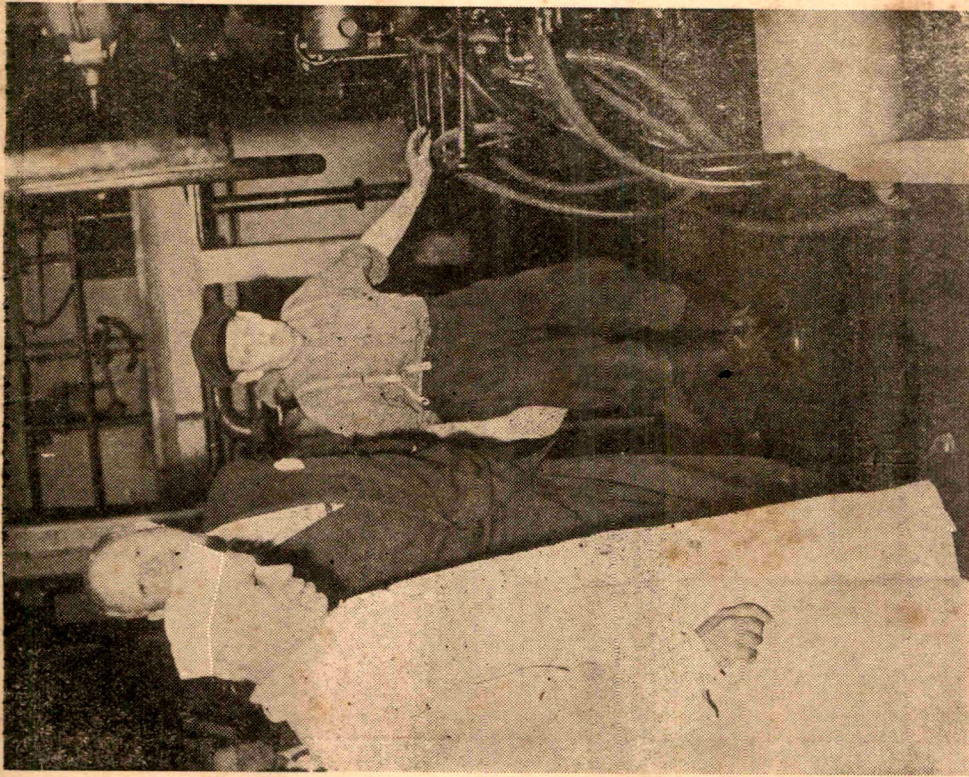
4. *Sterilization.*—We consider this a method to be sparingly used and only in exceptional circumstances. No application is accepted unless it has the unqualified agreement of both husband and wife.

CARE FOR THE YOUNG GENERATION

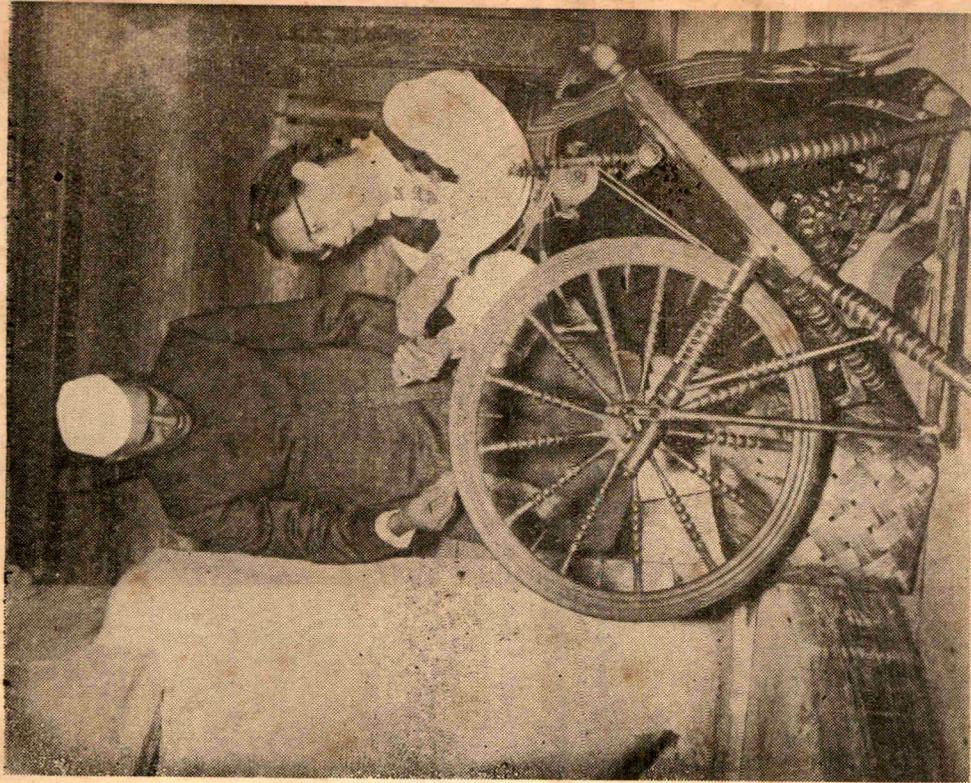
Let no one think that because we are popularizing birth control we do not love and treasure our children. The rights of all mothers and children are guaranteed by the Constitution of New China. Before and after childbirth women workers and employees in strenuous jobs are put on light work, the expenses of confinement are met by the State, they get 56 days' maternity leave on full pay, and so on. A fall in the birth rate does not mean that our responsibility for the health of women and children is less, but rather greater. We must help every mother to bring up each of New China's children to be a citizen sound in mind and body. As for those couples who want to have children but cannot because of some physical disability we shall do everything we can to enable them, too, to enjoy the joy of parenthood.

I should add here that we are not campaigning for birth control in the regions inhabited by China's national minorities. There we are doing all we can to increase the population. Before liberation, in the long bitter years of reactionary oppression, disease and privation, lowered fertility, and huge expanses of territory where the minorities live are today only sparsely populated. It is government policy to help them to increase their population and create prosperity and happiness.

That then is why we have spread the knowledge of birth control and how we are carrying it out. In the course of our work to spread a knowledge of birth control, to wipe out the remaining traces of the feudal outlook, to show people that it is better to work for the happiness of society at large than to raise over-large families, to provide great quantities of cheap contraceptives and to train the experts needed will all take time, and problems and difficulties are bound to crop up. But for the sake of mothers and children, for the sake of the younger generation, for the welfare and prosperity of our people we shall not shirk our responsibilities.



During his recent visit to Finland, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru paid a visit to the paper mills of Mantta in Central Finland



During his recent visit to Norway Shri Jawaharlal Nehru visited one of the ancient log cottages studying a demonstration of one of the old spinning wheels



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE BRIDE OF IRAN
By RAMAKRISHNA SHARMA

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



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NOTES

Strikes and Welfare States

At the time of writing this note the news came through that the threatened strike, of the Post and Telegraph department and of the several Unions of Government Employees, had been averted at the eleventh hour. All we can say is that Shri Common Citizen, for whose welfare no one cares a hoot, has had a respite in the process of being bled white.

We have no doubt that a whole host of persons will claim credit for the staving off of the crisis, and that both sides of that assemblage of political adventurers, confidence men and stooges, that form the majority in our two houses of Parliament, will claim victory, shamelessly and thoughtlessly. For the main issue, both on the Government side and that of the Opposition, is that of the loaves and fishes of political power, there is no question about the welfare of the common man.

For it is apparent that Shri Common Citizen is of no account, excepting for the purpose of being bled white, by the Government, by the black marketeers and by the fraternity of nimble-witted gentlemen who throng the political platforms of India. How many continue to have illusions, about Five-Year Plans, about Welfare States and so forth, and keep on striving to make both ends meet, by the shedding of blood, sweat and tears, through endless and ceaseless honest labour, keeping his heart up through hope for halcyon days and faith in his leaders, but it will be all in vain. For honesty does not pay in the present set-up, Congress or Opposition, and will not pay in the future either, unless the very same Shri C. Citizen sets about altering the shape of things by the scrapping of

all slogans and shibboleths and judging promises and precepts by actual results.

The Congress has shamelessly abandoned all the principles and tenets it had and completely perverted the old ideals of service, self-denial and sacrifice. It is the Common Citizen to-day who is called upon to perform all the service and to immolate himself by endless sacrifices—for the gain of his worthless leaders.

Organised labour also is attempting to assume control over the destinies of hundreds of millions of unorganised workers, by far cruder methods, for purely selfish and, in some cases, utterly unjustifiable motives. The output and efficiency of organised labour has sunk to a fraction of what it was a decade ago, thanks to the incitement of their unscrupulous leaders, of whom few have ever done any efficient and honest work. The Post and Telegraph department was renowned in the old days as being the most efficient, honest and incorruptible of all the Governmental services. It has now deteriorated beyond all recognition. We know there is want and inefficiency of means where the workers are concerned. But we know that at least 350 million people in India are even worse off and that barring the blackmarketeers and their myrmidons on the one hand and the Congress caucus, with their satellites and favoured officials on the other, there are but very few who are better off.

We are very strongly for all workers getting a living wage and for the raising of their standard of living. But this must be done without any victimisation of the poor suffering and unorganised common citizen, who constitutes 99% of the population. And unless the vicious cir-

cle of falling labour output and rising of costs can be checked, that cannot be done. This is what our friends the organised workers have failed to understand. As a result they are leading the march towards disruption, which will mean ruin for all, inclusive of their own selves. If they had pressed for better living conditions not only for their own particular groups but for all, then they might have achieved something by convincing the self-seeking bureaucrats and their complacent masters that the day of reckoning will come soon unless a new set-up is brought into being.

Labour, organised or otherwise, must understand that public sympathy and popular support is essential for their cause. Otherwise the inevitable result is either Fascism or Totalitarianism, which means enslavement of the worker in either case. This is a proved historic fact which our Leftist wiseacres forget in their enthusiasm. There is widespread discontent and resentment amongst the nationals of India, against the Government, and this is growing as blackmarketing of essential materials, including foodgrains and fats, is increasing in an alarming fashion, and the standard of living of those who form the backbone of the communities is tumbling down. But this resentment must not be mistaken for sympathy for strikers or strike organisers. You cannot expect sympathy from a tormented man by further increasing his burdens. His attitude now is "plague on both thine camps."

Of course the Governmental machinery is accelerating the confusion, through its criminal neglect of the people's welfare. As far as any unbiased and intelligent person can make out our heads of State construe the meaning of the word "Welfare State" in a peculiarly limited sense. Welfare, it seems, follows strictly along the lines of protocol, down the tiers of the Congress hierarchy and bureaucracy to the lowest levels of the "Gazetted Officers." Besides these of course are the pets of the Congress High Command, the blackmarketeers.

In any decent and honest Government, let alone the Welfare State, Food, Shelter, Clothing and Medical Relief are carefully provided for all men. No blackmarkets can exist if the Ministry is honest and the higher officials incorruptible, no profiteering in house-rents is

possible if the Ministry is really alert and careful.

Food prices have soared purely because of open blackmarketing. Decent people in Calcutta have been forced to go to slums, as we show in another note, because of ruthless requisitioning of flats by the Government and the stopping of house building by honest people of medium means, due to corrupt controls and unjustifiable constructional programmes of the governments forcing the prices of building materials to fabulous figures. And yet our brazen ministers talk about their "Welfare State" and reproach would-be strikers for "Anti-Social" activities, as if any striker group could out-do the performance of Pandit Nehru's Colleagues!

The Government and the People

The country is passing through a grave economic crisis and there is widespread discontent. The Central Government employees have threatened a strike from August 8 unless their demands are met in the meanwhile. The principal demand for the employees relates to an increase in their emoluments to make up for the deficits in their family budgets as a result of the sharp rise in the prices of most of the essential goods during the course of past few months. That there is great justice behind the demands of the government employees is certain and is not contended by even the Government itself. But the price increase has not hit only the persons in Government employment. Persons outside official cadres have been hit to a far greater extent.

The weekly *Vigil* has to say something very pertinent in this connection. We reproduce below its editorial remarks, in part:

"On all sides, demands for wage rises are becoming more and more strident every day. With prices soaring as they are, this is inevitable. And demands where they have organised pressure behind them are sooner or later bound to achieve some measure of success. Employers—whether government or other public bodies or masters of large-scale capitalist concerns—are organised and so are their employees, more or less. But all of them together form only a fraction of the country's population. Yet it is they and their disputes that practically monopolise all publicity.

"That the Government represents the over-

all interests of the community is a claim which is plausible in theory but is not quite sustained by the facts. Subject to the demands of political necessity, it, too, subserves a group of interests which can be justly called sectional, and it is a matter of serious concern that this position is actually under a process of increasing intensification in our country. In its higher reaches, the bureaucracy, as it goes on proliferating, is, also, at the same time becoming a distinct social and economic class together with those who, as employees or otherwise, are getting the lion's share of the benefits accruing from expenditure under the present Plan. The outline of the 'Establishment' that is shaping out of the alliance which in some respects is as good as a mixture, of the politicians, bureaucrats and the higher capital-owning strata, is now more than dimly visible. What is also visible, perhaps a little less clearly, is the striving on the part of an emerging trade union bureaucracy for a place, even it be a marginal one, in this 'Establishment'. To many, the prospect would not be quite so disquieting if this country were a functioning Welfare State with full employment and a tolerable minimum standard of living for all. But as we know, the capitalists, trade unions and the upper part of the Government's body together represent, in down-to-earth concrete terms, the interests of but a fraction of the nation. But they are the organised and the vocal fraction.

"Of course, there is no dearth in the country of talk about the 'nation' and 'national' interests, when actually what is in mind are some sectional objectives. Calls are made for 'equal sacrifices' in shameless disregard of the patent actuality of the most monstrous differences in the economic position and standard of living between the high and the low. Endlessly the pleading goes on for increased *production* when too often what the pleader is really interested in is *profit*. Organised labour themselves not infrequently seem to be reaching out for a privileged position and security not available to the greater part of the community. Insistence on larger and larger differentials in income appears to be the vogue. Fraternity, except within narrow groups, is becoming scarcer."

We fully endorse what the *Vigil* says on

the point. It is symptomatic of the degree of the failure of the Government's policies under the Five-Year Plan that it now faces such stiff opposition from its own employees. While the other segments of the population has not been so vocal their desperate attitude also can be easily imagined.

Slum Dwellers in Calcutta

A sample survey conducted by the Statistical Bureau of the Government of West Bengal disclosed that about 132,800 families or 531,500 people lived in the bustees in Calcutta. The total area covered by the bustees in Calcutta was estimated to be 4,051.45 bighas. The survey confirmed the general belief about the dire poverty of the bustee dwellers—more than 58.78 per cent of the families had a monthly income of below hundred rupees. About 92 per cent of the families had to go with a monthly income of less than two hundred rupees; 6.49 of the families had an income between Rs. 201 and Rs. 350; 1.53 per cent had between Rs. 351 and Rs. 700. Those earning more than Rs. 701 per month constituted 0.38 per cent of the total families. The incomes of some families were as high as Rs. 2,000 per month; but their number was negligibly small. About 16.34 per cent of the families did not possess any assets.

About 62.01 per cent of the total population of the bustees in Calcutta were Bengalis; 25.29 per cent came from Bihar; 4.85 per cent from U.P.; 0.15 per cent from South India; and 0.15 per cent from Marwar.

The *Statesman's* summary of the report adds:

"Bengalis are able to secure employment equivalent to or above their percentage in the total bustee population only in the professional, technical and clerical divisions. In other types of employment, their share is less than their percentage in the total population. Their percentage is specially low in essential services and in work done by unskilled labour.

"The number of families investigated in the first phase of the survey is 3,100 and the population covered 10,870. The number of families investigated in the second phase is 26,211. On the whole, there are about 1,534 earners in different classes of occupations. Of them 823 are Bengalis and 711 non-Bengalis, their respective percentages being 54 and 46 against

their percentages in the total population of 62 and 38. The average income of the earners is Rs. 69 per month. Roughly speaking, there is an employment seeker in one for every three families.

"About 77.10 per cent of the houses are kutchha and the balance pucca. About 1.5 per cent of the pucca houses are two-storeyed. Residential units shared by more than five families represent 48.86 per cent, by five families 6.49 per cent, by four families 9.92 per cent, by three families 7.63 per cent and by two families 6.49 per cent. About 20.61 per cent live in complete privacy either in independent houses or in independent residential units. Families occupying only one living room constitute 77.86 per cent, the average floor space per living room being 96.49 sq. feet. The number of persons per living room averages 3.18. Some bustee houses do not have sanitary conveniences and there is no water supply in a large number of premises. Conveniences wherever they exist, are inadequate and in about 90 cases out of 100 they are shared. In 35.15 per cent cases of kutchha houses and 26.67 per cent of pucca houses there is no water supply arrangement.

"Over 84 per cent of the families live as tenants while the rest as owners. The rent varies from Rs. 11 to Rs. 32 a month for houses with electricity and from Rs. 10 to Rs. 13 without electricity. The living expenditure of the families in the lower income level of Rs. 1 to Rs. 100 amounts to Rs. 81.86, the expenses on other accounts being Rs. 3.51 a month, the corresponding figures for families of the Rs. 101—Rs. 350 group are Rs. 154.94 and Rs. 17.04 respectively.

"The report says that there is a tendency to understate the income and to inflate the expenditure. A family earning Rs. 100 or less spends Rs. 56.30 on food, Rs. 3.79 on clothing, Rs. 3.39 on fuel and light, Rs. 6.94 on housing and Rs. 14.95 on miscellaneous items. About 50 per cent of the expenditure on food is spent on cereals."

Currency and Finance for 1956-57

The Reserve Bank of India's Report on currency and finance for the year 1956-57, published recently, opens with a brief review of

the general economic situation in the country. According to the report, the year 1956-57, the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, saw a further marked stepping up of the development effort in the economy, which was reflected in higher levels of investment in both the public and private sectors. Industrial and agricultural production recorded increases, but the growth of real output and voluntary savings during the year was apparently less than the rise in overall demand. On the whole, the Report states, the stresses and strains in the economy—of which the rise in prices and rapid decline in foreign exchange reserves were striking symptoms—were much more severe than in the previous year and consequently remedial action by Government and the monetary authority required also to be stronger and more varied.

A majority of foreign countries, the Report observes, had yet another year of high prosperity, although due to limitations of capacity and adoption of restrictive and fiscal measures, the world-wide boom appeared to have slowed down particularly in the latter part of the year. Inflationary pressures continued in most countries, although they were, on the whole, less intense than in 1955. In some countries, the budgetary deficit was the primary source of inflation, but in many others it was the high rate of private investment accompanied by wage increases. Monetary and fiscal weapons were in general mobilised with marked success to restrain these pressures. In the latter part of the year, the world economy received a jolt from political and military development concerning the Suez, but this proved short-lived.

Because of the different degrees of inflation in different countries, the balance of payments position revealed divergent trends. Total gold reserves and official and private short-term dollar holdings of countries other than the USA rose by about \$2 billion to \$28.3 billion, but the increase was accounted for by a few countries, notably West Germany. The sterling area gold and dollars recorded a nominal rise of \$13 million to \$2,133 million during 1956. World trade showed a further expansion during the year due mainly to liberalisation of imports, assisted by the increase in capital movements. Despite widespread balance of payments difficulties, there was, on the whole, a further, though modest,

progress towards the removal of exchange restrictions and discriminatory practices.

There was again widespread resort to monetary restraint measures in 1956 and also in 1957 to keep domestic investment within limits and to restore balance of payments equilibrium. This was reflected in discount rate rises reinforced by open market operations, variations in reserve ratios as well as selective credit controls. During 1956, as many as eleven countries revised their discount rates; Western Germany, Canada and Netherlands resorted to the device. All these changes, except the third one in Western Germany, were in an upward direction, often following earlier rises. In the operation of the discount rate mechanism, an important innovation introduced in Canada was the linking of the Bank rate to the Treasury bill rate. Of special significance was also the sliding scale discount rate structure introduced in Chile. In 1957, there have been further discount rate increases, the most notable being the rise, to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, effective from May 15, of the Swiss Bank rate, which had remained unchanged for over 20 years at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The other countries to raise the discount rates were France and Japan. Quantitative restrictions took the form of variations in reserve requirements of commercial banks in New Zealand, Brazil, Austria, France and Peru. In several countries, the measures of credit restraint were reinforced by budgetary policy, the main features of which were increases in taxation, reduction in expenditure and a general drive to increase national savings by offering higher interest rates and other incentives.

Development in the Indian Economy: In India, the rising trend of industrial production has been a notable feature of the Indian economy for the past several years, continued during 1956, the rise being shared by both capital and consumer goods industries prominently by the newer ones. The average general index (base: 1951=100) at 132.8 for 1956 recorded a further rise of 8.8 per cent over the 1955 level which itself was higher by 8.1 per cent than in 1954. A number of industries in the public sector also witnessed substantial progress and new targets were achieved almost in every enterprise. Overall agricultural production during 1956-57 is also estimated to be better than in 1955-56. Among foodgrains, the output

of rice is estimated to have reached 28.1 million tons—a rise of 4.8 per cent over the previous year. Wheat production is also expected to be higher at 8.6 million tons as against 8.3 million tons in 1955-56. Among commercial crops, cotton output is estimated to show a significant increase of 20.8 per cent and that of sugarcane of 16.7 per cent.

One of the less satisfactory features of the Indian economic scene in 1956-57 was the continuance of the rising trend of commodity prices. Over the year, the Economic Adviser's weekly general index of wholesale prices (base: year ended August 1939=100) rose by 8 per cent on top of rise of about 12 per cent in 1955-56. The rise in prices during 1956-57 was, however, less continuous than in the previous year. As in the previous year, the rise occurred mainly in three groups, namely, food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures. The Reserve Bank's Report observes that the main stimulus to the price rise came from the steadily accelerating tempo of investment activity and the growing pressure of demand, particularly for foodgrains and industrial raw materials, superimposed upon some decline in agricultural output from the earlier record levels. Possibly, other factors such as some hoarding of stocks by producers themselves were also at work. Government's efforts to check the price rise have been directed both towards increasing supplies especially of foodgrains mainly through imports and restraining excess demand through fiscal and monetary measures. The fact that commodity prices did have periods of stability during the year, especially during the first few months of 1957 would seem to indicate that the action by Government and the monetary authority was met with parallel success, though this has mainly been in the direction of restraining a rise rather than producing a fall in prices.

Monetary and Credit policy during the year was one of controlled expansion, based on the twin considerations of assisting economic growth and restraining inflationary pressures. For this purpose, the Reserve Bank made use of general as well as selective credit controls. While the facilities for borrowing from the Reserve Bank were liberalised during the year under review, the cost of such credit was raised somewhat, largely in keeping with the trend of higher rates

and also to discourage excess borrowing. The Reserve Bank's lending rate under the Bill-Market Scheme, which had been put up from 3 to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent as from March 1, 1956, was raised to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in November, 1956. The effective borrowing rate against usance bills was further increased by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from February 1, 1957 as a result of Government's raising the stamp duty on usance bills. Simultaneously, the Bank also raised its lending rate on advances against Government securities from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. Further, with effect from May 16, the Bank rate itself was raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent, and as from that date the effective borrowing rate against usance bills has been 4- $1\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. Restraint on credit expansion was also exercised, for the first time, through directives under the power conferred by the Banking Companies Act, particularly in field of credit for the purpose of trading in foodgrains. The Report also mentions the enactment of the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Act, which provided for the needed flexibility in note issue and also endowed the Reserve Bank with greater powers to restrict the creation of credit by varying reserve requirements of bank.

The magnitude of expansion of money-supply with the public in 1956-57 was substantially smaller at Rs. 129 crores or 5.9 per cent as against Rs. 264 crores or 13.7 per cent in 1955-56 this being mainly due to the contractionist effect of a heavy balance of payments deficit which neutralised substantially the impact of a larger budgetary deficit. Scheduled bank credit recorded an expansion of Rs. 139 crores or 18 per cent, following a rise of 22 per cent in 1955-56 with the credit-deposits ratio advancing over the year from 73 per cent to 76.6 per cent. With all this monetary expansion, the economy continued to be characterized by an acute financial stringency, reflecting mainly the sharp increase in demand characteristic of a boom phase. The rise in deposit liabilities at Rs. 132 crores was Rs. 31 crores larger than during 1955-56. While in 1955-56, scheduled banks had brought in funds from abroad to the extent of Rs. 13 crores, they repatriated Rs. 15 crores during 1956-57. Net borrowings from the Reserve Bank recorded a larger net increase of Rs. 38 crores as compared to Rs. 28 crores in 1955-56 and, in addition, scheduled banks reduced their gilt-edged 'port-

folio,' whereas in the previous year they had augmented it. During the year under review, the financial accommodation provided by the Reserve Bank to State Co-operative banks continued to show a rising trend.

The capital market displayed signs of increasing strains under the continued pressure of demand for capital resources for development. The volume of funds raised during the year show a rise as compared to the previous year. Reflecting the general stringency in the money market, the gilt-edged market remains as firm as in the previous year. Share prices also recorded a net decline of 9.2 per cent in contrast to successive net increases of 6.1 per cent, 12.5 per cent and 9.4 per cent in the preceding three years. The decline in share prices was largely explained by the additional taxation measures adopted by Government, the disinflationary action by monetary authorities through raising of the interest rate pattern and prospects of decline in industrial profits as a result of increasing production costs. During the year, the activities of the different special institutions for the provision of finance to industry underwent a further expansion.

Reviewing Government finances, the Report states that the Plan outlay has been continuously rising. The revised estimate of the Plan outlay in 1956-57 is placed at Rs. 761 crores, as compared to Rs. 625 crores in 1955-56. However, the resources for implementing the Plan outlays have fallen short of the requirements, with the result that there has been increasing recourse to deficit financing, which is estimated at Rs. 253 crores for 1956-57 as compared to Rs. 157 crores in 1955-56. For 1957-58, the Plan outlay has been estimated to be around Rs. 900 crores, and the deficit of the Central Government is placed at Rs. 280 crores, after taking for receipts from the new tax proposals contained in the 1957-58 budget. Some of these are of a far-reaching nature, namely, a wealth tax and an expenditure tax. The new taxes are expected to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 88 crores during the year 1957-58. The rate of interest on small savings has been raised by $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

The Report states that the impact of the rising tempo of developmental activity was most severely felt on India's balance of payments. The current account surplus recurring throughout the greater part of the First Five-Year Plan was

sharply reversed during 1956-57, with the emergence of an overall current account deficit of Rs. 292.5 crores as against a surplus of Rs. 17 crores in 1955-56. This was mainly due to the large increase in imports particularly of capital goods, resulting from a sharp rise in the rate of investment; food imports were also much higher than that in 1955-56. The foreign exchange resources were obtained partly through long-term Government borrowing and foreign grants, but largely through the drawing down of reserves. Sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India dropped by Rs. 219 crores from Rs. 748 crores to Rs. 529 crores, after taking into account a net credit of Rs. 55 crores obtained from the IMF. Regionwise, the deficit was distributed over all the principal areas, but was concentrated in transactions with the OEEC countries, the deficit rising from Rs. 84 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 202 crores in 1956-57. In order to correct the payments gap, apart from borrowings from the IMF, effort has been made to obtain larger volume of foreign assistance as well as to restrict imports drastically. An agreement was entered into with the U.S. Government for import of agricultural commodities under the U.S. Public Law 480 for a total of Rs. 174.5 crores.

What use Foreign Loans ?

The Reserve Bank's analysis of the foreign exchange position of India presents a rather unhappy picture about the country's external prosperity. The latest issue of the Reserve Bank's monthly bulletin states that in 1956-57, exports remained practically at the previous year's level, while imports (Rs. 1,076 crores) which were about Rs. 325 crores more than in 1955-56, contributed to the change from surplus to deficit in the country's balance of payments. During 1956-57, there was a current account deficit of Rs. 292 crores as against a surplus of Rs. 16 crores in the preceding year. During the year 1956-57, the Government imports were valued at Rs. 280 crores as against Rs. 138 crores in 1955-56. The imports of the private sector also rose to Rs. 795 crores in 1956-57 from Rs. 611 crores in the previous year. The Reserve Bank observes that the balance of payments transactions during the first year of the Plan have given rise to two distinct consequences. On the one hand, part of the assumed

deficit was necessary and it has now become a historical fact whatever the magnitude of the financing difficulties it presented. But the other consequence has been the need to take various corrective measures to redirect the courses of the country's balance of payments so as to conform strictly to available foreign exchange resources and to augment the foreign exchange themselves.

One of the main sources of augmenting our foreign exchange resources is foreign loans, particularly from the IBRD. With the latest loan of \$90 million for the purchase of locomotives for the Indian railways, the total assistance so far received by India from that World Bank amounts to about \$365 million. For the Second Five-Year Plan India expects loan from the IBRD to the extent of \$800 million, but it is doubtful whether that expectation would materialize. The point is that continued dependence on foreign countries and foreign institutions for our economic development is not at all indicative of our growing prosperity. Foreign loans, unless be productive within a short period, constitute a drain on the foreign exchange resources of a country. While India's foreign borrowings are on the increase, her foreign balances are progressively on the decrease. There is, therefore, some serious backlog in our planning for production. One thing is certain and it is that India's productive capacity and so also the export potentialities are not increasing to the same extent as she is progressively increasing her foreign borrowings. In other words, foreign loans are used by India on projects mostly other than productive.

Just to say a few words about the recent railway loan taken by India from the IBRD. India has a railway route mileage for about 36,000 miles and that is one of the biggest in the world. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works alone is not adequate enough to meet the growing needs of locomotives. But India almost remained inactive over the question as how to increase the production of locomotives in the country. Sometimes ago hopes were raised that India would sooner be almost self-supporting in the production of locomotives within the country. But now that hope is belied. The point is that the Government policy in this respect is defective. Instead of utilising this \$90 million

for the purchase of locomotives from foreign countries, India should have started a few more locomotive building factories with the help of foreign loans. That would have increased the productive capacity of the country and India would not have to depend on foreign countries for the supply of locomotives. Locomotives are wasting assets and in the course of years this amount, \$90 million, would go into waste without adding to the least to the productive capacity of the country. India should, therefore, turn more and more on productive projects with the help of foreign loans.

The Budget and the People

The recent concessions on wealth tax announced by the Finance Minister Shri T. T. Krishnamachari showed how far the Government was ready to accommodate big business in the country. While, with the exception of a slight modification of the postal rates, the Government stubbornly refused to budge an inch from its tax proposals which hit the common people, it went on to grant concession after concession to the wealthy and foreigners. Since the budget had been placed before the Parliament the Government announced five concessions: two in the previous session and three in the current session—all of which were in the interest of the people in the higher income group. The first two concessions related to "tax holiday" for five years for new companies, exemption from taxation of inter-corporate investments. Now the Finance Minister added three more: one was designed to reduce the taxation on the wealth of the foreigners owning property in India but residing abroad by about 50 per cent, the second one extended the five-year tax holiday to individual investors in new companies, and the third related to the exemption from assessment of the personal belongings other than jewellery.

On an analysis it would be found that none of the concessions granted had any justification from the economic point of view since the operation of the tax system in India never had been an inhibiting factor in the calculations of any enlightened entrepreneur. The foreigners had already been enjoying preferential treatment in the matter of the assessment of their wealth for the purposes of taxation. The new

concession accorded them a still greater preferential status. In the original bill it has been proposed to exempt personal belongings worth up to Rs. 25,000 from taxation. The new concession apparently meant that a man's personal belongings would not be taxed whatever might be the value of those.

The tax concessions on investments in new firms were designed to provide incentive to investors. But a general concession in all fields was less likely to channelise investment into desired fields than could have been achieved by a policy of discriminating concessions. Then there was the very great possibility that unscrupulous businessmen might consider it more profitable to shift their investment from old to "new" firms to enjoy the five-year tax "holiday" from wealth tax.

The *Economic Weekly*, in an editorial article on July 20, underlines this potential danger as it writes: "While it may be conceded that concessions of the tax holiday type operate as powerful incentives, it would be inadvisable to ignore the possible pitfalls in the path of such concessions. In order to avail themselves of this concession, there might be a movement away on the part of individuals from old investments to new investments because only in respect of the latter that the tax holiday is permissible. A switch-over from old to new investments does not by itself add either to the sum-total of national saving or to that of investment. No doubt the fact that new industrial ventures carry higher yields, net of tax because of a tax holiday will be a factor which promotes investment. But we also have to reckon with the possible contingency mentioned above, i.e., the tendency to dislodge old investments. To the extent this tendency reacts itself in depressed equity prices, it is likely to distort investment perspective and therefore have an adverse influence on new investment decisions as well."

Dismissal of Journalists

Shri Narasimhan, a sub-editor of the *Hindu*, Madras, was recently dismissed for an editorial slip. But generally the dismissal of the editor has been taken to be due to his active interest in the trade union work of journalists in Madras, Shri Narasimhan being the General

Secretary of the Madras Union of Journalists. The Government of Madras have also taken interest in the matter of the editor's dismissal and are reported to have referred the matter to a conciliation board.

From Madurai comes the news of the dismissal of Shri Brian Bobb, Chief Sub-editor of the Madurai edition of the *Indian Express* and President of the Madurai branch of the Madras Union of Journalists.

It is not possible to judge the merits or otherwise of the dismissals on the scanty press reports. It would, however, be questionable if the editors were dismissed solely because of their trade union activity. Neither does it appear reasonable that a sub-editor can be given the sack for one editorial slip—however grave that may be (in the case of a sub-editor it cannot be very great either). The State Government has done well in promising early attention in the matter. It is the fervent hope of all decent citizens that the dignity of the press is not impaired by any intransigence either on the part of the management or of the workers.

A Solution of the Naga Problem

The *Statesman's* political correspondent in New Delhi reports that military operations against the Nagas in the Assam frontier would soon be ended to prepare the ground for a political understanding. The new move by the Government of India, the correspondent adds, confirmed recent reports of a new approach to the demand for autonomy by these tribal people.

It is good news to learn that the Central Government has at last come to a realization of the futility of an application of force in the solution of a problem complicated by a multiplicity of factors—political, economic, cultural and no less strategic. Sober public opinion in India never quite agreed with the violent measures which the Government had adopted from time to time to meet the unrest in the Naga region. Now that the Government seeks to implement political solution—even going to the extent of amending the Constitution (Sixth Schedule which deals with provisions regarding administration of tribal areas in Assam)—it would undoubtedly have the best wishes of the people.

A solution of the protracted Naga problem however cannot be expected to be achieved without the Naga leaders, who, one cannot help saying, had not always shown the tact and sense of responsibility expected from leaders of people. The criminal outrages on the civilians in the region can hardly be justified. It is to be hoped that they would be coming forward to meet all the reasonable proposals of the Government of India in a reasonable manner. They should seriously reconsider their slogan for an independent Nagaland—a slogan, if made a reality, cannot offer the Nagas a better prospect than they can certainly get under a properly guaranteed system of tribal autonomy, remaining an integral part of the Union of India. It does not require much effort to see the ineffectiveness of an "independent" Nagaland. A ready parallel is offered by Pakistan. The Muslim League leaders in undivided India had preached that all ills of the Muslims would disappear once they could get their Pakistan. But a Pakistan has conclusively proved that fundamental problems of social improvement cannot be solved by narrow-minded and selfish slogans alone.

Crisis of Bengalee Middle Classes

It is now commonly acknowledged that the Bengalee middle classes are now facing the worst crisis in their life. There has, however, not been many discussions of the sociological factors involved in the crisis.

Shri Benoy Ghose, the well-known Bengalee sociologist, examines some aspects of the present crisis of the Bengalee middle classes in an illuminating article in the recently published Special Number of the *Bombay Economic Weekly*, which, in addition, contains a number of other valuable contributions on the current state of Indian economy. Tracing the evolution of the Bengalee middle classes Shri Ghose shows that they are historically the product of the British rule in India. The Bengalee genteel families were distinguished from the aristocracy by the fact that their prestige did not derive so much from birth as from education, achievement and wealth. While the middle classes continued to gain numerically for well over a century until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the speed of vertical mobility—i.e., from lower strata of the society to the status

of the middle class had not been generally so pronounced as it became during the Second World War and the years following, due, no doubt, largely to the disturbances in the social equilibrium generated by the disintegrating forces of war.

The war, famine and the partition of Bengal leading to a heavy influx of refugees from East Bengal, combined with the presence of an economically dominant and numerically heavy population of non-Bengalees, have created a situation in which the Bengalee middle classes were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their *status quo*, not to speak of improving their position in the social ladder.

"The economic competition is becoming harder day by day for Bengalees in Bengal," Shri Ghose points out, "and at the hub of it, in the city of Calcutta, the Bengalee middle-classes are pushed through the borderline of gentility towards the working classes."

This economic crisis was again interacting with an emotional disequilibrium so that the crisis of Bengalee gentility "is . . . not only economic; it is a social and psychological crisis also, with all its ramifying consequences."

War has meant a greater polarisation of Indian society including Bengali society. The elevation of a section of the middle classes in the social ladder has in its turn engendered a bitter struggle for those who were constantly being pulled down. This desperate effort to catch up has resulted in the middle class families getting into heavy debts.

"It is evident," Shri Ghose adds, "that the struggle of the middle classes was keenest in Calcutta and the Bengalee middle classes, in particular, were seriously affected by it. This is also one of the most important reasons why 'trade unionism' developed among middle-class employees all over India in wartime and the post-war years and why Calcutta became one of its storm centres. Possibly the Bengalee middle classes took the most active part in the movement and, as the finding of the Government Enquiry Committees (into their income structures) showed, they had ample reason for doing so."

The great economic distress including widespread unemployment has engendered an economic struggle in which the members of the

middle classes were being elbowed out of many independent fields of economic activity, so that the Bengalees were coming more and more to depend upon salaried services—a field, as Shri Ghose points out, already overcrowded and where, as the official unemployment survey showed, they (the Bengalees) were not fairly represented in Calcutta. It was not unnaturally that the Bengalee middle classes were moving to the political left to seek a remedy for their distress and frustration.

British Affrontery Alleged

We do not know how far the news-item, appearing in the Communist Party weekly *New Age*, is in accordance with facts. If it should be true, however, it is a grave matter which should receive immediate attention of the Government of West Bengal. If it should be found out to be groundless that should also be made clear.

The report reads:

On July 4, a woman worker of the Gayer-kata tea garden in Dhupguri police station in Jalpaiguri district (West Bengal) was breastfeeding her little child when the British manager of the garden happened to come that way. He at once flew into a rage and began to abuse the woman in filthy language for 'wasting' time. When she protested against his rude behaviour, the manager kicked her.

As soon as the news of this assault spread in the garden, the workers collected there and demanded an explanation from the boss. Faced with this situation, the manager discreetly gave assurance of good behaviour in future.

On the very next day, the police suddenly fell upon the workers when they were resting or going toward their homes during the tiffin time. A number of workers, including women, were taken into custody.

Recreation Habits in Calcutta

A socio-economic survey of the social habits of the citizens of Calcutta conducted by the University of Calcutta at the instance of the Planning Commission, showed that cinemas had the greatest attraction for people of all ages in the city. The survey was designed to measure the extent of urbanization of the people. Apart from cinema-going, other factors of urbaniza-

tion were taking part in sport and games, reading newspapers and journals and visiting the houses of relations.

The report, as summarised by the *Statesman*, reads:

"A lamentable lack of enthusiasm for games and sport irrespective of age is noticed. Over 65 per cent of the adult population do not read newspapers. Regarding visits to relations' houses citizens seem to be getting urbanized very quickly as nearly half of them have discarded the habit which is regarded as rural.

"Forty-three per cent of adult people in the city visit cinemas more or less regularly and the number of cinema-goers among men is larger. With advancing age the percentage of men and women among cinema-goers appreciably drops with one exception. Forty per cent of the women between 50 and 54 visit cinemas against 15 per cent between 45 and 49 and 25 per cent between 40 and 44.

"The survey helps to end some popular misconceptions regarding the nature of the cinema-goers. The poor section of the city's population is not among regular cinema-goers. In fact, the more one earns the more he visits cinemas. Those who earn below Rs. 100 a month contain 34 per cent of the cinema-goers and those between Rs. 350 and Rs. 750, 62 per cent. Seventy-five per cent of the illiterates do not go to see films, while 75 per cent of graduates are cinema-goers.

"Only 8 per cent of adult people play games. The most popular are indoor games like chess, cards and carrom. Among outdoor games football has the first preference. There is an affinity for soft games with advancing age. After football come badminton and volley ball. The percentage of adult women participating in games is microscopic."

Professor J. B. S. Haldane

Professor J. B. S. Haldane, one of the leading scientists of Great Britain, has left his home country with a view to settling down in India. His wife, Dr. Helen Spurway, who has been a lecturer on genetics and animal behaviour at the University College, London, is accompanying him.

Giving the reasons for leaving his homeland for ever Professor Haldane said: "I want to live

in a free country where there are no foreign troops based all over the places; yes, I do mean the Americans." ✓

Professor Haldane, world-renowned geneticist, is now about 64 years of age. He had long been active in the British Communist Party but his disagreements from the theories of the Soviet geneticist, Trofim D. Lysenko, led to a cooling down of his relationship with the Communist Party. A man with a great humanitarian outlook Professor Haldane has been a staunch critic of the foreign policies of the British Government. He took the decision to settle in India after the British attack on Suez.

While India had obviously nothing to do with the British scientist's decision Indians would gladly welcome the Haldanes amongst their midst.

Whither India's Foreign Policy

The mercurial form of India's foreign policy sometimes becomes much too fluid to be of solid assessment. During Pandit Nehru's recent tour in European countries he was reported to have condemned the Russian armed interference in Hungary. Immediately before that the U.N. report on Hungary was published stating that the uprising in that country was a national movement to overthrow the authority of the Soviet Union. Then in a Press Conference Pandit Nehru also declared that he had no doubt that the uprising in Hungary was a national liberation movement and he unequivocally condemned the Russian aggression in that country. Of course that utterance by Pandit Nehru was quite in the fitness of things in keeping with India's foreign policy of extending support to a country's struggle for freedom. But the same general policy cannot be applicable to all countries, unless they are similarly situated, nor the utterance of truth does always bring a good result. ✓

Chanakya has rightly said: "Tell the truth, when it is pleasant; never tell the truth when it is unpleasant." When telling the truth will create an international embitterment, discretion is the better part of straightforwardness. India's neutrality in power-politics in the present-day world alignment is a great source of weakness to India, notwithstanding the lip praise for India's neutrality in world affairs by many countries of the world. With the Kashmir and Goa issues looming large in the political horizon of India, India is almost

living in a glass house and she should exercise much more judiciousness and reticence while uttering opinion on world affairs. What we want to say is that in the Kashmir and Goa dispute India practically has no other friend among the countries of the world, save the Soviet Union. Memory is still afresh in the minds of the people that during the last Security Council session the Anglo-American block wanted to thrust upon India an international army force under the aegis of the U.N. Alternatively, they tried to force an arbiter over the Kashmir dispute. India has practically no friend to take up her cause and in the last moment it was Soviet Union that saved India by exercising her right of veto. Had not the Soviet Union exercised its veto power, India today would have been in a mess over the Kashmir dispute. So India should remember, that the Soviet Union is a friend indeed in India's need. The other two so-called friends of India, the USA and the U.K. tried to lay down India in a helpless position over the issue.

While the disturbance was going on in Hungary, India at that time condemned Russia for her act of aggression in that country. What India has gained by condemning again the Russian action in Hungary? Is it just to please the Anglo-American opinion? Every one knows what is going on in the present-day world. But no leader of any other country perhaps chatters off and on like Pandit Nehru over the affairs of other nations. The result is that Pandit Nehru has to play the role of a see-saw in the movement of world opinion. While condemning once the Anglo-American action over some matter, he has to condemn the other camp so as to mention the balance of world opinion. In other words, in his attempt to please both the camps, he displeases them. In an attempt to maintain the balance, he upsets it. Uttering condemnation on Soviet Union for the second time has served no useful purpose to India. India today finds herself isolated and friendless in the vortex of world politics. In his emotional outburst, Pandit Nehru seems to be carried away between swings of world opinion from one end to the other, and he pleases none. So the less said over world affairs, the better for both India and Pandit Nehru. The utterance of truth by itself means nothing and so the other leaders of world opinion have kept silence over U.N. report on Hungary. The current trend of

world events is slowly but perceptibly pushing India more and more away from the Anglo-American block.

But Pandit Nehru's defence of Communist China in grabbing Tibet is something amusing, particularly as it comes from the champion of dependent countries. Pandit Nehru has said as he said many times earlier, that Tibet was under the suzerainty of China and so China has the right to control Tibet and her affairs. But what is the meaning of suzerainty? The word suzerainty is essentially linked with the colonial pattern of domination and it is a pity that Pandit Nehru has succumbed to an imperialist obsession. Ever since 1912 Tibet was almost an independent nation, China's suzerainty over that territory was almost ended. It was the Communist China that again came forward in 1951 to subjugate that small nationality of Tibetan people and although India protested at that time, her protest was ineffective. During the Tibetan aggression by China, Pandit Nehru was snubbed by Chou-en-lai and Pandit Nehru took that without any qualms. It is a self-deception on the part of Pandit Nehru in supporting China's colonialist occupation of Tibet by force. It is the creation of a colony and it cannot be otherwise only because it has been taken over and subjugated by a country that professes to be socialist.

The doctrine of suzerainty is a dangerous one and it simply means that once a country happens to be under the suzerainty of another country it has no right ever to be independent. Tibet was once under the suzerainty of China, but the conception of suzerainty itself is based on the conception of imperialist domination and it is a wonder how Pandit Nehru could glibly support the so-called Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. In plain language, Tibet is now a colony or dominion of the so-called socialist State, China. Imperialism is always imperialism, whether it be by a capitalist country or a socialist one. Imperialism does not cease to be imperialism only because it is by a socialist country. In modern world, the conception of suzerainty is outmoded and contradictory to the conception of equality and independence of States. If you once admit the doctrine of suzerainty, then you admit that no country has any right to be independent, once it is under the suzerainty of another country. Then why do you agitate over Algeria and Tunisia? Then you

should admit that Malaya and Singapore have no right to be independent because they are under the sovereignty and suzerainty of Britain. By invoking the doctrine of suzerainty, Britain can again subjugate India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan. Why not? Chinese suzerainty was inoperative over Tibet since 1912, but still it was made effective in 1951 by force. The same doctrine and logic can also be used by Britain in extending her suzerainty again over her former colonies. So the doctrine of suzerainty is an essential incident of colonialism and we wonder how Pandit Nehru does support that in case of China's suzerainty over Tibet and her forceful occupation of that peaceful country thereby endangering the 2000 miles of northern border of India. China is a friend of ours, of two thousand years standing and we regret to have to say this.

Background to Disarmament

Disarmament eluded the statesmen of the world between the two World Wars. It has eluded them again since the Second World War. Just as the thousands of thousands of words could not bring the problem near to any solution before the Second World War, the hundreds of thousands of words since have also been equally ineffective.

The only noticeable change has been the *reduction in the number* of powers involved in the problem. Disarmament in the present world now depends upon three powers—the USA, USSR and the UK—whereas until the Second World War the agreement of at least seven powers—the USA, USSR, UK, France, Germany, Japan and Italy—was needed. Of course even now France, Germany, Japan and to some extent China, a *new power*, count—but none of these powers is sufficiently important *at the moment* to materially affect any solution agreed upon by the three (two?) great powers. But evidently a smaller number has, if anything, only meant a greater sharpening of the problem.

Let it be made clear that none of the proposals as yet made by any of the Powers of the world can, even if sincerely implemented, lead to genuine solution.

Even after reduction of troop strength and temporary suspension the Big Powers would remain incalculably more powerful than the other powers—so that while, by such a process,

the Big Powers may relax themselves to a certain extent, the insecurity of the small powers, who constitute by far the largest number, would not diminish to any great extent. (Guatemala, British Guiana, Suez, Korea, Kashmir and Hungary provide eloquent testimony how far the "Small" powers are helpless before the intrigues of the so-called Big powers even when the atom bombs are not used).

This is not to suggest the impossibility of disarmament in the present, but only to underline the deficiencies of the present approach. Any effective system of disarmament can be based only upon a commonly defined principle. Unless the nations of the world come forward to abide by the principle, so defined, pursuit of disarmament is bound to assume the character of running after a mirage. Disarmament can be effective and lasting only when there is mutual faith in the international arena. Such a faith can come only when the Powers concerned would come out with *acts* and words showing that they sincerely want to be mutually helpful. Such a result is unlikely to be achieved on the international discussion table where showmanship and mutual recrimination invariably get hold of the situation—as has been the case so long.

The present position of the world as regards the military strength of the different countries has been neatly summarised by Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin regarding the disarmament proposals because all proposals had their roots in opportunism and not in any genuine conviction of the inescapable need to disarm. The proponent of every proposal tries to divert attention from the inadequacies of his stand by pointing to the defects, real or imaginary, in that of the others. It is no wonder then that the powers have so far failed to agree; on the contrary, given their power-political attitude it would have been a real wonder if they had agreed.

Then why do the powers at all speak of disarmament? The reason is not very far to seek; it lies in their power-political interests. In the current East-West competition to gain the confidence of the Asian-African States, which none of them is able to control militarily, the Big Powers cannot afford to ignore the great sentiment against war that exists among the

people of the region—so that the powers have an interest in making themselves appear as great champions of peace. Moreover, a great segment of the population of the so-called Powers has also shown weariness at the idea of the war. Pressed thus, as they are, from both in and out, the Powers naturally are interested in any effort of seeming disarmament.

A gesture towards disarmament by the reduction of a few thousand *regular* troops (when in any general mobilisation practically the whole of the adult population can be geared to the war effort almost overnight) and the suspension of the production of nuclear weapons for only a temporary period (all the time being engaged in mutual espionage) can hardly create an atmosphere conducive to disarmament.

Mr. Baldwin writes: "The arms race today is costing the world an annual bill which may be numbered in twelve figures, or about \$100,000,000,000. This money is being spent for men and for weapons. The men are the 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 in the armed forces of the world's nations. The arms include the tremendously expansive instruments of the new warfare—nuclear weapons and the missiles to carry them.

"The bulk of the world's military power is divided between the nations of the Communist bloc and those of the free world. There are about 8,700,000 men serving in the armed forces of the Communist powers, supported by approximately 40,000 to 50,000 planes and thousands of naval vessels, most of them small. The free world grouping mobilizes about 7,500,000 to 7,800,000 men in its armed forces, with more than 53,000 planes and preponderant naval strength. The so-called neutralist nations and the smaller powers of the world maintain collectively much smaller forces, but large enough in certain troubled areas to play a balance-of-power role.

"There are, in the fullest sense of the term, only two military 'super-States' or global military powers capable of every type of military activity—the United States and the U.S.S.R. There are only three nuclear powers—the United States, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom. The United States has by far the largest, most powerful and most varied nuclear armoury and has a superior and more flexible

and varied delivery system. The numbers of nuclear bombs and devices detonated by each nation represent an approximate yardstick of the progress of the nuclear arms race:

U.S.—80 to 85.

U.S.S.R.—30 to 40.

U.K.—12.

"The United States, Russia and Great Britain are the only powers that have major missile and long-range bomber capabilities, and Britain's power is far inferior to the two leaders."

Economically, the United States provided for over 43 per cent of world's total annual expenditure on arms, followed by the Soviet Union which accounted for something between 25 and 40 per cent. Great Britain made up for about four per cent, China for 2.3 per cent, France 3.7 per cent and Western Germany for about 2.1 per cent.

Soviet Leadership Reshuffle

On July 23, Moscow announced the most significant reshuffle of Party leadership since the death of Stalin in which three of the most famous leaders—Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov—lost their positions in the Communist Party and the Government. The three top Soviet leaders were dismissed from their leadership for their alleged anti-party activities.

The new shift in the Soviet Communist Party leadership was hailed by the leading statesmen of the world—including Pandit Nehru, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Churchill—an indication of the trend away from the regimentation and tyranny of the Stalin age.

While the statesmen might be true in their analysis of the trend in the Soviet Union the manner in which the Party leaders were disgraced could not by any means be regarded as democratic. True, they were not physically liquidated in the Stalinist method; there might as well have taken place a discussion in the Central Committee; but the world outside was kept completely uninformed about the point of view of the defeated leaders. Such a thing could not happen in any democratic society. In India, for example, when the former Finance Minister, Shri Chintaman Deshmukh, resigned from his post in the Government he had no difficulty in having his points before the people despite the fact that he was arrayed against no

less a personality than Pandit Nehru himself. Molotov had served the Revolution and the Soviet Government for over fifty years; yet he could not get even the smallest opportunity to explain his position before the people of Soviet Union, while Khrushchev and party were denouncing him as a black sheep. A man whose contribution to the growth of the Soviet State to its present height is so great certainly deserved a better treatment. This criticism should not be construed to be a defence of the ousted leaders who might really be at fault. There was again no guarantee that had they come to be victorious they would have adopted any more democratic methods than did Khrushchev.

The Soviet Communist leadership ascribed the crimes of the Stalin era to the personality of Stalin. They had no hesitation in denouncing Palmiro Zogliatti, the Italian Communist leader, when he had ventured publicly to disagree from such a personal interpretation of the misdeeds perpetrated on so large a scale. (By the way, Khrushchev in the meanwhile has completely disowned the report on which Togliatti and the other foreign Communist parties had based their resolution though in the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Resolution of June 30, 1956, criticising Togliatti nothing had been said about the veracity or otherwise of Togliatti's data—which were none other than those contained in the so-called "secret" report released by the State Department of the U.S.A.). Yet it could not but be obvious to all right-thinking persons that the Soviet system had provided an ideal background for the fullest development of the black sides of Stalin, who, it should be noted, possessed a number of very admirable qualities also. In other words there were no institutional checks against the excesses committed in the name of the Party and government. In a system where the Party (rather whoever happened to occupy the leading position in the Party in any given time) must be regarded as omniscient and beyond all mistakes, mistakes and other wrongs were bound to occur as they had occurred on so large a scale in the U.S.S.R. While the new Soviet leadership had made commendable efforts in remedying some of the specific evils of the Stalin era they did nothing to attack the fountain source of the misdeeds of the

past—the all-pervading authority of the Party even in fields of literature, art, music and science and sociology requiring constant subservience to the current party line with its characteristic zigzags and occasional somersaults. To the extent the new Soviet leadership also stuck to this philosophy of the role of the party in practice there was nothing in current Soviet developments to provide any hope for the future, whatever the immediate steps might be.

The *Reuter* report on the changes in the leadership is appended below:

London, July 4.—The Soviet Communist Party last night announced the dismissal, for "anti-party activity," of four of its top leaders—Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov—and the creation of a new 15-member hierarchy party.

The Central Committee of the party dismissed the four from the party Presidium, the body which rules Russia. Shepilov, the only one not closely associated with Stalin, was only a non-voting member of the Presidium. The others were full members.

Among the new members of the Presidium is Marshal Zhukov, famous World War II Commander, who was banished by Stalin after the war because Stalin feared his popularity.

The new Presidium, broadcast in alphabetical order, is as follows:

A. B. Aristov, N. I. Belyayev, L. I. Brezhnev, N. Bulganin, T. Furtseva, N. G. Ignatiev, A. I. Kirichenkov, N. Khrushchev, F. R. Kozlov, Q. Kuusinen, A. Mikoyan, N. N. Shvernik, M. A. Suslov, K. Voroshilov and G. Zhukov.

Mr. Kuusinen was elected Secretary of the Central Committee.

Alternate members of the Presidium elected were: N. A. Mukhitdinov, P. N. Pospelov, D. S. Korotchenko, Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, K. Mazurov, N. P. Mzhavandadza and M. Perukhin.

Another alternate member was also elected but his name was not heard clearly in the first broadcast.

The announcement means that the number of full members of the Presidium has been raised from 11 to 15.

The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal

Zhukov, has been raised from an alternate or candidate member to full membership.

As an alternate member he attended Presidium meetings, but had no voting rights.

Mr. M. G. Pervukhin, a first Deputy Premier, has been demoted from a full member to an alternate member.

Mrs. Tekaterina Furtseva, the only woman member of the top Soviet leadership, is promoted from an alternate to a full member, together with Mr. L. L. Brezhnev, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

The "hard core" of the party Presidium—which is the present name for the old Politburo of Stalin's days—has remained almost unchanged since Stalin died.

The one major change occurred with the execution of former secret police chief, Beria, in December 1953. He had been arrested and charged with treason the previous summer.

Molotov and Kaganovich were even older Politburo members than was Beria.

Soviet affairs observers said that—pending further information from Moscow—it was impossible to forecast what changes, if any, there may be in Soviet policy as a result of the top-level changes.

Changes of key personnel at the top have normally been accompanied by policy switches.

There will be immediate speculation as to whether the changes are in any way due to the publication, on June 20, of the text of the speech by Mr. Mao Tse-tung, the Supreme Leader of Communist China.

This was the speech in which Mr. Mao pronounced the slogan: "Let 100 flowers blossom; let 100 schools of thought contend."

The speech implying a greater degree of freedom for intellectual and others to air their criticisms has already had a considerable impact inside the Communist countries of Eastern Europe as well as China itself.

A communique from the party announcing the changes, decided on at a Central Committee meeting last Saturday, said the dismissed group had "hindered the Soviet Government's policy of peace among peoples" and singled out Molotov especially for hampering measures "intended to ease international tension and promote international peace."

It blamed him for his policy towards

Yugoslavia and said he had raised obstacles to the conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty and was also against normalization of relations with Japan.

Vyacheslav Molotov, 67, was Stalin's most trusted negotiator in the foreign field. He held power at the top for longer than any of the present leaders.

Georgi Malenkov, 55, was Prime Minister from the time of the death of Stalin in March, 1953, until February 8, 1955, when he was replaced by Marshal Bulganin.

Lazar Kaganovich, 64, Stalin's brother-in-law, was the only Jew among the Russian leaders.

Dimitri Shepilov, 52, a former Editor of *Pravda*, became Foreign Minister from June, last year, in succession to Molotov. But he was himself replaced last February by Mr. Gromyko.

The indictment accused the four of "drifting so far away from reality" as to fail to see the possibility of easing up on the demands of collective farmers.

They demonstrated an "overbearing attitude" and lack of faith in the people who were now increasing food output.

Mr. Molotov was blamed for opposing the "virgin lands" scheme of Mr. Khrushchev; and Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich for opposing destalinization and the moves to provide more freedom for the individual.

Throughout the Central Committee communique, Molotov was singled out as the arch-offender for his opposition to the peaceful co-existence policies of Mr. Khrushchev.

Key paragraph in the Central Committee communique was this:

"What underlies the attitude of Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, which is at variance with the party line, is the certain fact that they were, and still are shackled by old notions and methods, that they have drifted away from the life of the party and country, failed to see the new conditions, the new situation, and that they take a conservative attitude, stubbornly clinging to obsolete forms and methods of work that are no longer in keeping with the interests of the advance towards Communism, rejecting what is born of reality itself and is suggested by the interests of the progress of Soviet society and by the interests of entire Socialist camp."

The party communique ended with the warning that condemnation of the fractionary activities of the dismissed leaders should serve to close the ranks of the party and promote the general line of the party.

The changes were adopted unanimously, with one abstention—Molotov.

Aggression in Oman

A renewed aggression took place in the explosive situation in the Middle East when British bombers went in action to quell a rebellion by Imam (religious head) of Oman against the Sultan of Muscat and Oman.

The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman was a small State in the South-eastern corner of the Arabian peninsula. Muscat and Oman had a population estimated between 550,000 to 830,000 and had a coastline of over 1,000 miles on the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea. The Sultan was bound by a treaty with Britain and the Sultan's 1,500 soldiers were being commanded by ten British officers.

The present rebellion was being led by Ghalib ben Ali, the former Imam of Oman and his brother Talib. About nineteen months ago in December, 1955, the Sultan, Said bin Taimur, had deposed the Imam with the help of the British troops. Talib then had led a revolt against the Sultan but meeting with failure had retired to Cairo.

The British intervention in a purely internal affair in the Sultanate raised protests from all quarters. It also involved the British Government in a clash with the United States. British press openly charged that the U.S. Government were behind the rebels. Sir Bernard Burrows, British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf, clearly hinted to America when he said in Bahrain on July 23 that the use by the rebels of automatic weapons "which have never been seen before the area" made it "sufficiently clear some one on the outside is helping."

On the other hand, the U.S. State Department in a statement from Washington described the charges against the U.S.A. made in the British press as "absolutely baseless." Mr. Lincoln White, the State Department spokesman said: "The charge that the basis of this conflict

(in Oman) is rivalry between United States and British oil interests is hogwash."

A striking feature of the recent British action in the Middle Eastern arena was the meticulous care with which the British Government had kept the U.S.A. informed of all actions the former had been taking in Oman—a procedure the British had not cared to take in December, 1955, when they had suppressed a similar revolt in Oman. This was an indication of the loss of self-confidence on the part of Britain.

Substantial oil interests—both of the U.S.A. and Great Britain—were involved in the region. Two American companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum between them had 23.75 per cent share in the Iraq Petroleum Company which had been drilling for oil in Oman. Other shareholders of the Iraq Petroleum Company were the British Petroleum Company, Royal Dutch Shell, the French Petroleum Company with 23.75 per cent shares each and the C. S. Gulbenkian Foundation holding the remaining 5 per cent of the shares.

Whatever might be the interests of the foreign powers the action of the British Government in deciding upon an intervention in the internal affairs of Oman clearly fell in the category of aggression and could hardly be said to have any justification.

Guatemala President Assassinated

The stormy republic of Guatemala has again had another political upset. The *New York Times* of July 28 gives the news below:

"In the ornate marble Presidential palace in Guatemala City last Friday evening, President Carlos Castillo Armas escorted his wife, Odilia Palomo, to dinner after a palace reception. As the pair approached the dining room a palace guard presented arms, raised his rifle and fired four shots. The President toppled. He died instantly.

"The full motivation for the shooting was not immediately known but an official communique indicated that the assassin had Communist affiliations. Whatever the basis of the incident the assassination was a sign of the instability that has been a constant factor in Guatemalan affairs for many years.

"In 1950, the Guatemalan reformer Jacobo Arbenz Guzman came to power in Guatemala. He awakened the social consciousness of Guatemala's three million people, more than half of them illiterates. President Guzman introduced widespread social reform. He concentrated on agrarian problems. At that time a powerful landed gentry, which represented about two per cent of the country's population, owned three-fourths of the land. The Guzman regime expropriated lands not under cultivation. Land was given to the peasant on lease—the State retained rights of ownership. Under his rule, the Communists rose to positions of power, taking over key Government offices and assuming control of all labor and peasant organizations.

"Against this background bands of anti-Communist Guatemalan exiles were forming in neighboring Honduras under the leadership of the soft-spoken, wiry Colonel Castillo Armas. The U.S. afforded the Castillo forces moral support and—unofficially—material support. On June 18, 1954, Castillo led his men into Guatemala to 'liberate' their homeland from 'Guzman's Communist rule.' The ensuing, 12-day civil war was a cold war miniature with the Castillo forces backed by the U. S. and Moscow propagandizing for Guzman. Colonel Castillo won the day and Guzman fled into exile (he is now in Uruguay).

"The problems faced by the newly-installed Castillo were formidable. There was widespread economic dislocation and unemployment; there was tension in the armed forces; a rising clamour from the Right for the restoration of expropriated property; and demands by the non-Communist Left—mainly students—for a restoration of civil liberties.

President Castillo Armas received outside financial aid totaling upward of \$100,000,000, chiefly from the U.S. He passed a land reform law which gave peasants land in perpetuity; promulgated minimum-wage legislation; and sought to retain many of the social reforms introduced by the Guzman regime.

"Nevertheless, Castillo Armas' critics described his administration as a 'benevolent dictatorship.' They accused the Castillo regime of disenfranchising illiterates; banning opposition political parties; and bridling the press.

President Armas contended that these steps were necessary to maintain stability. *On the left*, he pointed to Communist efforts to infiltrate his administration and stage a comeback; *on the right*, he pointed to growing restlessness among landowners who strongly opposed his policies of increased property taxes and the introduction of income taxes. Clearly, President Castillo Armas was seeking to steer a delicate course between extreme rightwing and leftwing pressure groups. 'The pendulum must be kept in the center with justice to all,' he was fond of saying.

"The shooting incident last Friday night stunned Guatemala. The assassin, later identified as Romeo Vasquez Sanchez, turned the rifle on himself immediately after killing the President. That night the cabinet held an emergency session and proclaimed a state of siege (modified martial law). Yesterday, at 5 A.M., Luis Arturo Gonzalez the 'first designate' or Vice-President, assumed the Presidency.

Tunisia Goes Republican

The same issue of the *New York Times* gives the following news:

"Bey Bows Out: The hereditary Beys of Tunis are members of a Turkish Husseinite dynasty that won sovereignty over the pirate state in 1705. In the nineteenth century Tunis became the object of British, French and Italian colonial interests, with France winning control in 1881, compelling Mohammed IV, the reigning Bey, to accept the status of a French protectorate. Two years ago France and Tunisia signed an agreement ending the protectorate and giving the country local autonomy, which its energetic Premier Habib Bourguiba has steadily expanded to full independence. Last week the Bourguiba Government took the inevitable next step. The National Constituent Assembly deposed the Bey—now Sidi Mohammed el-Amin, 76, proclaimed the Republic of Tunisia and chose Bourguiba as its first President, thus making him head of State and Government. The Bey, lacking political or military support, made no opposition to the move."

And the commentary on the event was published, as given below, in the same paper in its July 29 issue. It is from the pen of C. L. Sulzberger:

"Paris, July 28.—Establishment of a Tunisian Republic was a predictable step in the immutable process of North Africa's political evolution. The future of the Bey of Tunis was just as evidently doomed as that of the late, outmoded Glaoui of Moroccan Marrakesh.

"It is undoubtedly unpleasant for our ally, France, to contemplate diminishment of its imperial influence. This development focuses eventually upon the bitter, unending struggle in Algeria which Paris continues to insist is part, not of its overseas domain, but of the metropolitan itself.

"That is a legalism. What is called the 'presence' of France in Algeria is emphasized here as essential. Perhaps, one might conjecture, such an approach is based upon an old French proverb: 'The absent one is always wrong.' Contrast this with the English axiom: 'Absence makes the heart grow fonder.' The English may not be realists in the Gallic sense. But their maxim has proved valid in relinquished India.

"No single man in France today can predict with any accuracy just who will administer Algeria five years hence. Neither the nationalist rebels nor the French Government seem to have weighed all possible consequences of present policy in terms of a valid settlement. Paris continues to talk vaguely of negotiation as if negotiation by itself were a solution. It is not. One must know what kind of formula one seeks before the act of parleying assumes true worth.

"The Arabs—by which vague phrase is meant the motley population between the Atlantic and the Arabian Sea—conceive of *maghreb*, a vaguely federated system including Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria.

"But, to begin with, it is difficult to envision comfortable relationships binding the new Tunisian Republic and staunchly royalist Morocco. Does President Bourguiba in Tunis aspire to upset the Sultan in Rabat?

"Far more important in terms of present tendencies, what is the future of Algeria to be? It is easy for Arab nationalists and foreign sympathizers vaguely to speak of an independent State. But how could such a State survive without the abilities of its 15 per cent European minority, the administrative, commercial and intellectual elite?

"This is a practical question. Lack of any satisfactory answer does not inhibit the emotional aspirations of Algerians. But it does, and in a dangerous way, limit their future viability should such freedom be obtained by force. Bourguiba, who has so far proved himself a wise and moderate man, is fully aware of all these implications.

"In terms of the logic so appealing to French minds, a middle course between the extremes of premature independence and uncomfortable imperial tenure must be found. This avenue is being explored in Paris. But the exploration is slow, hesitant and subject to the vagaries of fanatical pressures.

"The trouble is that not only Algeria's future but that of France itself is politically at stake unless the cancer is treated by proper surgery. Should a flood of angry and dispossessed French colonists return to the motherland accompanied by an infuriated army, victor in many battles but loser of another war, the result might be an overturning of the French regime itself.

"Neither France nor NATO can afford the luxury of such a drastic and dramatic denouement. Our own system of military alliances is founded upon an arch containing a French keystone. This applies above all to the North Atlantic Pact.

"One may, therefore, hope that Bourges-Maunoury, the somewhat bewildered young man who heads the present Paris Cabinet, will continue secret diplomatic search for peace. Surely Tunisia's first President, Bourguiba, is interested in helping.

"Bourguiba wants to join NATO. So does the Sultan of Morocco. But neither dares, despite the evident geographical connections of their countries to the North Atlantic world. They cannot press the issue until the explosive Algerian problem has been settled—at least by acceptable *modus vivendi*.

"Unquestionably it would benefit everyone concerned, Arab, Berber and Frenchman, to terminate the present hideous bloodshed in Algeria. Prevailing chaos serves only to inspire blood hatreds and abet a xenophobia encouraged both by Moscow and by Nasser's anti-Western drive. And it is draining France's economy."

The Anglo-American Alliance

Sulzberger gives another highly interesting commentary, on the Anglo-American bloc, in the *New York Times* of July 31st. We give it *in extenso* below:

"Paris, July 30.—The Anglo-American alliance seems to be proving as indestructible as Foster Dulles and as resilient as Selwyn Lloyd. Neither the durability of our most vital international compact nor of its current diplomatic agents could have been foreseen eight months ago.

"It was high time, in fact, for the astonishing Secretary of State to make one of his whirlwind descents on London. All-important disarmament discussions there are at a critical point. They need some energetic decision concerning their future course. And two unrelated Middle Eastern matters have reached a stage where they require agreement on bilateral policy. These are Cyprus, where solution at last seems less impossible, and the Persian Gulf, dramatized by the Muscat fracas.

"The question of disarmament or, as we prefer it, war-prevention, seems to have reached impasse among the London negotiators. Washington is above all anxious to secure agreement with Moscow on beginning an inspection system to reduce possibilities of surprise attack. We appear ready to meet the Russian demand for suspension of atomic tests if present fissionable stockpiles are frozen and other countries are excluded from manufacture of nuclear weapons.

"From a purely Allied viewpoint these matters are difficult to resolve. Some of our NATO partners are unhappy about the European area we wish opened to Soviet eyes in exchange for similar access in the U.S.S.R. And Britain, which doesn't yet have an adequate supply of atom bombs or an economically perfected manufacturing process, dislikes freezing the nuclear club at its present limits.

"Dulles will have to explain more fully to our allies just what we desire and how much additional defense support we are prepared to give in return for any sacrifices we may ask of them. What assurances does Dulles feel able to offer on access by our NATO partners to American atomic arms?

"The fifteen allies have gone much further than might have been foreseen to resolve their different national approaches to disarmament.

Therefore, if no indication of positive Soviet intentions can be detected, the Dulles talks in London may hinge upon ways of suspending current pourparlers without loss of propaganda initiative.

"Apart from this topic, which transcends all others in importance, the Secretary of State must inevitably discuss the nervous Middle East with Lloyd and Harold Macmillan. The spat that flared up in Muscat, although not in itself worrisome, emphasizes need to do some forward thinking concerning the Persian Gulf. We would like to see Britain advance from the outdated hodgepodge of protected sheikhdoms.

"London is leery of any sudden change. It depends heavily on oil from Kuwait and Qatar. And it wants our support in the form of an American consular representative in Muscat. Dulles could usefully suggest a survey of the borders between our new friend, Saudi Arabia, and the British-dominated sheikhdoms, terminating quarrels in that insufficiently charted area.

"There is also bothersome Cyprus. That turbulent island has calmed down since the last top-level talks between British and American statesmen. London now seems more willing to cut its losses and relinquish control—except for an air base and small administrative area. With large force reductions under way, Whitehall wishes to end the burdensome E.O.K.A. brush war.

"Greece has also become less intransigent in its attitude. Athens shows hints of boredom with the uncompromising Archbishop Makarios. Many Greek leaders also fear eventual political ambitions on the mainland of Colonel Grivas, leader of the E.D.K.A. rebellion and an ambitious man of the Right.

"The big remaining hurdle is Turkey. The Turks want Cyprus partitioned and their minority moved into the northern half. But such a formula threatens only to produce on a small scale the kind of bloodshed that broke out ten years ago when India was divided.

"Whether Dulles has any ideas on how to help London, now hoist with its own unnecessary Cypriote petard, is something we are unlikely to know for weeks. No open attempt to settle Cyprus can be ventured until after Turkey's national elections in September. The subject is a hot electoral issue."

THE FALLIBLE MAHATMA

By R. W. SORENSEN, M.P.,
House of Commons, London

If the human race escapes the threat of nuclear annihilation the name of Gandhi will be revered a thousand and more years hence. Meanwhile, in East and West alike he is honoured as one who pre-eminently personified the Indian aspiration for national freedom, independence and dignity and the impregnation of an arduous political struggle with noble moral and spiritual values.

In many respects he was unique in this combination of religious idealism and social realism, for although others also sought and seek this he was an outstanding example, within the Indian context, of devotion, courage, integrity, sagacity and faith. This was focussed, yet not confined, by his identification with the toiling peasants as he strove for his country's liberation. His political adoption of "Satyagraha" was not simply a shrewd expedient, even if this itself was powerfully effective in the prevailing circumstances of India, but was with him a consistent projection of religious conviction. This is equally true of other practices he himself pursued and which he constantly commended both to his immediate Congress associates and to the Indian multitude.

The influence he wielded, while immense in his own country, was by no means restricted thereto; and as an Englishman, I and countless others, will cherish him always not only as Bapu, the Father of Indian freedom, nor as Mahatma, a rare great soul, from whom is drawn abounding inspiration, but also as one of the shining true leaders of our common humanity.

Every word I have written in that eulogy is sincere, and I count it a wondrous privilege to have known and met Gandhiji personally, to have conversed with him and to have borne witness repeatedly to the superlative qualities of his character, his world significance and his challenging philosophy.

It was in keeping with those qualities that he often warned his followers against any tendency to involve him in human idolatry. He proclaimed the august obligation of a constant quest for Truth and according to his inner light so he announced his discoveries in the quest. Even so, he recognised, at least theoretically, that each one must make his own quest and live in correspondence with his individual discovery. Truth is approached along many pathways, and even their convergence leads to many doors of its temple.

Of course, he was not infallible, and suggestions or assumptions to the contrary would have received either emphatic repudiation or a characteristic smiling chuckle of scorn. Nevertheless, it is hardly surprising that the inclination not to question his teaching but to accept it as virtually infallible has existed in certain quarters. I have met both Indian and British disciples who appear to consider it almost blasphemous, and in any case shocking bad taste, to voice dissent or to be critical of the validity, philosophical or practical, of any aspect of Gandhi's many recorded opinions. Others are critical, but hush their dubiety, as if otherwise they might merit shameful reproach. And others, again, attempt a casuistical re-interpretation of the Mahatma's teaching, with the implication or the assertion that he has been misunderstood, that one text must be counterbalanced by another in his writings or speeches or not wrenched from its context, or even that had Gandhi lived today he would have endorsed the alleged more opposite interpretation. Finally, there are those who insist on the comprehensive accuracy of his teachings, and either valiantly pursue their cogent implementation or confess that departure from this must be recognised only as a testimony to our human weakness.

Personally I believe the example and merit

of Gandhiji suffers no injury if we state quite frankly that in certain respects his judgement was wrong. He was, as we all are to a greater or less degree, a fallible human being, and we render him a fatal disservice in glossing over this fact. Of course, on those decisions he reached for purely personal observance none of us would venture any question, for they issued from his own intimate experience and belonged to him and him alone. Each of us is the sole judge ultimately on his or her own spiritual necessities. It is only when these purely personal necessities are expanded into a general course for others to follow, or when there appears to be advocacy of social policies based on individual preference, that we are not only entitled to scrutinise the advocacy but, indeed, are compelled to do so by the same moral criterion that Gandhi himself upheld.

I cannot agree that his philosophy is ideal but that—

"Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,

That miss the many-splendoured thing"

or, in other words, that it is our moral inadequacy which impedes the immediate application of his principles. I would not even assent altogether to the assertion of Dr. Atindranath Bose in his arresting contribution in the January edition of *The Modern Review* that, "Gandhi, the philosopher of the spirit, was a misfit in the age which is groping within a maze of violence and greed," if by that is meant that Gandhi's "advance message of the future" is an intimation of all that should be in a world still remote from our own. On the contrary, I submit, in some respects his contemporary analysis and his proposed remedies were erroneous, basically and intrinsically. In other respects, certainly, as with supreme values affirmed by many saints and seers, it is the moral imperfection of the race that frustrates their social establishment.

Gandhi's philosophy was comprehensive, but not always intellectually coherent. This is no reflection on him, for intellectual presentations are frequently not fully coherent. Yet this does involve some uncertainty about Gandhian economics, particularly on the extent to which limitations should be imposed on modern technology. The elevation of the *charkha*, not simply as a symbol of national

insurgence but a supreme if not the sole means of economic salvation encouraged perilous oversimplification. I confess that I discovered no guidance from expositors of the Gandhian economy on whether electric illumination and power was to be considered a curse because it required generation stations or a blessing because it brought light and could ease heavy burdens. Nor did I discover the inherently superior spiritual significance of an ox-wagon over a factory-made motor-car with its internal combustion engine, or how 50,000,000 men, women and children in Britain would become morally superior by living primitively in hundreds of thousands of scattered rural hamlets in their relatively small island.

This is not to deny for one moment that the development of village handicrafts has had no advantages whatever. I am quite sure this is most advantageous in India and elsewhere, and I warmly appreciate how much in that direction has been done in India during the last 10 years. Moreover, one fully recognises the dangers both of excessive centralisation and tyrannical mechanisation and of the need of averting these dangers. Conversely, are there not dangers at the other extreme in sociological stagnation or in the circumscribed lives of masses labouring with simple implements to secure bare physical livelihood?

The emphasis on simplicity, self-help and wholesome priorities was and is most salutary, and so is the warning against the provocative as well as dehumanising effect of capitalist methods. On the other hand, notwithstanding improvements in local rural water supplies and other forms of agrarian progress, surely I was not deceptively exhilarated at the sight of the massive venture of the Bhakra Nangal Dam, which could only have been undertaken through national resources being made available on a vast scale.

Much of this, it could be argued, is not inimical to the Gandhian philosophy. Nevertheless, although I may be wrong, I have the impression that the weight given to the *charkha* economy was far greater than to any national project aimed at substantially increased per capita productivity. The virtual absence of positive appreciation of national economic plans, I venture to suggest, was a

serious blemish in the economic policy of Gandhi.

I would dissent from the assumption that the modern state must inevitably be a soulless, amoral if not immoral, oppressive, aggressive despotism. It may, but need not, be this, just as the village panchayat could be the registration of stubborn, unimaginative ignorance or the repository of genuine fellowship and co-operation. The state may seem remote and impersonal, but so can raw nature with its visitation of earthquake, storm, flood, dearth and pestilence whatever the pleas and prayers of hapless victims through the centuries. So can an autocratic prince, with his resolute detachment from the common man, even when he condescends to bestow paternal benevolence. So, indeed, can be even national postal or railway services, with their elaborate organisation and their armies of servants who enable human beings to escape isolation.

Large and small-scale organisation alike can be suffered with arrogance or with goodwill; and in an enlightened democratic State, it is possible for the latter to be mediated through a responsible hierarchy of representative stewards. Whether the possibility becomes an actuality depends as much on the social integration of moral consciousness as does any visualised blissful anarchic community. Millions of people are still millions, whether their common needs accept a central co-ordinating agency or repudiate this and rely, instead, on a pacific aggregation of innumerable local groups; and the task of permeating those millions with qualities of tolerance, confidence, co-operation and personal responsibility is the same in either case. At least on balance, I believe the diffusion of sublime truths through the population of a nation like India is more possible when there are efficient swift means of communication than when travel, correspondence and the circulation of ideas takes years instead of the days—or even hours—of the present age.

No doubt there are moral and spiritual absolutes, but in the approach thereto through the centuries of human history many geographical, biological and economic factors condition human life. In the process, there are relative truths, and here again I submit, Gandhi

gave these insufficient appreciation. Truth is not static but fluid, and although the stream flows purposively towards a consummation yet in its tortuous course there arise divergent concepts of goodness that have a transitory validity in the absence of fuller, future knowledge. The discovery of tool and fire-making, of well-sinking instead of reliance on pools and rivers, of the capacity to inscribe languages, of the building of ships that sail to distant parts, of magnetic and electrical devices, of elaborate machine-making, of facts about astronomy, geology and anthropology, of anaesthetics and medicines that relieve pain, suffering and the waste of human life—these have had their profound influence on human life, and although capable of abuse and evil can, instead, be wondrous boons to mankind. They are, therefore, good.

Gandhi was not ignorant of this, and in his wisdom gave qualified testimony to their moral worth. For all that, not alone among religious minds, he did not invariably discriminate between the virtue of the service given to man in and through industrial technology and the vice of greed and irresponsibility associated with it through human blindness and folly. Even an axe can be used to fell trees or to kill men, but one does not therefore abjure the axe because it can be put to lethal use. May it not be that the maker of the axe or the hoe has done as much good as the priest with his prayers or the preacher with his exhortations? An *avatar* may be a good carpenter, farmer or engineer and not exclusively a good teacher or a mystic in an *ashram*.

My assessment of Mahatma Gandhi in respect of his evaluation of objective sociological facts may do him less than justice. If so, I am contrite because of my deceptive impression. Is this also relevant to my belief that he was woefully misleading in regard to sex?

In his personal life he was stringently ascetic, and through the greater part of his married life he was celibate. For this spiritual discipline he felt called to exercise there can only be the deepest respect, such as is given to all those who for the highest motives obey an inner call to renunciation of domestic fulfilment or of worldly wealth or of academic achievement. Sacrifice can take many forms according to the

specific disposition or function of respective souls, whether this be the climbing of Mount Everest, a prolonged sojourn like Dr. Schweitzer's in the African jungle, the mission of Gautama or the high enterprise of Gandhi. The decision rests on the authority of the individual conscience.

Precisely because the choice of such personal discipline and sacrifice is enwrapped within the spiritual experience of each solitary soul it cannot consistently become an imperious directive to any other soul. Unfortunately this is not always fully appreciated, and thus we find those possessed of one type of saintliness authoritatively promulgating for others what may be entirely inappropriate, even with the best intentions. Here two familiar British proverbs should be learnt by heart by every great soul. They are, "One man's meat is another man's poison" and "The path to hell is paved with good intentions." In application this means that it may be imperative for one man to climb Mount Everest but wrong or foolish for another to attempt this, or necessary for one woman to renounce maternity and give life-long service as a hospital matron to the sick but quite the reverse for other women. This may appear platitudinous, but even the obvious can be ignored by the zealous.

Gandhi undoubtedly exerted most beneficial influence in the raising of the status of woman, for which both men and women bear him gratitude. Nevertheless, his advocacy of sexual repression in marriage save for intentional procreation of children, and then, apparently, only with an attempted eradication of sensuous pleasure was to my mind quite definitely not merely an impracticable counsel of perfection but intrinsically wrong. Within this commendation of severe marital restraint lies the assumption that sex is a sensuous snare and delusion, and that the finest spiritual values require the stern repudiation of earthly attractions. Even where a saint escapes the frequent error of prescribing his own discipline for general adoption he often does so in a melancholy conviction that there must be concessions to weaker brethren or those still enmeshed in the thickets of a lowly stage of spiritual evolution.

This, I contend, is as false as the assump-

tion that the absorption of food is spiritually a lamentable mortal necessity and that emaciation is akin to divinity, or that the sensuous beauty of flowers distracts the soul from mystical sublimity. Presumably it is this assumption that requires Buddhist Bhikkus to avoid even taking the outstretched hand of a little girl or austere Christian monks to refrain from kissing their mothers. That, indeed, may be their own necessary inhibition, but it is grievously false to assume spiritual inferiority among those who do not exercise a similar drastic discipline.

There are certainly serious evils in gluttony and gross sexual indulgence, but recognition of these does not thereby endorse the flagellation of the body or the scorn for all sensuous delight. Intemperance desecrates human life, but there can be an inverted intemperance by which human life in all its true richness becomes poisoned or lacerated by psychic enmity to its vitality. Without subscribing to the extravagances of the more intemperate psychoanalysts one can none-the-less appreciate their wisdom in exposing the liability of nervous and mental disease issuing from inappropriate suppression of organic impulses. Some "sublimation" there must be, but this is not synonymous with "extinction."

Gandhi did not recognise this. There are few, if any, signs that he was acquainted with responsible writers in this field of human psychology, and this is most unfortunate. With respect, one can allege he therefore promulgated advice on personal relationship in ignorance or with undue personal bias. Thus it was that he gathered within the sweep of his censureship not only greed, malice and uncharitableness, the drinking of alcohol and the eating of meat and in the term of sex-indulgence any copulation other than as an infrequent and if possible dispassionate technique for procreation. He was not alone in this, but that too many sensitive souls do not minimise their sense of revulsion at the mechanistic degradation of what should be a joyous human relationship.

In criticizing what I consider to be the erroneous guidance of Gandhi and other great souls when they step beyond the realm of their own discipline I am aware that implicitly I am penetrating challengingly into a world of meta-

physical values wherein many others besides Gandhiji offer resistance to my claim. It could be said that in my strictures I myself display lack of real understanding of the ultimate truth for human life. To deal with that would take me beyond the scope of the present article, and I must confine myself to the purpose of indicating why and how I consider the Gandhi to whom I give the highest homage was nevertheless fallibly misleading in subordinate respects. I repeat, this does not dim my admiration and reverence for him, nor obscure the radiance of his personality.

He deserves the title of "Mahatma", although his unadorned simple nomination of

"Gandhi" will possess for all time its own lustre. Of this I am sure, that he would not have had any who are grateful beyond words for the service he rendered to India and to the free world to become sycophantic in adulation. Rather would he have praised the honesty he himself so nobly practised when it issued in generous dissent from any aspect of his own teaching. His own humility was often registered in his confession of failure and misjudgement and in so doing he emphasised his fallibility. To recognise this simply underlines his and our moral obligation in the scrupulous quest for Truth.

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AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN INDIA

By BANDHUDAS SEN, M.A.

Two recent documents, one published in 1951 and the other in 1954, illustrate the fundamental disequilibrium in the functional pattern of the agrarian society of India. The first document, the Report of the Census of India, 1951, reveals that for every 1,000 agricultural land-holders there are 402 landless agricultural labourers in India. In other words, nearly one-third of the agricultural population till the land they do not own. The other classes constituting the agrarian society, are owner-cultivators, tenants, rent-receivers and non-cultivating land-owners. The report estimates the numbers of self-supporting owner-cultivators and tenants (excluding the earning and the non-earning dependents) at 458 million, and 88 million respectively; the corresponding number of non-cultivating owners of land and agricultural rent-receivers, according to the census report, is 16 million. These are hard facts indeed. But these should be taken as mere approximations indicating the broad trends, rather than as the accurate picture of the class-composition of Indian agriculture. There are reasons to doubt the validity of the census figures in so far as they refer to the absolute proportion of the

different classes. The statement that the characteristic feature of Indian agriculture is the predominance of the class of owner-cultivators, too, is challengeable and the general consensus of expert opinion is that the method of classifying various occupational groups and enumerating the number of persons following or depending on a particular occupation as adopted by the census authorities, renders the calculations defective.¹ Certain types of tenants with permanent occupancy-rights and also agricultural labourers with some land of their own have been included, for example, in the category of owner-cultivators during the last census.²

The other document more reliable and useful than the census report is the report of the enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, into the working and living conditions of agricultural labourers. This report reveals that the percentage of agricultural land-owners' families to the total agricultural

1. S. Thirumalai: *Post-War Agricultural Problems and Policies in India* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1954), p. 132.

2. See *Agricultural Wages in India*, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, Vol. I, p. 28.

population is only 26.5; that agricultural labour families represent 30 per cent of the total rural families and that this proportion is the largest (50 per cent) in South India and the lowest (10 per cent) in North India. In other words, out of the 80 million rural families, 17.6 million families depend on agricultural labour for their livelihood. An agricultural labourer had been defined for the purposes of this enquiry as any person who worked as an agricultural labourer for more than one-half of the total number of days on which he actually performed work during the year.

The growth of the class of agricultural labourer is a recent phenomenon in Indian agriculture. There was no room for this class of agriculturists in the pre-nineteenth century agrarian set-up of India. True, it did not develop on a day or in a year. It lay dormant for quite some time and the broad features of this new phenomenon emerged only in the early days of the 19th century. One of the direct results of the impact of the Western economy on the economy of India was the gradual but steady disintegration of the self-sufficient, self-perpetuating village communities. On the ashes of the traditional land system arose the new class-ridden agrarian system of the present day. The emergence of the class of agricultural labourer is the manifestation of the disintegration of the traditional form of agrarian society.³ There was no reference to the classes of agricultural labourers in the economic history of India till 1850.⁴ By 1882, however, the agricultural labourers had made their presence felt. Approximately, 7.5 million agriculturists were declared as agricultural labourers that year.⁵ Subsequent censuses recorded the increase in their ranks from 7.5 million to 18.71 million in 1891 and 33 million in 1931. This increase in the number of agricultural labourers may perhaps partly be explained away as the result of the excessive pressure on agricultural occupations exerted by a rapidly growing population.

"Partly," because this explains the "absolute increase" in number. A satisfactory explanation must account for the variations in the relative proportions of the classes in agriculture. An increase in population should have affected all the classes identically. But in reality some of the classes have registered a decline or a slight increase while others have increased tremendously. This is due to the fact that every year a large area of land passes out of the hands of the actual cultivators into the hands of non-agriculturist landowners and rent-receivers. Thus an erstwhile owner-cultivator tills the land today either as a tenant or as a labourer. Most of the time the movement in the social ladder of rural India is downward, i.e., very few persons come to possess land or move upward the ladder from the bottom. It is a one-way traffic. Since 1933, in the State of Orissa, nearly 3.9 per cent of the total cultivated area or 487,500 acres of land passed from the hands of actual cultivators into those of non-agriculturists.⁶ In Bihar, another adjoining State, it has been estimated that about 200,000 acres of land pass out of the hands of actual cultivators every year.⁷ Between 1921 and 1931, the number of rent-receivers in Bengal increased by 61 per cent, and the number of agricultural labourers by 49 per cent while the number of occupancy-cultivators decreased from 20 to 50 per cent. In the princely State of Hyderabad, between 1911 and 1928 there was an increase of 4 per cent in the number of rent-receivers, while there was a decline of 11 per cent in the number of cultivators.⁸ It is, therefore, clear that the increase in population has not affected all the classes identically. The fact that the relative proportions of the classes have changed, shows that there has been an "intra-group shift" as well.⁹ Apart from the concentration of land-ownership, the factors responsible for the increased supply of agricultural labourers, are the loss of common rights in the rural economy, the disuse of collective enterprise, the subdivision of holdings, re-mortgaging and transfer of land,

3. For a detailed study of the problems arising out of the impact of the Western Economy on the traditional forms of rural society, readers are referred to Dr. Erich H. Jacoby's book *Agrarian Unrest in South-East Asia*.

4. Cf. George Campbell: *Modern India* (London, 1852), p. 65; also, J. C. Jack: *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* (Oxford, 1916), p. 84.

5. Report of the Census of 1882.

6. Report of the Orissa Land Revenue and Land Tenure Committee.

7. P. N. Driver: *Problems of Zamindari and Land Tenure Reconstruction*.

8. Report of the Agrarian Reforms Committee, Hyderabad.

9. Dr. Surendra J. Patel: *Agricultural Labourers in Modern India and Pakistan* (1952), p. 18.

decline of cottage industries—in short, “every circumstance which has weakened the economic position of the small holder.”¹⁰

The proportion of the agricultural labourers to the total agricultural working force, is not, however, uniform all over this country. It is the highest in South India (nearly 50 per cent) and the lowest in the North-West and the Northern India (nearly 10 per cent).¹¹ Although a substantial portion of the landless agricultural labourers belong to the depressed or socially backward classes or tribes,¹² the regional variation in the proportions of agricultural labourers to the total agricultural working population cannot be explained by the preponderance of these classes in a particular region and scarcity in another. The explanation should be sought in the economic conditions existing in an area, the alternative employment opportunities, etc., rather than in the ethnic composition of a region.

The basis of classification of agricultural labourers in India have been either the extent of the “landlessness” of the labourers or their period of employment. Following the first basis, some economists have classified agricultural labourers into four groups, namely, full-time wage labourers, underemployed landless labourers, dwarf-holding labourers and bonded or semi-free landless labourers.¹³ The second basis, however, seems to be more useful and widely accepted. Agricultural labourers have been divided, according to this principle, into two groups, namely, casual or seasonal, and attached or long-term. Recent enquiries have revealed the preponderance of the casual type of agricultural labourers, who constitute about 85 per cent of the total agricultural labour force.¹⁴

The sex-composition of the total agricultural labour force is roughly as follows: men 55

per cent and women 40 per cent. Children below the age of 15 account for 4.6 per cent. Most of the women labourers are casual workers, employed generally in such semi-skilled work as weeding, husking, reaping, transplanting and harvesting. The number of child workers, most of whom are casual, has been estimated at 1.6 million. They have to work hard “from 6 in the morning till late in the evening, and in moon-lit nights, work is resumed after dinner and continues till midnight. Besides excessively long hours of work, the conditions of work have been most unhygienic.”¹⁵ Child workers are usually employed for harvesting, weeding and transplanting operations, and for spreading manure.¹⁶

The seasonal character of agricultural employment should be borne in mind while understanding the economic and the living conditions of the Indian agricultural labourers. On the whole, an agricultural labourer is employed for only 189 days in the year. This fact explains the reason for the low level of wages. As the number of workers is quite out of proportion to the volume of work available, the wages offered by the employer and accepted by the worker have no relation to the cost of living.¹⁷ The desperate need of the labourer for work renders him powerless in the bargain with the employer for better wages. Under the circumstances he is prepared to accept any terms dictated by the employer. It is true, however, that the level of agricultural wages has registered a rise since the war-days. From the pre-war rate of annas three per day, the daily average rate of wages per adult male agricultural labourer has risen to 17.5 annas. At this rate the annual income of an agricultural labourer works out to Rs. 104 only. The attached workers, however, are paid less than the casual workers. This is so perhaps due to the fact that the attached workers enjoy some degree of security and continuity of employment, which the others do not. The attached workers seem to barter away their freedom, to use the term rather loosely, for the sake of security. For, they accept conditions

10. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee: *Land Problems of India*.

11. Dr. B. Ramamurti: *Agricultural Labour: How They Work and Live* (Government of India, Ministry of Labour, 1954). The book incorporates the findings of the All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, conducted by the Ministry of Labour.

12. Prof. M. L. Dantwala: *Indian Agriculture*. With the spread of civilization there is an influx of aboriginals or tribal people to the plains. They leave their hills to start life as agricultural labourers.

13. See for example, Patel, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

14. *Agricultural Labour*, *op. cit.*

15. Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee.

16. *Agricultural Labour*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

17. Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, *op. cit.*

which make them hopelessly dependent on their employers. In times of stress and strain, the average labourer becomes compelled to "mortgage his personal liberty."¹⁸ Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee holds that the status of agricultural labourers "verges most nearly on slavery" precisely in those areas where the lower and depressed classes are numerous. "The ethnic composition of the village, which governs the social stratification, is thus responsible for the survival of slavish conditions."¹⁹ Another expert Dr. Lorenzo observes that "wherever the status of the peasant proprietor has been encroached upon by high-caste money-lenders and absentee landlords, who have broken through the local systems of tenancy and usurped the land of poorer classes, the farm-hand verges on slavery."²⁰ But it would be rash to conclude that conditions of agrestic serfdom exists in India. Dr. Lorenzo himself observes, the servitude is not 'personal,' but 'usufruct'.²¹ Usually the labourer agrees to serve the money-lender in return for a small sum of money which he borrows at the moment. The origin of the conditions resembling slavery lies therefore, in the borrowing of money.²² Money is generally advanced for the marriages of these workers and in return they have to serve their employers, who happen to be moneylenders as well, for a stipulated monthly or yearly wages till the loan is repaid. During the service period they, and sometimes their wives, are maintained and clothed by their employers. They can, therefore, be better described as bonded labourers rather than as serfs.

Nor can the ethnic composition of a village be held responsible for the existence of these deplorable conditions or the system of bonded labourers. The determining factors seem to be insufficient income, lack of alternative employ-

ment opportunities and the need for money to maintain the family. The system, it may be noted, has no legal sanction.

Two widely recognised means for improving the condition of the agricultural labourers are collective bargaining and social legislation.

The scope of collective bargaining in this respect is indeed unlimited.²³ The agricultural workers in Italy, Austria, Poland and the Netherlands have considerably improved their lot by means of collective bargaining.²⁴ But the Indian agricultural worker in this respect has yet to emulate his European counterpart. Except in the plantation districts, collective bargaining in agriculture has not made so far any headway in this country. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The forces of illiteracy, ignorance and superstition, local customs and traditions, the vastness of the country—all these come in the way of the effective functioning of collective bargaining in rural areas. According to a recent survey, there are 62 registered trade union organisations of agricultural workers in this country, most of which are associated in one way or another with the political parties.²⁵ These trade unions have no achievements to their credit. The solitary exception, which is very significant in the history of the Indian agricultural workers, has so far been provided by the agricultural workers of Bardoli, a district in the State of Bombay. They made use of the principle of collective bargaining and arrived at an "agrarian settlement" with their employers in 1948.²⁶

Nor has social legislation succeeded in improving the conditions of the agricultural labourers. The progress of social legislation has been tardy, while the content of legislation has been inadequate. A number of legislative measures taken by the Government to restrict the operations of the moneylenders have com-

18. Wadia and Merchant: *Our Economic Problem*. See also Patel, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

19. *Land Problems in India*, *op. cit.*

20. Dr. A. M. Lorenzo: *Agricultural Labour Conditions in Northern India*.

21. *Ibid.* Dr. Patel in his book *Agricultural Labourers in Modern India and Pakistan* differentiates rightly between the type of agrestic serfdom existing in India and serfdom proper, as we understand it from our study of the mediaeval ages.

22. See, for example, Dr. M. G. Bhagat: *The Farmer, His Welfare and Wealth* (Bombay, 1943), p. 211.

23. "Whereas until an improved social legislation for agricultural workers can be enacted, collective bargaining may be employed as a preparatory means for regulating labour conditions in a manner conforming to modern principles of the social protection of workers."

24. *Collective Agreements in Agriculture—I.L.O.*, Geneva, 1933.

25. *Agricultural Wages in India*, Vol. I, 1952, p. 12.

26. *Times of India*, 8.6.48.

pletely failed." The Minimum Wages Act, passed in 1948, has brought little relief till now to the agricultural labourers. Moreover, agricultural workers have been left out of the schemes of land reform. The recent land reform legislation offers some tenants an opportunity to purchase the plot of land they have tilled over a specified number of years. But it does not offer a similar opportunity to the agricultural labourers.

The Planning Commission itself admits the inadequacy of the land reform legislation in this respect. "Schemes of land distribution are likely to confer somewhat restricted benefits on agricultural workers other than tenants. This is because in any scheme of distribution or resettlement, the first claim will be that of tenants already working on lands which may be taken over from the large owners."²⁷ Lastly, it is difficult to ascertain how far the State Governments have acted upon the recommendation of the Planning Commission to settle groups of landless workers on newly reclaimed as well as culturable waste land.

The problem of agricultural labourers at its bottom is a problem of evolving a suitable pattern of agrarian society. The old traditional form of agrarian society has been destroyed but it has not yet been replaced by a new one. Land redistribution alone is unlikely to solve the problem. It may at best offer a temporary amelioration, but in the long run, as it happened in Eastern Europe it is bound to fail

unless it is backed up by other reforms in the agrarian structure. In India, no accord has yet been reached as to the future pattern of the Indian rural society. The official as well as the academic approach to the agrarian problem is based on the need for maximizing production. As such, it pays little attention to the sociological aspect of the question. In essence the problem of agricultural labourers is not merely economic in character; it is sociological as well. For a final solution therefore, we have to approach the problem in its entirety, in all its aspects. The inter-relationship between agricultural development, industrial progress and land-reform has been rightly pointed out in a paper published by the F.A.O.²⁸ The first step towards the solution of the problem will be to decide upon the future pattern of the agrarian society which must be integrated with the plan for the development of industry. Next, the intermediaries between the State and the farmers, the class of agricultural rent-receivers and non-cultivating owners of land should be abolished and their land should be redistributed among the landless agricultural labourers. Avenues of alternative or additional income and employment should be opened up before the rural population. At the same time, various structural reforms will have to be made in the agricultural framework, so as to increase agricultural production. Until these have been accomplished, the problem of the agricultural workers will continue to remain a headache for the policy-makers in this country.

27. *Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee*, p. 96.

28. *First Five-Year Plan, Planning Commission*, Government of India.

29. *Inter-relationship Between Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Development*, prepared by Dr. Erich H. Jacoby, F.A.O., 1953.



THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA, 1899-1901

A Sketch by Lord Curzon

By SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.),
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LORD CURZON came to India as Viceroy and Governor-General in December, 1898 at the early age of thirty-nine. Though young in age, he soon established a firm grip over the administration and began to dominate the whole show in a manner unprecedented in the past. A man of indomitable energy but sensitive in nature, Curzon was quick in his judgment of men with whom he came in contact in the course of the duties of his exalted office. In his weekly private correspondence with Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, he freely gave expression to his views, some of which were very strong and might be resented by those who were the subject of the Viceregal comment or by their friends and relatives even at this distance of time. Incidentally, they also reveal the character and nature of Lord Curzon himself, who stood at the apex of the system.

Within six months of his assumption of office, Curzon wrote a confidential letter to Hamilton upon the inner life of a reforming Viceroy in India.¹ The methods of government here were characterised by him as cumbrous, glatatory and verbose. The want of proper supervision in many departments was shocking and the detachment and independence of local Governors and Governments a serious challenge to the Viceroy's authority and control. The Viceroy was intent on remedying these imperfections.

"But," to quote his own words, "the old horse kicks a little under the bit or the spur—for it is now the one and now the other—and chafes at a restraint or an incentive which it has never before known."

The Viceroy in the past, Curzon complained, had apparently rarely looked into any department except his own, and as for his Lieutenant-Governors, etc., he had left them to

pursue their own sweet wills. The mechanism of Government which was conducted in India by means of correspondence had been "kept carefully oiled by long-worded periphrasis" and "mutual compliment"; and so the wheels have gone round and round "until one day some undetected flaw has resulted in an explosion or a disaster which the very processes that called it into existence have again been utilised to hush up and condone."

In the opinion of Curzon, the military department and the army headquarters had been the chief sinners. Their loquacity on paper, headed and stimulated by the Military Member,² was appalling.

"There is a slight, perhaps an inevitable, friction between the two departments and whilst they will conspire to gloss over an irregularity in which both have for years indulged, they will, if a difference arises between them, wrangle over it for a decade."

Curzon's comments upon all these proceedings were frank and, in his opinion, never discourteous, though they somewhat ruffled the old Sir Edwin Collen³ and his men. Curzon described Collen as "a dear old boy of courtly manners and a perfect gentleman." But he was an incarnation of the system in which he lived his sedentary and virtuous departmental life for a quarter of a century. But the young Viceroy feared that his methods distressed Sir Edwin Collen immensely. Collen implored the Viceroy not to be disrespectful to his methods and his men, and, when he detected an irregularity, to send for him or them ("as though the Viceroy had time for this!") and to give them an opportunity of personal explanation—anything rather than pass a comment on it

2. Sir Edwin Collen.

3. The Military Member of the Governor-General's Council.

1. Letter, dated 28 June, 1899.

which might fall under the eyes of others. Curzon had information that Collen moaned in half-suppressed accents to his bosom friends about "new brooms and a parliamentary training" and wondered why what was good enough for Lord Dufferin (who, according to Lord Curzon's information, never did a stroke of work that he could avoid and had nearly all his papers initialled by his Private Secretary) was not good enough for the new Viceroy.

Collen, in the opinion of Curzon, was courtly but querulous and was "rather in a cross bench frame of mind". He slumbered away the greater part of his time in a country retreat about nine miles from Simla and arrived in once a week on a 'staid pony' for meetings of the Council. It was a "striking illustration of an intelligence and a character flattened at and attenuated by a quarter of a century of officialism." The consequence was that, in the department, matters moved at a snail's pace and it was very difficult to accelerate the rate of speed.⁴

Curzon speaks of General Sir William Lockhart, the Commander-in-Chief, as an old friend, who would sooner in any matter take the Viceroy's side than go against him. But he hated being bothered or questioned or fussed, detested administrative business of any kind and was miserable at meetings of Council where he rarely uttered a word. His opinion was in the custody of his Adjutant-General, Nicholson,⁵ who was said to write his minutes and despatches. The Commander-in-Chief was shy and unassuming and extraordinarily sensitive, although large-minded in every other respect. Curzon, while hoping that he would keep in successfully with Lockhart, considered that rather skilful steering would sometimes be required since there were "voices at his elbow" constantly murmuring opposite things.

Sir Clinton Dawkins, the Finance Member, who at Curzon's request had come to India for a period of one year only to help the Viceroy to inaugurate a "sound currency policy involving large departures from previous practice" was supposed to be strong at the Viceroy's side and was "invaluable both from his experience

and common sense." But his predecessor, Sir James Westland,⁶ was not in the good books of the Viceroy. Curzon speaks of him as "urbane and agreeable in intercourse." But his notes and minutes were "almost ferocious in their truculence" and he had a "helter skelter" way "opposing everything that involved the spending of a few rupees."⁷ Westland was dubbed by Curzon as a "glorified accountant." He was most truculent on paper and "snapped your nose off before you had looked at him." The range of his experience was wide, but his outlook was, in the opinion of Curzon, narrow rather than statesmanlike, and where imperial considerations did not apply, "his point of view was that of a cashier and not that of a statesman."⁸

Sir E. F. Law, who succeeded Sir Clinton Dawkins as Finance Member, was previously known to Curzon under whom he served in the Foreign Office in London. Though Curzon had formed a high opinion of his financial abilities, he was described by the Viceroy as "an abrupt untaking and imperious sort of man; not beloved by his surroundings; and better when working in subordination, or with a board of equals than in a situation where he would be the head of a department and could play the petty tyrant." His wife, a Greek lady, was, according to the Viceroy's information, "the terror of the European embassies" in London.⁹ But Curzon was rather intent on having him as Finance Member in preference to other persons whose names were suggested in connection with this appointment. His independent and rather aggressive manner, the stubborn and almost adamant personality—both traits of his character previously known to and hated by Curzon, the Viceroy said, he had learned to tolerate. The one criterion to which Curzon attached great value was loyalty. Though not an attractive and agreeable personality,

"I think," wrote Curzon, "Law is already, and, if he came here, would all the more be, bound to me by sufficient ties of loyalty," to render any other feature of minor importance.

Another important consideration in connection with this post was the knowledge and

4. Letter, dated 30 August, 1899.

5. William Gustavus Nicholson, C.B., Brigadier-General, R.E.

6. Letter, 23 February, 1899.

7. Idem.

8. Idem.

experience of finance of as high a standard as could be procured.⁹

Certain other names suggested in this connection were rejected by Curzon outright. James Finlay of the Indian Civil Service, who was the Secretary of the Finance Department at the time was not considered to have the requisite authority and prestige. Nor did he impress the Viceroy as having the quality of mind that would be of great service to the Government. The names of persons without training in financial administration were not seriously regarded by him, for not being a financier himself, the first desideratum with him was that he should have as Finance Member somebody who

was.

Curzon's comment on Sir James Mackay (later the first Earl of Inchcape), whose name was suggested for the appointment as Finance Member may be of some interest. "As regards Mackay," he wrote, "I like what I know of him myself." He had always struck the Viceroy as both capable and agreeable, and Curzon had little doubt that Sir James Mackay would be a pleasanter colleague than Law. But the Viceroy doubted whether his business career in India would be considered as giving him the requisite financial weight and authority, while the retiring Finance Member, Sir Clinton Dawkins, held that his very extensive share in the B.I.S.N. Company, which had a great deal to do with the Government, constituted a fundamental disqualification against his appointment to the post.¹⁰ In this connection Curzon consulted confidentially a gentleman in Calcutta,¹¹ who was "unquestionably the leading commercial authority there and the more trustworthy exponent of the views of that class." The opinion of this gentleman who was a personal friend of Mackay, having known the latter for more than twenty years, was quoted verbatim by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State:

"Sir James is an able man. But I do not think that he has personal knowledge of any subject except steamers. Upon the currency question his knowledge is superficial, and is regarded as such by the mercantile people in India. He is also supposed to work very

much in his own hand in various matters. I have no hesitation in saying that his appointment to the position of Finance Minister would not command the confidence of the mercantile community in Calcutta and in India generally; and, in fact, I think, it would be received with ridicule."

Curzon considered the above opinion on Mackay to be 'representative and honest and unbiassed', for it tallied with what the Viceroy had heard from other quarters in India. He feared that Sir James Mackay would not receive the confidence and backing of the commercial community, without which no Finance Member could get on in India.

Sir Thomas Raleigh, the Legal Member, seemed to show no aptitude for affairs outside his own department and could hardly be regarded as a factor on one side or the other. Lieut.-Col. Gardiner, then a temporary Member, was too new and would be too short-lived in Council to exercise much influence. Charles Montgomery Rivaz, therefore, rather held the scales with perhaps a slight inclination towards the Governor-General. Though deficient in initiative, Rivaz, according to Curzon, seemed to take a level-headed and unprejudiced view of most questions.

Lawrence,¹² the private secretary to the Viceroy, who knew all the "old Indians" personally and was equally acquainted with their merits and foibles, was very useful in keeping them in a good temper and "pouring in the opportune drop of oil." Curzon, in this letter, referred to what he considered to be the personal idiosyncrasies of the members of the Council. But he assured the Secretary of State that he had experienced little or no difficulty in carrying his policy through Council, which, after all, was in the long run more important.

Curzon's opinion of the Secretaries was, on the whole, good. He thought that he had 'flustered' the Military Secretary¹³ somewhat by the constant discovery of irregularities for which he, or rather, the system was partly responsible. But he appeared to be a sensible man, and the Viceroy got on with him very well. H. S. Barnes, the Acting Foreign Secretary, worked

9. Letter, 19 July, 1899.

10. Letter, dated 19 July, 1899.

11. Name not mentioned.

12. Walter Roper Lawrence, C.I.E., I.C.S.

13. General Maitland.

exceedingly hard and showed both judgment and capacity. He was a hard worker and a man of quick intelligence. He interpreted the Viceroy's ideas with a good deal of felicity and was, probably to a man like Curzon, a rather more helpful co-adjutor than Cunningham," although he had not got "either the departmental experience, the social charm or the great personal popularity of the latter."

The real fault of the system here, wrote Curzon, was the want of continuity in the personnel of the department. A young man, brought in from outside, was at once put into charge of a section of the office and was expected forthwith in his notes to suggest a policy to the Government of India. The consequence was that, for a couple of years, he experimented at the expense of his superiors and wrote, in all probability, "the most inconceivable trash." Curzon referred to a young man who, on his appointment to a vacant place, began firing off at once about Persia and Tibet. The Viceroy stopped his premature activity and urged him "to learn before he began to teach."¹⁴

The Secretaries, in general, formed a loyal body of men and were enthusiastically on the Viceroy's side in his campaign against departmental noting. Their loyalty was perhaps partly due to the fact that "their future to a large extent was dependent on the Viceroy." But Curzon, on the whole, "derived from them very practical and willing assistance."

Curzon had formed his own opinion of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. The abuse that resulted, in one case, from the presence of a "weak but amicable Governor" at Bombay¹⁵ was accentuated in Madras by a Governor who ruled a Crown colony where he was a petty king and who "transplanted to Indian soil theories of his former station."¹⁶ Among the Lieutenant-Governors, Sir John Woodburn, was a high-minded and conscientious man, without strength of character and will and was somewhat "discomposed with the fall of the Municipal Bill" to which he had pledged himself with wholly superfluous emphasis.¹⁷

14. Sir William John Cunningham, K.C.S.I.

15. Letter, 31 May, 1899.

16. Lord Sandhurst.

17. Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, formerly Governor of Trinidad-Natal.

18. Known as the Mackenzie Bill.

Both Sir John Woodburn in Bengal and Sir William Mackworth, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, appeared to "squirm a little at the apparition of a youthful Viceroy who asks questions, hazards doubts and is not content to leave them alone." Sir Arthur Macdonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province and Oudh, ran his own show with great ability and kept the Viceroy carefully informed of what passed in his province. Sir F. W. R. Fryer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, was dismissed as "lazy and long past his prime."

Though in his letter dated 28 June, 1899, Curzon spoke about the "great ability" of Sir Arthur Macdonnell he was unsparing in his criticism of Sir Arthur, when his name was suggested for the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Lord Sandhurst.

"As to his ability," wrote the Governor-General, "there is no question. But you can have no conception of the extent to which a man is disliked, as it appears to me, by the entire service. His manners are so bad, his rudeness so extreme, his conduct to his officers so inconsiderate—these adjectives are mine, those in vogue here are much stronger—that there would be wailing and gnashing of teeth at his elevation. It would be followed, I am told, by general resignation among those who would prefer to retire than serve under such conditions and with such a chief. There may be exaggeration in this. But I only tell you exactly what I hear: and it is a fact that in his own Government an excellent man has already left because of his refusal to remain under Sir A.M."¹⁸

Curzon was rather critical of the parsimonious habits of the members of his Council. In a letter, dated 26th July 1899, he wrote to Hamilton:

"I regret to find that the old obligations of free expenditure in hospitality and entertainment are dying out: and that the modern Councillor is induced to wrap his salary in a napkin of another description like the man in the scriptural parable."

The Councillors would even go to the ex-

19. Letter, 24 March, 1899.

tem of shirking the outlay on house rent, sending their wives away and living at the club or sharing a bachelor's establishment with other men. Mackenzie Chalmers, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, had, Curzon reported, attracted a good deal of obloquy by living exclusively in the club both at Calcutta and Simla and taking everything of his salary away. Sir Edwin Collen, the Military Member, would not bring down his wife to Calcutta. He preferred to club with another man. Such was also the case with Charles Montgomery Rivaz, who did not bring his wife to Calcutta in the winter of 1898-99. Up in Simla, few of them entertained save in the most modest degree. The Collens were almost always away at Mashobra, nine miles distant from headquarters (which again was a fruitful cause of long delays attending any reference to the military department) and practically did no entertainment at all. It could hardly be said that any of the others fared better in this respect. Curzon frankly told Thomas Raleigh, who succeeded Chalmers as Law Member, that he must not imitate his predecessor and induced him to take a house at Simla. But Raleigh also was contemplating to live in the club in Calcutta, a proceeding from which Curzon was determined to take steps to warn him. Denzil Charles Ibbertson, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, who was appointed in the Viceroy's Council as a temporary Member on a salary of Rs. 80,000, as against Rs. 50,000 per annum which he was getting as Chief Commissioner, made enquiries if he would be permitted to live in the club. The Viceroy replied to these enquiries "with an emphatic no." Even the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. S. A. Lockhart, and his wife seldom showed inclination for hospitality, and the doors of "Snowdon," their residence at Simla, long remained closed under the regime of these "quiet and saving" occupants. Curzon regretted that in spite of the handsome stipend (equivalent to that of the Secretary of State for India) which the members of his Executive Council were drawing the old traditions of hospitality were more honoured in the breach than in observance.

The Viceroy was prepared to go to the extreme in order to prevent such economy on the part of the members of the Council. His passing hours at Simla in 1899 were marked by

what he described as a "rather amusing though regrettable exchange of shots" with Sir Arthur Charles Trevor, then a senior Member of the Council. Hearing that Trevor had left his daughter back in England and that he had come alone to economize, Curzon spoke to the Councillor through mutual friends about his strong views in the matter. But the old Councillor informed the Viceroy, through his private secretary, that he preferred to retain the matter within his own discretion and that the salary and pension of a Member being inadequate, he proposed to economize during the remainder of his stay in India. Curzon detested the idea of a "probable saving on the part of the old curmudgeon of some £6,000-£7,000" by this method. He informed Trevor that having enforced his views upon other Members of the Council it would be impossible for him to acquiesce in a single exception. To this the old Councillor answered obscurely hinting at resignation. Curzon "devoutly" wished that Trevor should seriously contemplate this step rather than claim liberty of action.

"Can you comprehend the stupidity and parsimony of a man," the Viceroy wrote in wonder, "who tells you plainly that as he is drawing near to the end of his career, he is going to stinge, and retire from India with his pocket as full as he can fill them?"

But the high-browed Viceroy could not congratulate himself upon his success in the attempt to regulate the social dispensation of his recalcitrant colleagues. In spite of Viceregal protests, Trevor took up his quarters in the Calcutta Club. Curzon considered this to be an act of defiance and was full of detestation for a Councillor who, in his opinion, was "a man of ability and of departmental nagger" and no longer had the freshness and the ideas of youth. In vain did the young and imperious Viceroy sigh for a strong and capable and vigorous man who would help him to carry a burden, "the weight of which, even if it became easier, never became less."²⁰

Curzon was much disgusted with the conduct of James Tisdall Woodroffe, the Advocate-General of Bengal, who on his appointment to the Legislative Council as an additional mem-

20. Letter, 28 December, 1899 and 30 August, 1899.

ber, claimed independence of judgment with regard to measures introduced by Government in the legislature. Curzon held strongly to the view that the Advocate-General was in exactly the same position in relation to the Government of India as that occupied by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in the British House of Commons. These eminent officers of the British Government are invariably consulted about legislation; and in debate in the House of Commons, the Government is always entitled to appeal to them for legal assistance and support and is, of course, sure of their vote. But to Curzon, Woodroffe appeared to have entered the Council with the idea of posing as a sort of a tribune of the people and he was inclined to

claim the privilege of criticizing and attacking the measures introduced by the Government of India of which he was the principal legal adviser. The idea that the Advocate-General, who claimed specialised knowledge of many aspects of life in this country, could "fall upon a Government Bill and smite it heap and thigh before an astonished and admiring crowd,"²¹ was intolerable to the Viceroy, who prevailed over Woodroffe to resign his position in the Legislative Council.^{22*}

21. Letter, 1 March, 1900.

22. Letter, 22 March, 1900.

* Read at the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1955.

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THE CASE FOR TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

BY PRINCIPAL J. LAHIRI, M.A.B.T., Dip-Ed. (Lond.), W.B.S.E.S. (Retd.),
Teachers' Cert. (Cantab)

THE CHALLENGE OF TECHNOLOGY TO EDUCATION

THE rapid development of commerce and industry after freedom has led to a demand for an entirely new type of secondary and higher University education in India today. A virtual industrial revolution is taking place under the Second Five-Year Plan and the economy of the country is rapidly changing. This is but a part of a virtual economic revolution which is now sweeping across the world, creating a new climate of thought and feeling for new values among the peoples and nations and making newer demands on the educational system of the countries. Underdeveloped countries, like India, are also realising that the possibility of a fuller life of the people depends on a greater application of scientific knowledge to the more intelligent utilization of the material resources of the nation. They are also realizing today, as never before, that the nation's schools, colleges and Universities are the agencies through which the level of a nation's life is to be raised and ennobled if the nation is at all to reach new heights.

EDUCATION MUST BE COMMUNITY- STRUCTURED

The lack of an adequate educational structure is the greatest obstacle to economic advancement in underdeveloped countries. It is futile to embark upon large-scale industrialization unless adequate provision is made to educate and train technicians who can operate and direct the newly established factories and unless arrangements are made for the training of technologists and industrial leaders and research workers. Failure on the part of the educational system to meet the challenge of a technological way of life by making education in a rapidly changing atomic age *community-structured* will be nothing short of a disaster. If a country's educational system remains static, tensions are bound to be created specially among those of the nation's children who have been prepared by their early training under the traditional set-up for a type of society which is fast passing away. There is then the need for establishing a proper balance between education and occupational opportunity available to the nation's youth, for never before is co-

operation more needed between education and industry at all levels and grades of education than now,—never before has there been a greater need for establishing a dynamic equilibrium between educational provision and the technical needs of the nation than now.

TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES IN THE WEST

At the highest level of University education the latest phase in all Western countries has been the development of a newer type of what may be called "Technical Universities" co-ordinating the curricula of large technical colleges, and institutions of University standing almost entirely devoted to technical studies. Mention may be made of such specialized institutions like the M.I.T., the Federal Technical University in Switzerland, the Institute of Technology at Zurich, the Imperial College of Technology at South Kensington, London, and such other institutions of University standing in U.S.S.R., etc. The aim of these institutions is to produce at the highest level of attainment not only the skilled industrial research worker but the manager and the top-level industrial executive whose contribution is so essential to the imaginative and informed planning of large-scale industrial developments.

These Technical Universities not only instruct men about technical matters. Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geography and all the ancillary scientific subjects are taught in them as well as History, Economics, languages and the relevant Arts subjects. Students of exactly the same calibre and training as those joining the older Universities enter these institutions straight from school. The professional chairs are just as distinguished and just as much sought after as those in older Universities. Their degrees are regarded with just as much respect and prestige.

At the Zurich Institute of Technology there are 90 Professors, 85 Asstt. Professors and Lecturers and 150 Assistants and the teacher-pupil ratio works out at 1 to 8 students. A considerable proportion of the staff have spent a number of years in business. As many as four languages are taught. There is a large department which deals with humanistic subjects, such as, Economics, Languages, Philosophy and History and every student is required to attend courses in Arts subjects.

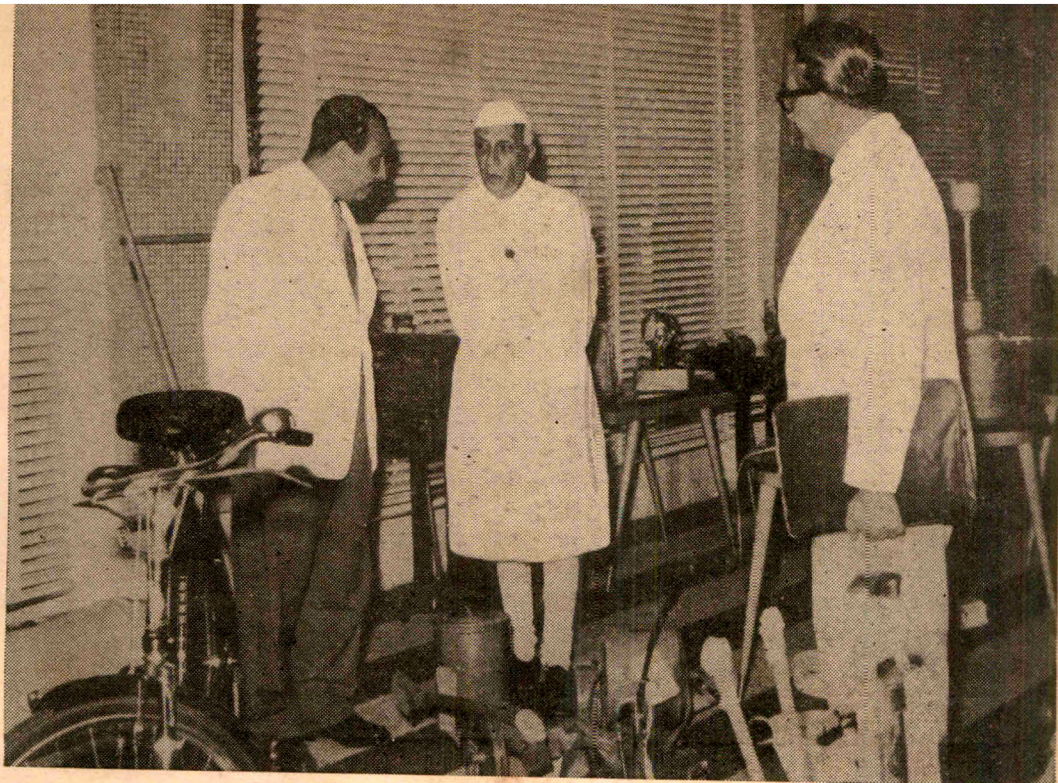
NEED FOR MORE TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

During the Second Five-Year Plan period the pace of industrialization of the country will have to be accelerated and vast projects will have to be initiated by Government. It is important that the process of technological advance be not blocked by shortage of technically-trained personnel, technologists, researchers and potential leaders in industries. New Universities in nearly all the big States will have to be set up. It is, therefore, time we started thinking in terms of Technical Universities in India at important and well-developed centres of industry where there are already Technical institutions at the collegiate level and Engineering colleges.

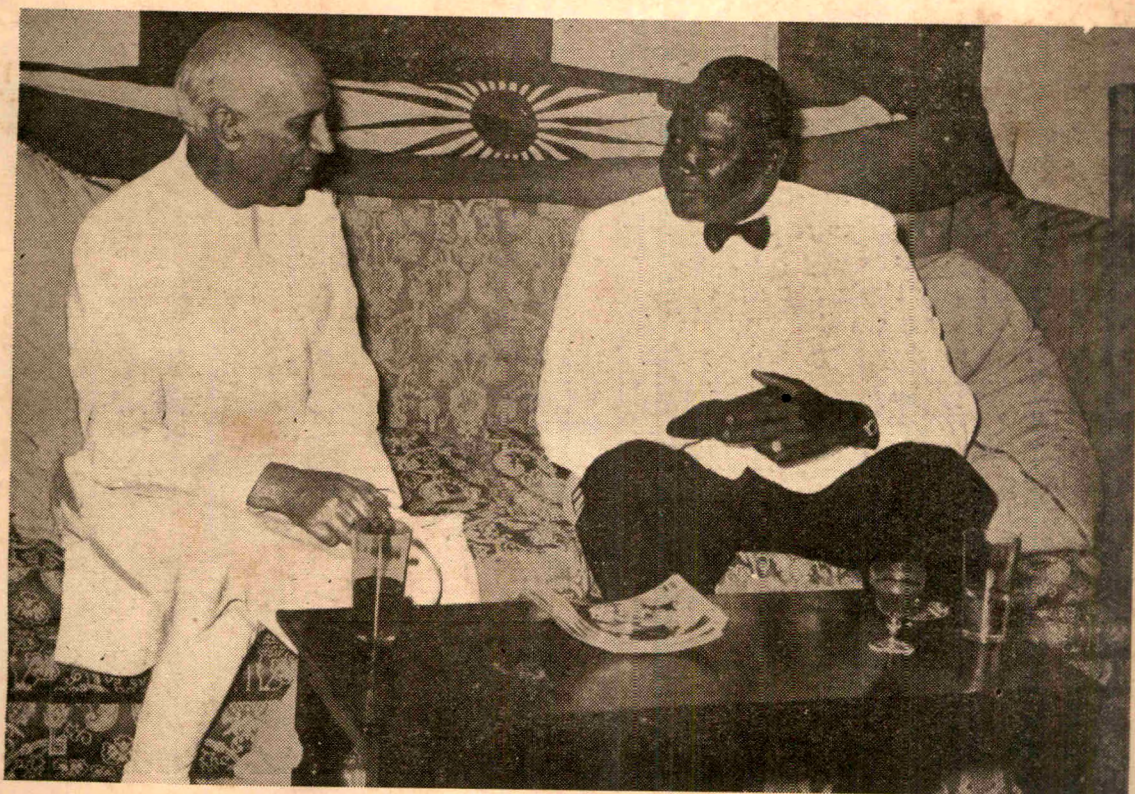
A study of the statistics of the incidence of the educated unemployed made recently by Universities shows that 50 per cent to 65 per cent of arts and commerce graduates turned out by them have been unsuccessfully looking for employment during the last 2 or 3 years. In 1954, returns of the State Employment Exchanges show that out of 92,000 registrations only about 6,000 placements are on record. Thus the position is that far too many students receive instructions at the University level in the older Universities for the present level of national economy and that unless a planned attempt is made to divert these frustrated students at the secondary level to a technical career and to useful channels of employment by reorganising secondary education, the problem of educated unemployed cannot be solved satisfactorily.

NO CONFLICT WITH EXISTING UNIVERSITIES

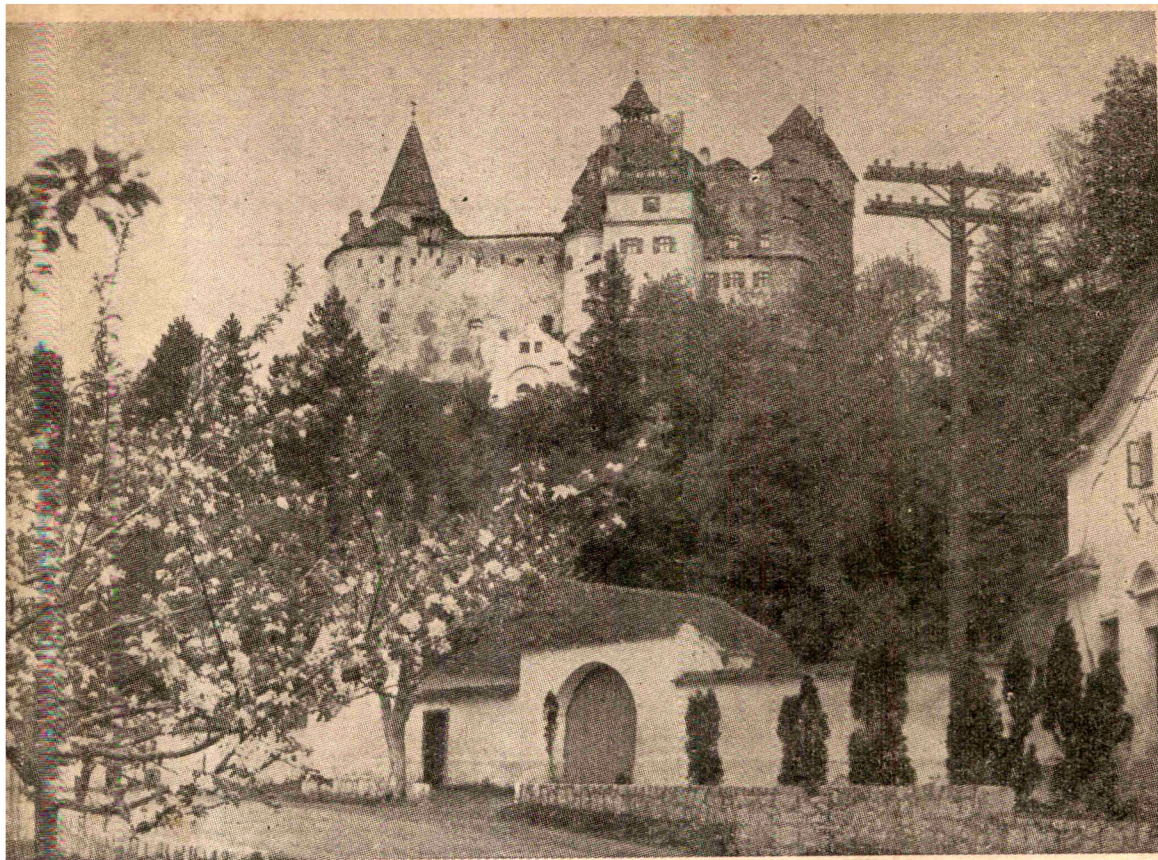
For our new industries we will need men familiar with the basic principles of Physics and Chemistry able to use their mathematical tools with ease and precision and conversant with economic needs and limitations, for only such men can improve old processes or invent new ideas or even to recognise which processes are the best among a number of choices. It is useless to think men can acquire this sort of knowledge in an ordinary University. No ordinary-sized University can be expected to cope in addition with such a gigantic field of knowledge as Engineering. Higher technological



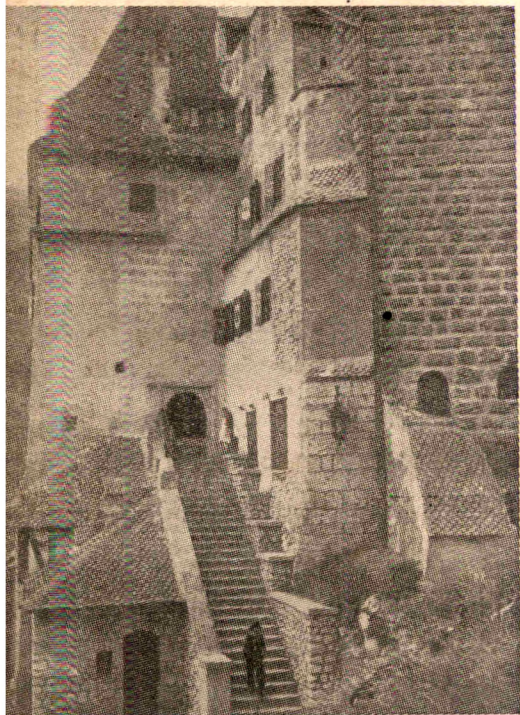
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspecting some exhibits at the newly opened India Trade Centre in Cairo



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru talking to H. E. Siricio Irro, President of the Supreme Commission, at the Republican Palace of Sudan



The Bran Castle seen from the road



The entrance to the castle with its rectangularly shaped tower



Aspect of the inner yard with the round tower, which formerly was the powder-mill of the castle

education should be carried on in Technical Universities to which the industries should look for their supply of highly-trained technologists, researchers and leaders. Teaching conditions in such Universities should be such as to attract men of the highest specialist qualifications and width of practical experience and encourage an atmosphere of intelligent enquiry through the granting of a degree of freedom to the staff not possible under present administrative regulations of older Universities. The financing of such developments is clearly a matter of national and not merely local concern. There is no reason why the new Technical Universities should conflict with the existing Universities. A step in the right direction has recently been taken in West Bengal by the establishment of Technical University at Jadabpur in Calcutta. It is time educational authorities, i.e., the All-India Council for Technical Education in India thought of starting similar Universities in special centres in India.

Today the greatest problem our nascent industries have to tackle in the face of keen competition from products turned out in the factories of the more advanced countries, is that of improvement of our production technique without which we cannot increase our output. This demand for increasing output cannot be met merely by working longer hours. The Germans, Americans and Russians have the advantage that men are available to industry with absolutely first-class training in all the fundamentals of the science of Engineering, for in modern industries the old-fashioned hit and miss methods and rule of thumb techniques are really out of date. Such men with first-class qualifications cannot be turned out of our older Universities. To convince one of the truth of this fact one has only to examine the curricula of the M.I.T. or the Zurich Institute of Technology.

It is often objected that undergraduates in an engineering University would lose a great deal by not rubbing shoulders with undergraduates reading for Arts degrees. But men reading for engineering degrees in the modern world have precious little time or occasion to rub shoulders with their arts colleagues.

In this technological age an ever-increasing number of our young men with first-class brains

turned out by our higher technical colleges and Technical Universities will be employed in technical activities connected with heavy industries to be started during our Second-Plan period. We cannot afford to maintain the enormous teaching apparatus required to fit these men for the technical professions and industries in every University. We must concentrate our resources on a few specialized technical institutions or Technical Universities instead of spreading them thinly over the whole country in every University of the traditional type. An establishment in which the usual humanistic subjects, such as, History, Economics, Mathematics, besides science and the vast variety of engineering subjects are taught has as good a right to be called a University, for only thus can technology acquire the necessary prestige on a par with humanism.

"CULTURE" Vs. "UTILITY"

It is difficult to see why a man should be said to have enjoyed a liberal education if he knows something about the Classics and very little about Science and Engineering whereas he is reviled as a mere technologist if he knows about Science and Engineering and very little about Classics. Merely because one branch of learning was the more important so long, this does not prove it to be superior to other branches which lie at the root of all industrial productions in the modern world. Unless this is done our industrial productivity will inevitably fall below that of other countries and in the long run our standards of living will not improve.

PRESENT-DAY CONCEPTION OF "LIBERAL"

EDUCATION

The apparent anti-thesis or dualism between culture (so long the monopoly of so-called "liberal" education)—between knowledge and action, between pure and applied thought—is the legacy of the past tradition in education which makes us think that culture and utility are necessarily hostile and that a subject is liberal because it is useful and cultural because it is useless. This traditional opposition between culture and utility rests on the assumption that culture is derived from a higher source and possesses a higher spiritual worth. Never was a more grievous mistake made in the proper conception of "culture" and "utility." Fortunately for the present age this

old time conception of liberal and cultural education is now changing or changed. According to the modern conception the function of liberal education is to provide the means for the unfolding and development of the balanced personality of the educated in his four-fold aspects—physical, social, moral, aesthetic and intellectual—i.e., the development of the “whole” man. It is a pity that we of the older generation belonging as we do to the older Universities should be still hesitating to give the highest possible recognition to studies of a “practical” character in technical or engineering subjects on account of our contempt for the practical and respect for the traditional subjects of learning, i.e., so-called “cultural” subjects.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN “UNDERDEVELOPED” COUNTRIES

Although a great advance has been made in industrial development in India during the First Five-Year Plan period, the backwardness and lopsidedness of Indian economy are still reflected in the unbalanced occupational structure, which will be clearly evident from the fact that as much as 68 per cent are dependent on agriculture, 14 per cent on industry, 8 per cent on trade and transport and the remaining 10 per cent in professions and services. In spite of agricultural production during the last 5 years self-sufficiency in food has not been attained nor in raw materials for industries; while unemployment and underemployment still continue on a very large scale and constitute the gravest economic and social menace to-day. Like all other Asiatic States India still continues to be an “underdeveloped country.” Now what is an underdeveloped country? Not that such a country is backward in culture, humanity and civilisation but that its population has not yet learned to use fully the powers which science and technology have created and to acquire what may be called “the gadgets of a machine civilisation.” It is only through education—through “technical” education placed on a par with the traditional and more fashionable so-called “liberal” education—that an Asiatic power like Japan could emerge in 25 years from medieval feudalism to a modern State, capable of decisively defeating China

and humbling Russia (one of Europe’s major powers) and presented the world with the reality of Asia’s first technological State. The world has now realised that technical schools and colleges and technical Universities can make a great contribution to economic and social change and that State-directed economic revolutions need almost total planning of the entire educational systems. This has been amply demonstrated not only in the case of a Asiatic power like Japan and recently in U.S.S.R. and America—the Mecca of Engineers and Utopia of technologists, their fantastic output in industries is the outcome of a fortunate inter-action between two sets of factors, continents rich in raw materials with societies capable of exploiting them and putting them into use and the drive, energy and technical know-how of their scientists and technologists.

All underdeveloped countries have the following characteristics: (1) Their technical education is wholly inadequate to their future needs. (2) Their general education is lacking in the realistic contemporary knowledge necessary for life in a growing technical society, the curriculum inclining to be bookish know-about rather than a practical know-how. (3) The cultural content of their technical education is inadequate and the system of technical education is not only unrelated to the occupational structure but is also too narrow in a world of rapid technological changes. All these defects can only be removed by reorganising technological education through the establishment of Technical Universities at industrial centres throughout India.

WANTED AN ALTERNATIVE “TECHNICAL LADDER”

Again, if we accept the academic ladder, as primary (Basic) school, secondary or higher secondary school and University, then it is only logical that industry should recruit mainly from those who have climbed an alternative technical ladder, viz., primary (Basic) school, Senior Basic School, Technical High School, Technical College and Technical University. The orthodox type of Universities and Technical Universities of the newer types would then be performing complementary functions as the “twin-tops” of our national system of education.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PLANNING IN INDIA

BY PROF. NARENDRA KUMAR PANDEY, M.A.

PLANNING for an under-developed economy means having a programme of industrialisation, and such a plan is faced with a number of obstacles in the beginning. Success of the plan depends to a great extent upon the merits of the plan itself and also upon the quality and efficiency of its governmental machinery and the amount of public co-operation that it receives.

"The problems of under-developed countries that may be related to public administration are primarily problems of transition: transition from semi-feudal and traditional to more responsible and rational forms of administration; from an agricultural and extractive economy to an economy of industry and trade; from a colonial regime conducted by foreigners to a national government."

Indian public administration is faced with the second type of this transition, that is, the economy is passing from an agricultural and extractive economy to an economy of industry and trade.

A universal charge levelled against public administration in India is that it is corrupt and inefficient. A faulty public administration is a great obstacle to industrialisation in an under-developed country. In India, industrialisation programme is faced with a number of obstacles :

(1) Inadequacy of the economic environment is itself a major obstacle. There is lack of transport facilities, inadequacy of power, small size of the local market, absence of other establishments to which by-products might be passed, absence of training facilities, and lack of financial institutions.

(2) There are also socio-demographic problems, for instance, population growth is very rapid. In a rapidly growing population the demand pattern is heavily weighted towards food and this is likely to retard the progress of industrialisation.

(3) Shortages in the factors of production are also serious handicaps. In India, shortage of capital is particularly due to the land-minded-

ness, gold-mindedness, and cash-mindedness of the rural population.

(4) There is also the special problem of adapting production techniques that are usually evolved in more advanced countries to the pattern of resources and markets of India.

(5) International circumstances have also to be reckoned with. Dependence of under-developed countries not only for industrial machinery, etc., but also for technical knowhow and the fruits of industrial research retards rapid industrialisation. Foreign investment is also not on a very large scale largely due to international double taxation.

(6) And lastly, a faulty and corrupt public administration may handicap industrial development in a number of ways and we have to guard against that:

(a) If the administrators are incompetent, dishonest, and inefficient, then it would be very difficult to maintain law and order.

(b) Unless statistical information is adequate and reliable, success of a plan is bound to be uncertain. The officers concerned must have scientific training in the art of collecting statistical information. The Indian Institute of Statistics is doing useful work in this direction. But it is rather unfortunate that private initiative in this direction from the teachers of economics and industrialists is not sufficiently forthcoming.

(c) Sudden and frequent changes in tax rates or taxation policy, in foreign exchange rates, etc., are also likely to create a world of uncertainty before the would-be investors. The danger is greatest where power to initiate such changes has been delegated to bodies not accountable to the legislature. Hence we require planning our public administration to ensure the success of our Plan.

Our governmental machinery is said to be corrupt, inefficient, and outdated. These charges have to be examined very cautiously in order to understand them in their correct perspective.

Indian public administration is faced with a complex type of transition at the present time; the economy is passing not only from an agricultural and extractive economy to an economy of industry and trade, but the social philosophy is also undergoing rapid changes. A change in social philosophy always leads to an extension of governmental functions into hitherto unknown channels; and so the old pattern of public administration fails to cope with the new problems and therefore has to be revised or replaced. But, constant changes in social philosophy from a "socialistic pattern of society" to a "socialist pattern of society" and then to a "full socialist order of society" have simply baffled our administrators. Unless this particular aspect of transition is borne in mind we shall fail to have a clear perspective of our public administration.

To ensure the success of our plans, public administration has to be reformed. It is with this end in view that the Planning Commission enlisted the services of A. D. Gorwala and Appleby to advise it in this matter. Gorwala in his *Report on Public Administration* has pointed out a number of defects in our administrative machinery and his solutions offered are really commendable. It will be useful to mention some of those defects that have been pointed out by Gorwala :

(i) The functions of each department must be clear so that one department may not encroach on the working of the other department. Sometimes, the Ministry interferes with the working of the head of the department working under it and the result is that the head of the department is deprived of all initiative. This results in waste of time, men and material ending in the failure of the policy. This should be avoided.

(ii) The relationship between the Administrative Machinery and the Finance Ministry has also led to a great organisational defect. Also, unnecessary interference by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India has also delayed many of the developmental projects. It would be desirable to delegate certain financial powers to Administrative Ministries and heads of departments for contingent expenditure within the budget provision.

(iii) The basic feature of the system is 'the association together of an amateur, lay,

political, non-permanent directing body and an expert, professional, non-political, permanent subordinate staff.' On a happy combination of the two depends the success of a government. It will be of great use if the superior officers learn to take advice from their subordinates.

(iv) The fundamental cause of delay in despatch of work lies in the very nature of public administration, i.e., in its responsibility to Parliament.

The principle of Scientific Management in business administration must be applied in the field of public administration also. Sometime back the Bihar Government had sent one of its officers to U.K. to study the working of the British Secretariat and to report to the Bihar Government on the reorganisation of the Bihar Secretariat. But we do not know if his recommendations were given effect to. Recently the Government of India has also set up a Committee consisting of the various Secretaries of the Central Government for this purpose.

Recently Mr. Gorwala, while delivering lectures on "The Administrative Jungle" under the Institute of Public Administration, Patna University, pointed out that one of the disconcerting features of the post-independence administrative set-up was that the independence of judgement and outlook of the administrator had dwindled. Unless the public servant inculcate independence of spirit and the courage to express it, it would be difficult to carve beautiful paths across the administrative jungle in India.

The higher-ups in the administrative hierarchy must shed their superiority complex and this must yield place to service instinct. In order to do away with the evils of "administrative bureaucracy," which Gorwala characterised as the fiercest animal of the administrative jungle, a Forum of Public Opinion has to be set up in the country.

There is one more point to be emphasised in this connection. As planning will proceed, the problems of public administration will be more and more complex. The industrialisation process will lead to a number of internal structural changes in the economy. One of the first manifestations will be an increase in the number of persons engaged in secondary industry. This will lead, probably, to a change in the country's occupational structure. National income will be-

come more dependent upon a sound internal economic policy. The changing composition of the national product and the changing distribution of the national income would call for constant adjustment in economic policy. Moreover, with the increase in the area of the public sector the question of the efficient management of public enterprises has also assumed a pertinent form. Management of public corporations poses altogether different problems and they require also

solutions of a different type. The kind of personnel that government will recruit to man these corporations must have sound knowledge of economics. Hence the suggestion for the creation of an Economic Civil Service. Although the government has decided to create an Industrial Management Pool, one fails to understand why the government is hesitant in creating a separate cadre of Economic Civil Service.

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SECOND CHAMBER : AN EXPENSIVE FOLLY

By V. V. RAMANA MURTHI, M.A., M.Litt.,
Lecturer in Political Science, Gujarat University

TILL very recently, our countrymen were made familiar with the inspiring but not so intelligible slogan, that "Good government is no substitute for self-government." Our rulers today were but staunch nationalists yesterday. It is very refreshing to note that at least, they too have begun to think in terms of good government, even after self-government was assured. It comes as a bold relief to know that the Andhra Pradesh is going to have a second chamber.

(The two-chamber system is no novelty to democracy. It is now almost a dogma of political science, as Laski said, that "it ought to consist of two chambers." The Second Chamber may be elective as in America or nominated as in Canada or indirectly elected as in France. By far, the oldest and the most famous Second Chamber is the House of Lords, which is based on the principle of heredity.

But it should not be forgotten that the House of Lords is largely a "historical accident." The advantages that are often quoted in favour of a bicameral system, are dubious in practice. In an article entitled "Power of the Lords Needs to be Curbed," Prof. H. J. Laski observed in 1947:

"There are over 850 members in it . . . It is seldom that more than 40 peers are

present at a debate. There are less than a hundred peers who have made an average of one speech per annum since 1918. There are more than 350 peers who have never spoken at all and there are more than one hundred who, never having bothered to take the oath of allegiance, have never even taken their seats. It is, moreover, the fact that, with the single exception of the late Lord Rosebury, no Peer has ever made a representation in politics who had not previously won his spurs in the House of Commons . . . It is a useful debating society in normal times; it is simply a department of the Tory Party when the latter is out of office and seeks to delay or to destroy the policy of a progressive government."

The Second Chamber, if it is well-disciplined as in the Norwegian model, may give the benefit of mature deliberation and of checking and revising ill-conceived legislation of the popular house. But as it is situated in most democratic countries, it is either duplicating the work of the Lower House or proceeding to obstruct progressive legislation.

The argument for or against a Second Chamber may be entirely academic and result in no relevant decision as far as the historical context is concerned. No one disputes that the

provision of a Second Chamber is meant to improve legislative process. What is the position of Legislatures today?

The notion of legislative supremacy has proved to be a myth. The decline of Legislatures in political life has resulted in leaving all initiative to the Executive. What we are now having is essentially an Executive Government in substance as well as in theory. The executive, be it Cabinet or Presidency, is the unchallenged sovereign today. We are sometimes spoken of "an executive dictatorship tempered by the fear of Parliamentary revolt." The political experience of our day is not far from proving it. Even the parliamentary revolts are too infrequent to constitute a threat and too feeble to check the excess of government.

The decline of Legislature is strangely coincident with increase in the volume of its work. Obviously it is an overworked body. The case for delegated legislation is overwhelming. On one side, it is face to face with growing tasks that call for competence and knowledge and experience. On the other, it is steadily successful in containing members whose meagre equipment is their only qualification.

In India, the Legislatures have not shown that amount of initiative and independence which warrants a fresh lease of their existence in another form. The test of a Legislature's influence is the record of the private member's bills in its session. Our Legislatures have hitherto followed a dittoist policy. It cannot be said that they have been successful in becoming the mirrors of national life. It is not the will of majority, thanks to the ghost of Rousseau, that is counting, it is the articulate decision of the party caucus of the self-conscious political elite, that is confronting us. The volume of the private member's bills is insignificant; in this field also the predominance of the party in power is making itself felt. It is not clear whether the opposition parties in Legislatures have lost their initiative to the party in power.

In olden days one of the well-chosen functions of Legislature was to control the executive. An ever-asserting executive made that duty now obsolete. Day by day, the executive authority is finding more and more avenues of its jurisdiction. The Legislature is just to make decisions of the Executive palatable to the people.

In this context, the destiny of a Second Chamber is linked up with the fate of Legislature as a whole in political life. In a situation with advancing Executives and receding Legislatures, the institution of a Second Chamber will only mean an expensive folly.

The provision of a Second Chamber by itself does not guarantee good government at once. The process of creating conditions for a good government must begin from the bottom and not at the top. The electoral law of universal adult suffrage that is operating in India now is not the last word on democratic process. It is worthwhile to reconsider its desirability as a measure of returning good and intelligent governors.

In the first General Elections that were held, many intellectuals and noted public men were defeated at the hands of comparatively insignificant and ill-equipped candidates. Persons like the late Acharya Narendra Deva and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar could not be successful. One would have expected leaders like Acharya Kripalani, Ashoka Mehta, Kamala Devi and Dange, who were noted for their record of public service and the gifts of parliamentary debate, to find a place in our Legislature. But the electoral system showed a consistent disregard in selecting good and capable Legislature. It looks as though the mistake is very likely to be repeated now. If the country is serious about making an experiment in good government, it is far more reasonable to think of a reform of the electoral law, than to provide for a meaningless Second Chamber.



TAGORE, THE POET OF HUMAN VALUE

By JOGES C. BOSE

I

LIGHT AND SHADE

RABINDRANATH TAGORE was born in 1861. The first giddy days of the impact of civilizations of the East and the West in Bengal, over the ribald excesses of beef and beer and an obstreperous contempt of what is India's own, had yielded to an awakened consciousness of her heritage. Thanks to the initiative of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the largest single influence, the respective values coalesced on lines of responsive susceptibility. Slowly but none-the-less surely, they wove out a pattern of composite culture to help build India anew on the balance of spiritual and material strength.

The British Parliament had just taken up the administration of India from the hands of the East India Company and inaugurated its reign by a Proclamation¹ in the name of Queen Victoria. A small history of telling significance attaches to the great divide. The draft was put up for the Queen's approval. She did not like it; because, she said, it was not couched in language sufficiently enough touching such as a female sovereign could address millions of distant people. In fact, she had it rewritten by Lord Derby giving pledges she and her successors were to redeem. It instantly enthroned Victoria on the heart of India and created a reservoir of good will for England. In quick succession, the India Council's Act empowered the Governor-General to nominate Indian members to assist him in the Legislature. It galvanised the imaginativeness of our people and lent colour to an impression, assiduously fostered, that the ruled were being invited to share the making of their laws. This created a belief in the trustful Indian mind that under the auspices of the British Crown not only was a Rule of Law established but the ruled were being reckoned as a part and parcel of the ruler. The English people have, besides, fashioned a way of life so as to make their individual noble needs yield them maximum returns nationally. No hold barred, they now sent in suckers of loyal admiration into the gristles of our new growth.

The Railway, whose economic value cannot ever be denied, was but a guaranteed profit to the investment of wealth, which by sudden influx poured into Britain since the Plassey to the grab and graft of Lord Dalhousie. It was, however, pressed to publicity with an adroitness that it passed muster as a token of British altruism.

With regard to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Reginald Coupland echoes the general sense of England that 'Burke's indictment was pitifully overstrained.' Hastings, says Lord Roseberry, was 'waylaid by the sleepless humanity' of Burke. It is, however, history that no humanity of any quarter could pave the way for it but the political consideration, which swayed the Prime Minister William Pitt to initiate the process to lull India to the silver illusion that British rule, as he said in the House of Commons, was a 'blessing' to her. He made no secret that thus he would 'confirm and enlarge the benefits derived by this country (England) from its connection with India.' India, all the same, galloped over the trail of blessing; Burke's moral indignation was the criterion of England's deal to her. England gave asylum to political refugees like Garibaldi, Cavour, Cussoth and others; she spent twenty million sterling to emancipate the slaves, India swore by her as the champion of the liberty of all peoples of the world.

One repercussion of the Sepoy Mutiny was the imposition of a rigorous system of check and balance on India as a principle of rule but with a subtlety of which the English people are consummate masters. The vision of Macaulay's 'the proudest day in English history' was pooh-poohed as a neurotic hyperbole and tucked away in cold storage. India, none-the-less, hugged it to her bosom as England's mission. A revealing aspect of that rule on the moral plane is that the text-books of Indian lads were replete with stories of British prowess the world over. They had to recite 'Rule Britannia' with

1. Lord Ripon called it 'a Declaration of the principles of Government.' Lord Curzon whittled it down by emphasis on clauses like 'if' and 'in-so-far', etc.

2. Macaulay said in the House of Commons on the Charter Act, 1833: "Having become instructed in European knowledge, they (Indians) may demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. . . . Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."

as much gusto. They had before them the English lad Casabianca on the burning deck, as the symbol of the sense of dutifulness in the teeth of leaping dangers; while in the next page his Indian counterpart Abdullah needed being kicked to his daily round of works. What is it but the master race ideology of the much reviled Herrenvolk? There was not a ripple of protest in the doped mind of India.

What, however, for a culturally go-ahead family and a father of taut national dignity—he returned unopened the letter of a relation because it was written in English—Rabindranath was, even when fairly young, alert to the intellectual penetration of so powerful a race. At Hindu Mela—it was an annual congregation in Calcutta patronised by the Tagores deliberating hard on national lines even resolving to boycott foreign goods—Rabindranath, at the age of thirteen, read his poem, the central idea of which was conveyed by the two lines:

How it behoves thee, oh Ind, to smile,
In dire misery of chains as thou art!³

Again, at sixteen, he wrote a trenchant poem on Lord Lytton's Delhi Durbar in the context of devastating famines in Madras and Northern India. This note of patriotic sullenness was laid to rest, as his father took him up the hills of Dalhousie and then sent him over to England for education. From Europe he wrote letters, which marked him out for his insight, chaste humour and a sweet flexibility of language and, at the top of all, the flavour of a personality. On return, he wrote his musical play *Valmiki Pratna* (The Genius of Valmiki). He again left for England and this time for Law but did not proceed beyond Madras. Back to Calcutta, he wrote, now at the age of twenty, his poem *Nirjner Swapna Bhanga* (The Fountain from Dream Wakes Up). It is the first solid, substantial promise of his kaleidoscopic creativeness, he kept intact right up to the age of eighty-one.⁴

3 'All translations save otherwise acknowledged are mine.

4. Plato died pen in hand at eighty; Sophocles wrote one of his best plays on the verge of ninety; Goethe his *Faust* at eighty; Tennyson his *Crossing the Bar* at eighty-three; Bernard Shaw felt confident to say at ninety-three that he had enough kick to make fresh outburst possible.

THE START

The Fountain is asleep in the tangles of mountain-walls, shut out from God's light and air. One morning, the sun sends his rays through an unsuspected cleavage and she wakes up. In the stir of a new birth, she would not, cannot hold herself in check. Inebriated with life's first morning light, she flows down breaking the hurdles of ice, accumulated for ages. And as she harkens to the rumbling peals of the sea afar, she speaks in joy abounding of what has so mightily animated her and what, obviously, the journey is for. In fact, her desire that reckes no limits is to sweep past the vast space of eternity and inundate the lands she visits, with the illumination which is hers in that hour of awakening. Is it suggestive of what was agitating the juvenile mind of the poet?

The days pass, the flickering ambition crystallises into a looming passion:

I wish, I may not have to part with the
world so beautiful and may go on to live as
intensely with the kindly race of man.

This desire to live by the shadow of the grim certainty, haunting us since birth, recalls in the kinship of juxtaposition Tennyson's Tithonus, a white-haired shadow roaming like a dream, consumed by the hunger to "Pass beyond the goal of ordinance
Where all should pause, as is most meet for all."

Tithonus besought Aurora for immunity from death and this she readily granted. But the loopholes were there and Nature levied her toll with an unrelenting precision. Youth to old age, his life, as it wore out to the inevitable shift of infirmity, became one living death. What infinite grace is, however, imparted to the fact of living were it not to live to obey the behests of flesh and blood, but to live, as Rabindranath suggests, for the joy of life, consecrated by the hope,

To build up a tower of songs eternal
With mankind's weal and woe.

The greatest mind, says Emerson, is the most indebted mind. Rabindranath has as much drawn his inspiration from various sources, but not unlike a living organism drawing sustenance in easy naturalness from all the elements. There was for him the massive background of his boy-

hood home, which was the centre of attraction for scholars and musicians. Bengal lyrics of extraordinary depth and vitality and her scintillating folk-songs, mostly bucolic or other-worldly in texture, had also their due share to mould him. He pored over his inspiring forbears, Jaydev of the twelfth century, Vidyapati and Chandidas of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Not the least unmindful was he of the indigenous touch of Bengal's Chaucer Mukundaram Chakravarty of the 16th century, the metrical wealth of Bharatchandra Roy and the devotional intenseness of Ram-prasad Sen, either of the 18th century. Rabindranath owes his debts in very handsome terms to the nineteenth century stalwarts, Vidyasagar and Bankimchandra Chatterjee. In return, he has given us in bewildering profusion songs, poems, plays, short stories, novels, essays, journals, letters, diaries and discourses and, yet we cannot help add to this prodigious list, one omnibus item 'sundry other things' in order to make a more or less complete, satisfying picture. It builds a legend that by any standard they cannot be brushed aside as drab or commonplace. Almost the whole of it bear some way or other the hallmark of a great artist. As a matter of fact, there is hardly a demur to what the Oxford University says that 'he has scarcely left any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing he has not adorned.'

To respect thematic integrity, I would pick up some representative pieces, which are overwhelmingly laden with their appeal of human value. In the poem *Ebar Phirao Mor-e*, I make my choice, is vouchsafed a glimpse of the poet's objective. Stripped of embellishments, it is akin to Cardinal Newman's shibboleth 'Man, thou art not born for thyself but thy kind.' We may accept it as a preface to the poems of the aforesaid category. It is in essence a turn-back from a life of ease and affluence, reminiscent of Gray's *Elegy*, to energise attention in the 'short and simple annals of the poor.' 'Simple,' however, is no word to describe the conditions of the poor in this country, as they grope in stark, chronic privations. Rabindranath gives a provocative touch to the pith and marrow of their sufferings, which are aggravated by

Bedonare karitechhe parihash
Swarthodhhata abichar.

Injustice, pampered with selfishness,
delighting to mock at the pains of the
poor.

The *Elegy* coruscates with the pathos of their life. Gray waits for the curfew to toll the knell of parting day and be left to himself and darkness to contemplate their sad lot. Rabindranath crowds action into the span of his thought. He would make their silent, benumbed tongues vocal and stir up hopes in their tired, broken hearts.

Truly speaking, what are they save some moving skeletons, euphemistically called human beings, in their festering slums made of odds and ends? By and large, they do not live but pitifully drag on with the load of poverty and ignorance bending them incredibly low. And yet,

They blame not their fate; cast not to
Heaven the imprecations of misery and
anguish; hold no other responsible; nor sulk
in sullenness. They are quite content with
life, if it just yields them scope to gather
what uncertain morsels of food they can.

The young poet sets to revalue the concept of life. It is a challenge big enough to appall the most enthusiastic. He, therefore, prayerfully seeks to tone up his own morale:

Thou poet, bring down from heaven high
the picture of hope and faith in this squalor
blank.

I am, however, loath to call this attitude a crusade. Rather essentially a poet, with whom instinct claims the whole being, he blazes up at the sight of misery wrought by a culpable maladjustment of wealth and the constitutional indifference of the privileged few. But he cannot keep up the tempo. To skip over a long stretch of years, he gives vent to an expression of pathetic regret how he has failed to live up to the promise and drifted afield. In the poem *Aikyatan*, (The Great Symphony), Rabindranath says:

"Not everywhere I have won access, my
ways of life have intervened and kept me
outside. The tiller at the plough, the weaver
at the loom, the fisherman plying his net—
these and the rest toil and sustain the world
with their varied labours. I have known
them from a corner, banished to a high
pedestal of society, reared by renown. Only

the outer fringe I have approached, not being able to enter the intimate precincts."—(The translation is his own).

The labour problem in India in the last nineties had not developed the various complications, incidental to Western industrialisation. A feeling of compassion, spun out to a sense of wrong done to a class of people we call labour is the nucleus of forces attacking inequitable

adjustment of the sources of enterprise conditioned by birth. The two types of the wronged, Rabindranath presents us, are, in the setting of a colourful human drama, a household menial and a small man behind the plough. To the first category belongs the irrepressible Kesta and to the second Upendra, pitted against a feudal lord.

(To be continued)

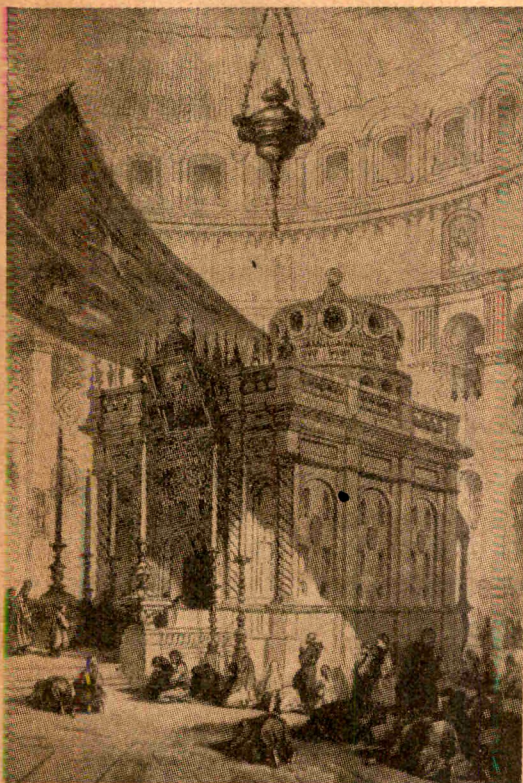
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JORDAN

A Modern State in an Antique Land

By Z. H. KAZMI

THE recent spectacular political developments in Jordan have brought this little Arab kingdom in the lime-light.



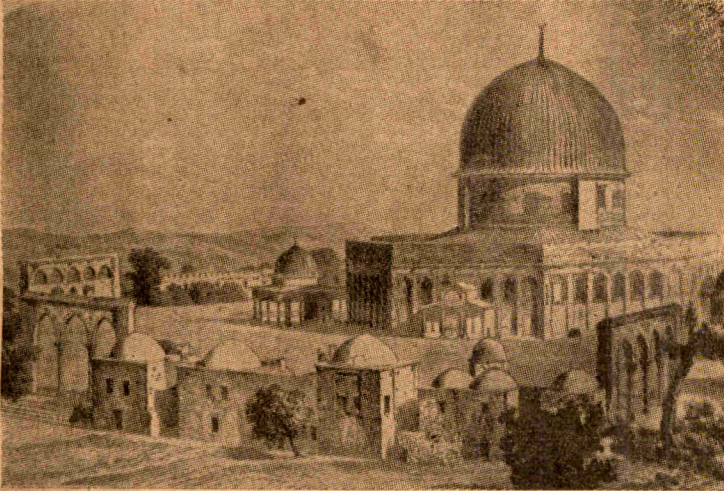
The shrine in the Church of Holy Sepulchre that enclosed the site where the crucified body of Jesus Christ is believed to have been laid.
Jerusalem

Set up by the British Government within the Palestine Mandate in 1922, Jordan was declared an independent country on May 25, 1946, with King Abdullah, son of Sherif-e-Mecca (the late King Husain of Arabia), as its first ruler. On the assassination of King Abdullah—the diplomatic wizard of modern Arabia—in July, 1951, his son Prince Talal was proclaimed King. Finding himself too weak to shoulder the onerous responsibilities of his kingdom, the ailing King Talal abdicated in favour of his young son Prince Husain who ascended the thorny throne at the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan in May, 1953, at the tender age of eighteen. King Husain who is a cousin of the young King Faisal II of Iraq, claims his descent from the house of the Prophet of Islam.

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy. The King governs through a Council of Ministers appointed on the advice of his Prime Minister who enjoys the confidence of the Parliament. The Parliament consists of a Senate of 20 members nominated by the King and a House of Representatives of 40 members elected by the people.

Predominantly a pastoral and agricultural country Jordan has only a few light industries and is backward economically. Until replaced early this year by the financial assistance promised to be paid jointly by the neighbouring Arab States of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria, the country was in receipt of an annual sub-

sidy of 6½ million sterling from the Government of the United Kingdom to stabilize its economy. But in view of Jordan's acceptance of the controversial Eisenhower Doctrine for American aid to the Middle Eastern countries, this offer is not likely to materialize now.



At the site of the Great Temple of Solomon stands the Mosque of Caliph Omar, Jerusalem

This small country with an area of 34,740 square miles and a population of 16,00,000 wields much importance in the strategic Middle-East mainly due to the central position it holds in the Arab world and its highly trained and colourful Arab Legion (the only Arab army which had come out with flying colours in the Israeli-Arab war of 1948 and which was organised by the deposed Lt.-General John Bagot Glubb, popularly known as Glubb Pasha).

Though a new country in the political sense, the present boundaries of the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan encompass some of the world's most ancient and greatest cities.

Most prominent in the galaxy of the relics of the country's glorious past are Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Petra and Amman, famous the world over for their archaeological, histori-

cal, religious or commercial interest. They have, through the ages, been drawing innumerable visitors from far and near.

A monument of mankind's earliest community efforts, Jericho is the oldest known walled city on earth whose foundation was laid

by the stalwarts of the Neolithic age (i.e., new stone age) sometimes early in the fifth millennium B.C. when the great human race stood at the threshold of its long and arduous march towards civilization. Jericho has recently given out its archaeological treasures stored underground as the city rose and fell—about thirty times—during the course of its 7,000-year-old history. The destruction of the city by a violent earthquake about the eighth century A.D. relegated it into a small insignificant village—even that owed its existence to the historical Aen-as-Sultan or Prophet Elisha's



A view of Amman, the capital of Jordan

fountain which has been providing it with drinking water from time immemorial. Thanks to the Herculean efforts of the resolute and indomitable Syed Musa Allami and some other hardy Arab refugees from Israel, this virtually dead city once again throbs with a new life

and its inhospitable and arid suburbs bloom with green fields and fruit-trees.

Jericho's topography also gives it a unique position for it lies 840 feet below the sea-level and is the lowest lying town on the surface of the earth. The excavations undertaken recently by the inquisitive archaeologists at the site of this relic of the hoary past have brought to light many a hidden jewel of ancient and medieval art and architecture. The remains of the earliest and later walls built to protect the city from the invaders; a Neolithic temple with the skeletons of two infants supposed to have been

rials found buried with the people who used them; the flower-pots of the sunken garden and the ruins of the civic centre constructed about 200 B.C. after the Roman style by the famous Jewish King Herod, the greatest builder in the history of Israel; wine jars and other pottery reminiscent of the days of the Roman rule over the Holy Land; the remains of the palatial palace with its magnificent mosaic floors, exquisitely carved and plastered walls and windows; artistically made luxurious hot and cold baths and splendid sculptures—built by Emperor Hisham (724-743 A.D.) of the Omyyad



A Nabatean Temple carved out of the rocks
Petra

sacrificed at its altar seven thousand years back; plastered and beautifully moulded skulls—inset with cowries representing the eyes—portraying the faces as well as the skill of the city's first settlers; tools and utensils used in Early Bronze Age (about 3100 B.C.); the earthen jars full of calcined grain stored by the men of the Middle Bronze Age (1900-1560 B.C.); handsomely carved wooden bowls containing dried meat and other edibles and mate-



Dynasty of Syria, are among the jewels of antiquity that have hitherto been unearthed while many other marvels of human feats buried here are yet to see the light of the day.

Now known in the West as the Pompeii of the East, Jericho is fast developing into a great tourist centre.

Religious sanctity, antiquity and splendour combine to give Jerusalem a place of pride among the great cities of the world.

Sacrosanct to three great faiths—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—Jerusalem or Baitul-Mugdis (meaning the 'Sacred House') stands on a broad summit of a mountain ridge. In and

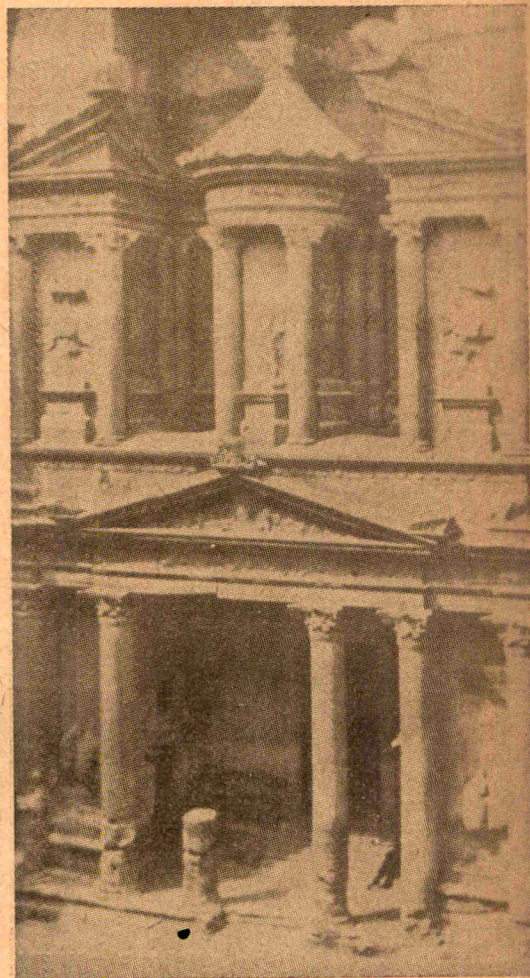
around it cluster the holy tombs and shrines of the prophets and patriarchs, Jewish Synagogues, Christian Churches and Muslim Mosques, and a host of historical and sacred sites and spots recalling to memory the stirring events which had greatly influenced the course of the history of mankind. In fact, the history of the venerable city is interwoven with the history of more than half of the people spread all over the globe.

Built four thousand years ago by the Jebusites and made capital of the Kingdom of Judea by David, the powerful potentate of the Israelis around 1000 B.C., Jerusalem shot into prominence with the construction of the Great Temple for the worship of One True God during the glorious reign of the celebrated King Solomon the Wise (son of King David). Despite repeated seizures and surrenders, wanton destructions and woeful blood-baths, dispersals and deportations of its inhabitants, the holy city has survived to this day and is still incomparable in more than one respect. The mighty armies from the neighbouring empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia and Rome have in turn ravaged and ransacked it but the "eternal city," 'as bequeathed by God,' rose in triumph on its ruins every time it was laid to dust.

Twice destroyed earlier, the Great Temple of Solomon was rebuilt in 25 B.C. as a result of King Herod's passion for fine buildings. But nearly a century later it was again razed to the ground by the Romans while they were suppressing a desperate Jewish uprising that flared up for the emancipation of the Holy Land from the Roman domination. Though the remains of the massive walls encircling the Temple area (known as Hazam where Jewis, Christians and Muslims worship almost side by side) are still there yet the temple was never built since then. A mosque—called the Mosque of Caliph Omar—with its splendid dome and exquisite inner decorations occupies, since 691 A.D., the actual site of Solomon's Temple in the direction of which the Muslims used to turn their faces while praying, before they were enjoined to bow in prayer towards Kaaba at Mecca.

When the Romans were converted to Christianity, magnificent mausolia and imposing edifices arose over the historical and religious sites. With the decay of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Arab Muslims led by the

powerful Caliph Omar hoisted their flag on Jerusalem in 638 A.D. Since the Muslim too held the monuments of the prophets and patriarchs of the Jews and the Christians in great reverence, they were not only protected but also adorned and beautified with excellent designs. Besides, a number of other splendid structures were erected during their rule.



Tomb of a Nabatean King hewn out of Petra's rose-red rocks

Near the foot of the Old Temple wall lies the Jews' wailing place—the Wailing Wall—where for centuries together, they have been congregating on every Saturday to wail over the fallen Temple, whose very dust is dear to them, and to chant in chorus the following pathetic verses:

- (1) "For the Palace that lies desolate;
For the walls that are overthrown;

For our majesty that is departed;
For our great men who lie buried;
For the precious stones that are burnt,
We sit in solitude and mourn."

- (2) "We pray, Thee, have mercy on Zion
Gather the children of of Jerusalem;
Haste, haste, Redeemer of Zion;
Speak to the heart of Jerusalem;
May beauty and majesty surround

Zion.

Ah! turn Thyself mercifully to
Jerusalem;
May the kingdom soon return to Zion,
Comfort those who mourn over
Jerusalem."



A peasant woman of Jordan in her full national dress

After centuries of wailings and prayers, they have succeeded in carving out the State of Israel but have failed to establish their sovereignty over the holy city (Old Jerusalem) within whose walls lie most of their sacred places.

By and large, the chief attraction of Jerusalem is the Church of Holy Sepulchre. One of the holiest spots in the whole of Christendom,

the Church of Holy Sepulchre was built in 335 A.D. by Emperor Constantine, the first Christian Roman ruler. Here, after his crucifixion, the body of Jesus Christ is believed to have been laid and raised subsequently to heaven. Besides, the edifice includes a vast congeries of chapels and shrines containing sacred relics which have for the last nineteen and a half centuries been enshrined in the hearts of all Christians. The Christian pilgrims burst into tears the moment their eyes catch the first glimpse of the historic Church. The religious fervour and excitement is heightened as the pilgrims enter its richly decorated and profusely ornamented interior; and their life's greatest ambition is accomplished as they kneel to kiss the marble slab below which had rested the body of their 'Saviour'.

Tombs of the Prophets; Absalom's Pillar, Fountain and Tomb of St. Mary (mother of Jesus Christ), Tombs of the kings, Pool of Siloam and Mosque-al-Aqsa are among the numerous historical and sacred spots of Jerusalem that require volumes of description.

Birthplace of Jesus Christ and Home of King David the Great, the antique city of Bethlehem—meaning 'the House of Bread' in Hebrew and 'the House of Flesh' in Arabic—sprawls over two mountain-ridges, five miles south-west of the Holy City. Like Jerusalem, Bethlehem too is rich in Biblical history: Here, in a remote past were heard the sweet sermons and illumined discourses of the great prophets and patriarchs like Ruth and Rachael, Abraham and Moses, Isaac and Ishmael. Here in this city a shepherd boy (David) rose to venerable kingship of Judea; and with the birth of Lord Christ in an obscure corner of this very city began the chequered history of the universal religion of Christianity.

A specimen of early Christian architecture, the fortress-like Church of Nativity with its painted mosaic walls displaying various incidents of his life, stands over the actual site where was born the Apostle of Peace. Countless Christian pilgrims from the world over congregate on the Christmas Eve in this Church to pay-homage to one who dedicated his life to the cause of humanity.

In the vicinity of the Church of Nativity is the Milk Guotto, another goal of Christian

pilgrimage. Here, according to tradition, fell a few drops of St. Mary's sacred milk while she was feeding baby Christ.

A mosque in the nearby Mount Hebron encloses the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Second only to Jerusalem in sanctity, Bethlehem and its suburbs are strewn with the monuments that recall to mind millennia-old legends woven around them.

Surrounded by the colourful mountain walls, the fabled city of Petra is situated in the wilderness of Southern Jordan through which passed the ancient caravans touching Arabia Felix (Yemen), Palestine, Egypt and Phoenicia (Lebanon). The Beduins of the region amassed a staggering fortune in their mountain fastnesses by pillaging and plundering these caravans.

The huge wealth accumulated through the generations and occasional contacts with the civilized people had a sobering effect on the marauders. Gradually, they settled in the valley of Petra to lead a peaceful life and turned into traders and protectors of the caravans they have looted in the past. Thereafter, Petra grew into a flourishing kingdom and had a dynasty of its rulers known in history as the 'Nabatean Dynasty' (100 B.C.—106 A.D.).

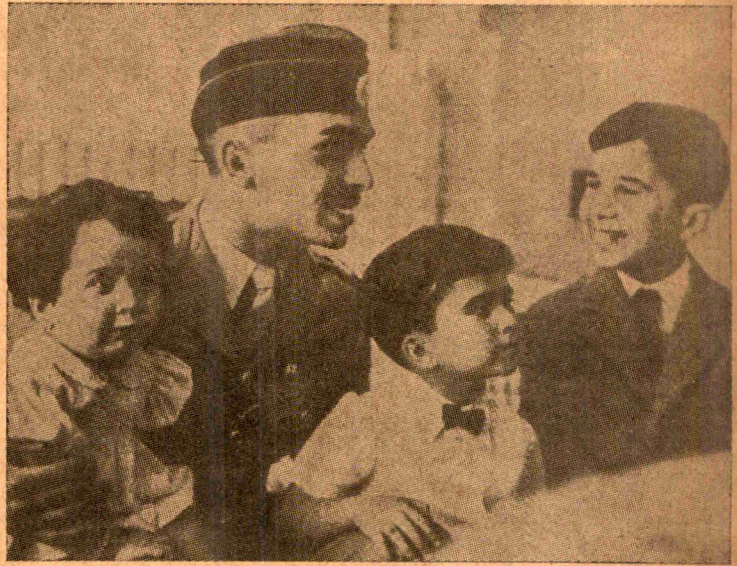
The unique and astonishing multi-coloured entrance to the 'Caravan city' is through a long Siq or a deep narrow gorge—one of the wonders that are Petra's proud possessions. A legend has it that the famous Siq opened up as Prophet Moses struck his rod against the rock when he led his persecuted people (Bani Israel or Early Jews) from the captivity of Pharaoh to this naturally fortified valley en route to the 'Promised Land' (Palestine).

Believed to be yet another miracle of Prophet Moses is the Aen-e-Musa or the Spring of Moses just outside the famous Siq. Its sweet and silvery water was carried into the city by

the Nabateans through the conduits cut into the solid rocks alongside the Siq.

The Tomb of Aaron, the brother and successor of Prophet Moses, crowns one of Petra's cliffs—called Mount Hor—and is a goal of pilgrimage for the Jews, Christians and Muslims alike.

For their burial and worship, the Nabatean kings got many colossal and charming tombs and temples hewn wholly out of the rose-red-



H. M. the King Hussain of Jordan with his brothers and sister

rocks. The best preserved and most magnificent of these marvels of architecture is the tomb of a Nabatean king, erroneously known in Arabic as the Khazinat-ul-Firaun meaning 'Treasury of Pharaoh.' Its beautifully chiselled columns, rich outer and inner carvings and the towering facade throw light on the art and skill developed by the 'Beduin civilization.'

Centuries of neglect as well as the wear and tear have played havoc with these structures of superb beauty yet some of them still stand to proclaim to the world the prowess of their builders.

The rising tide of the Roman conquests swept away the flourishing Nabatean Kingdom in 107 A.D. The Romans also carved out temples and theatres, and built caravanserais and arcades in and around this caravan stronghold, but with the fall of the Nabateans, Petra's prosperity gradually crumbled and stag-

nated. Two centuries later it lay desolate and forgotten.

There is something at once grand and simple, magnificent and pathetic about this silent deserted city.

Thanks to the inquisitiveness of the European archaeologists the wonder city was rediscovered late in the nineteenth century and has been attracting tourists ever since.

Petra's ageless rocks must have witnessed the pomp and pageantry of the caravan led by Queen of Sheba (Yemen) to Jerusalem as well as the pathetic plight of the most handsome boy of his time (Prophet Joseph) when he was sold by his treacherous brothers to the slave traders going to Egypt through this route.

The journey from Amman to Petra is tiresome yet a visit to this 'wonder of the rocks,' is worth the trouble.

Amman, the commercial centre and fastly expanding capital of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan is situated in a valley and stretches up the side valleys.

The origin of the city dates back to a distant past. The traces of the Ammonite fortress built about 4,500 years ago when it was known as Rabbah or Rabbath Amman bears testimony to its antiquity. Below the historic walls of this

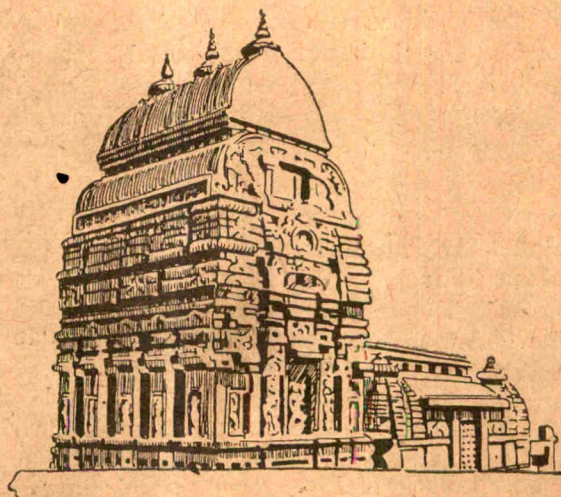
ruined fortress was laid the plot of the popular Biblical story of 'David and Bathsheba'.

With the advent of the Romans in West Asia (107 A.D.), Amman was named Philadelphia and gained the status of a provincial city. The handsomely constructed 4000-seater amphitheatre still stands (though in a dilapidated condition) as a reminder to their rule.

On the acropolis facing modern Amman are the ruins of El-Qasr, a Muslim palace dating from the eighth century A.D.

Less than sixty years back, the booming metropolis of Jordan was a village of 2,000 Circassians—refugees from Czarist Russia. Today it boasts of about half a million population including a large number of refugees from Israel. In the surprisingly short period of a decade, palatial buildings and business mansions, beautiful homes and decorated shops with a variety of goods, comfortable hotels and excellent schools have replaced its mud-walled houses and Beduin camps; and its age-old carts and camels, donkeys and mules have yielded place to cars and scooters, buses and bicycles.

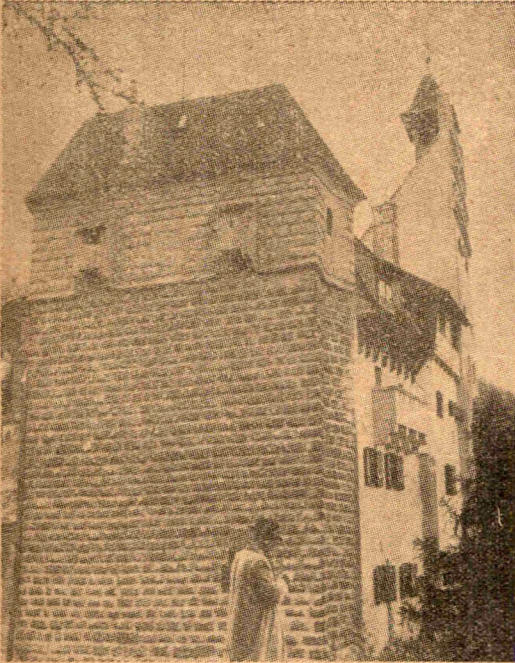
Amman of today is no more a dirty, dusty and sleepy small town. Now it wears the outlook of a modern city and rivals many of its size in the West.



THE BRAN CASTLE

"AGERPRES", RUMANIA

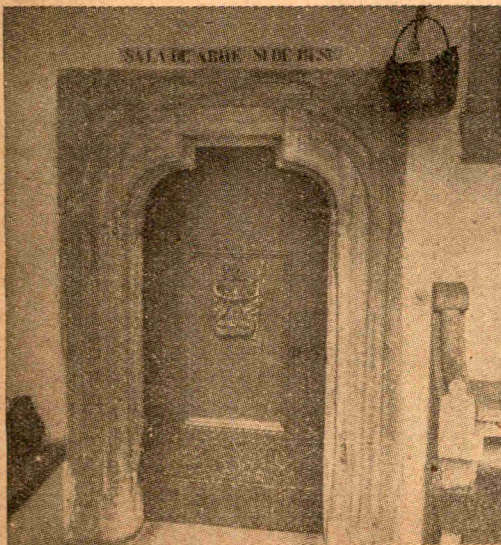
RESEMBLING an imposing eagle's nest, this the industrious Brasov people, above the Bran castle built some six centuries ago (1377) by Pass, was meant to defend against the invasions



The high watch water of the Bran Castle



The inner yard facing north-east



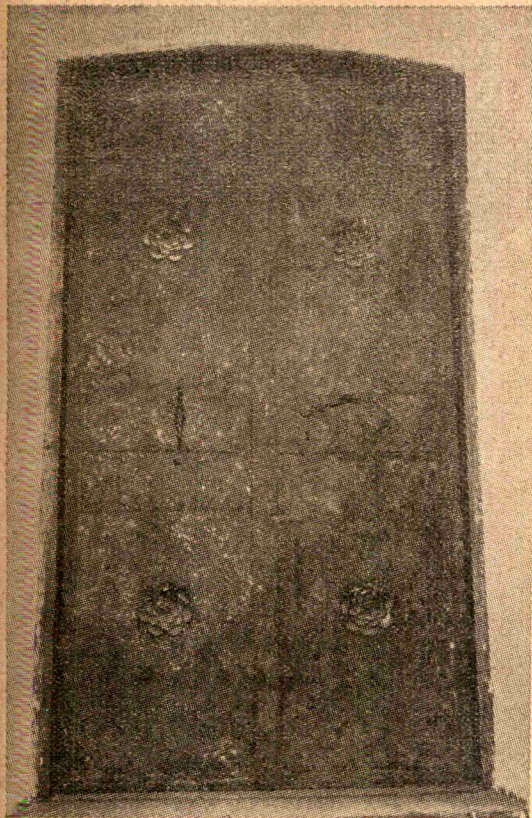
The entrance to the hall of arms and dining hall



Secret stora between the first and third floors

of the enemies, this important commercial road between Transylvania and Wallachia.

Along the centuries, the Bran castle changed many a time its owners; it belonged in turn to



Original iron gate dating from 1693



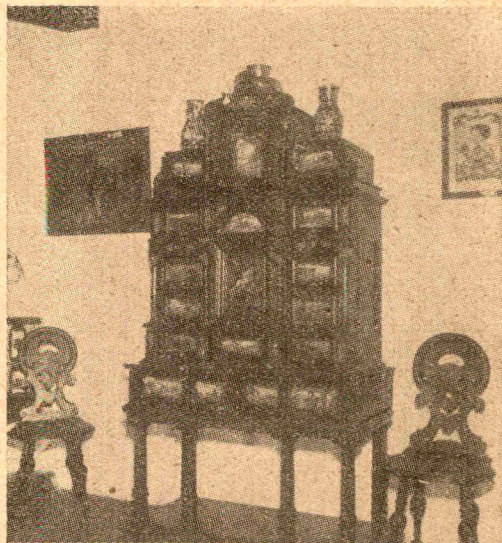
Furniture and engraved vases from the 16th century. The chairs date from 1607

the Kings of Hungary, to the Wallachian Princes, to the Brasov people, and from 1920 to the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns. Its last owner was Ileana of Hapsburg, born Hohenzollern.

At present, the castle belongs to the Rumanian people and has been changed into a parti-



A view of the castle's court, hall with furniture dating from the 16th century



Chest of drawers in the Tyrolese hall (18th century)

cularly interesting museum, displaying many original objects and furniture dating from the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries.

In the photos we find:

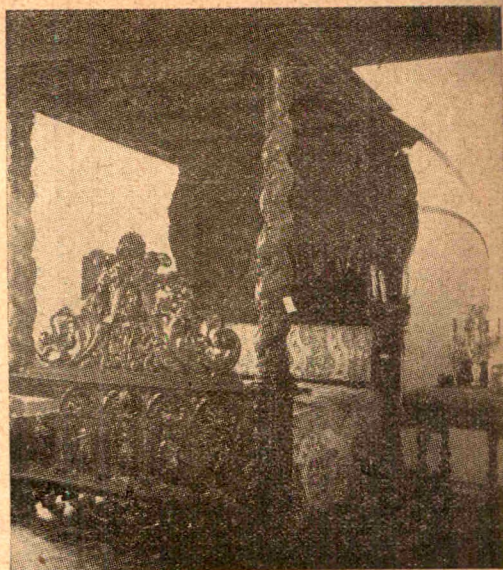
1. The Bran castle, seen from the road.
2. The entrance to the castle with its rectangularly shaped tower. During the battles boiling tar was poured on the besiegers from this tower. Worthy of note is the coat of arms ornating the window shutters.



A view of the copyists' room. Even the quill-pens are at their places

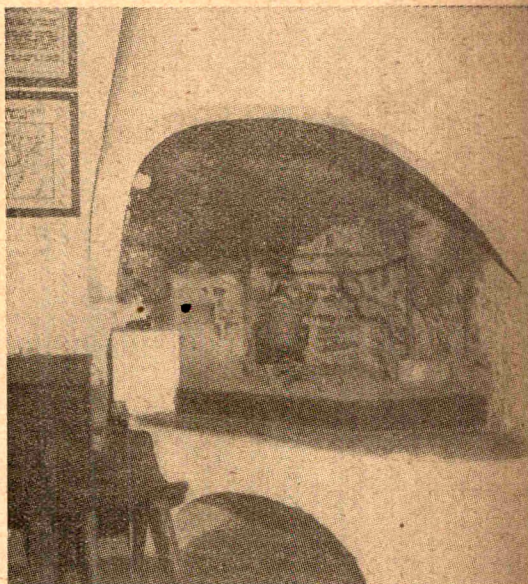
3. A view of the inner yard with the round tower, which formerly was the powder-mill of the castle.
4. The high watch tower.
5. The inner yard facing north-east.
6. Original iron gate dating from 1693.
7. The entrance to the hall of arms and dining hall.
8. Secret stairs between the first and third floors. It was this way that the garrison used to withdraw when the besiegers penetrated into the castle. The low arch still preserves the traces of torch smoke.
9. A view of the castle's court hall with furniture dating from the XVI century.
10. Furniture and engraved vases from the XVII century. The chair dates from 1607.
11. Chest of drawers in the Tyrolese hall (XVIII century).

12. A view of copyists' room. Even the quill-pens are at their places. . . .



The sleeping room of the distinguished guests

13. The sleeping-room of the distinguished guests: voivodes, princes and kings. The bed with the richly carved wooden baldachin, is of a rare beauty (XVII century).



Medieval fire-place (early 17th century)

14. Medieval fire-place (early XVII century).

COUNTRYSIDE OF ENGLAND

By MADHUSUDAN CHATTERJEE

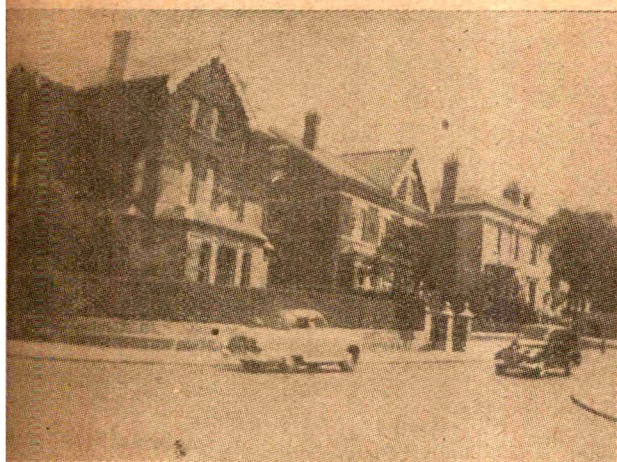
I GOT the train as soon as I reached the Paddington Station in London. The train started a few minutes after I took the seat. Though it was a third class compartment, the seats were quite good and well-cushioned, and I managed to sit by the side of a window. The handles for arm-rest were also comfortable. As only a few minutes ago I had taken my meals, and the train was running at a quite good speed, the eyes became heavy to respond to sleep. But why should I sleep? I should see everything with open

farmers were working in the fields, they were being helped to the fullest extent by their women companions.

When I got down the train I could feel that I had come quite earlier than what was scheduled. I had no watch and that was the trouble.

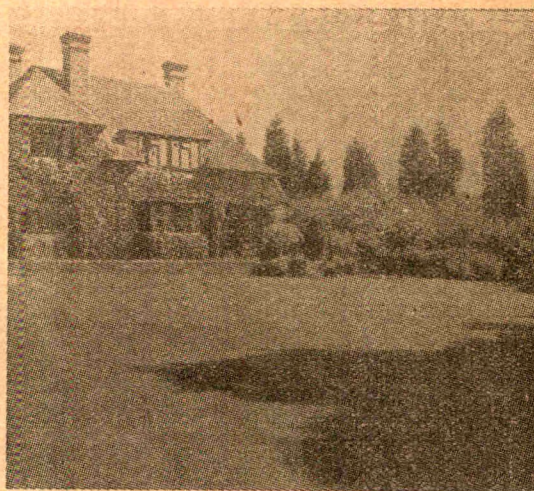
I slowly came out of the Reading Station. I neither knew any place nor any person. Still I would have to go to the garden of Sutton and Sons.

There were many red-coloured buses wait-



Countryside of England

eyes. But what did I see actually? The train was running with its characteristic sound leaving behind high-lands as well as plains and green grassy fields, beautiful cottages, many a factory, sometimes a river. Somewhere the people were, as it were, holding a ceremony of burning wild bushes along the railway yards. Here and there smoke was going up to mingle itself with the layers of a cloudy sky. Somewhere there were rows of oak trees as far as the vision permitted. Somewhere one could see portions of beautiful straight roads. Somewhere rows of hills or wild forests situated a long way off could be seen. They were just like what you saw in the British films. Somewhere flocks of sheep were grazing in the fields. And how beautiful were the cultivated lands! Some were fields of wheat, some of flowers, some being for leafy vegetables. But it appeared from a distance as if the Earth was taking rest spreading her garments all around. The



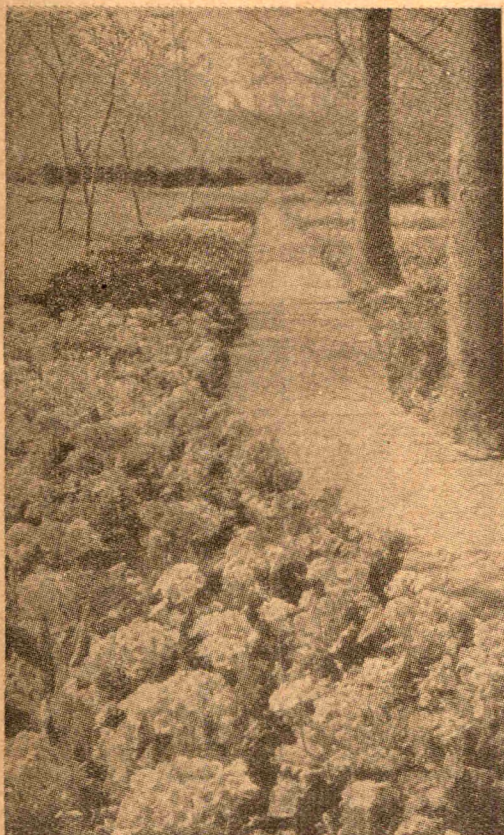
Scene of a building in the countryside of England

ing outside the station. I would have been glad if I had got any one of those. But one Englishman told me, "You just walk a little and get Liverpool Road-Trolley bus. You'll be able to reach near about the garden." I did the same. The bus-conductor here was a real friend of the foreign passengers. He asked me to get down at the proper place and told me clearly which way and how far I was to go to reach the garden.

I went straight on without facing any other difficulties.

Up to that time I did not know what amount of difference really there existed between the countryside of England and a town. It was just like the towns. When I was coming by bus I saw a number of shops, restaurants and banks. Those were the same as I saw in London. But the cottages here were more lonely. The surroundings were more silent. Every cottage

had a flower-garden either in front of it or behind. There were some lands for leafy vegetables too. I saw many small children crowding in front of the "Reading Corporation—Swimming Bath." There was a crowd but it was not undisciplined. They arranged themselves in a queue. They had towels in their hands. It seemed to me that they would get down the water for swimming.



A flower garden

The high peak of the church was as it were trying to meet the sky. There was a large compound of the old crematorium. The secretariat building of the Reading Corporation stood with its respectable look. In one house I saw a beautiful bird in a cage. To me it looked like a *Chandana*.

I entered into a park. It was big enough. There were railway-lines on the high land by the side of the park. A train appeared on the line.

Some people were working on the other side. They were perhaps building some sort of embankments in the fields. I could not hear any squabble or quarrel during their work. None was interfering in their work.

After getting into the park I saw two boys sitting on a bench. I asked one of them, "Which park is this"?

The boy answered, "Palmer Park."

I saw a notice board which contained the following: "Cycling, Motor Cycling and Motoring prohibited."

At the same moment I saw a young boy passing by that way on a cycle. He passed like lightning.

Then I reached the garden of Sutton and Sons quite earlier than the scheduled time.

Gravel covered the whole way. I went a little way onwards and got to their office. One person was waiting there. As soon as he saw me he exclaimed with joy, "Good afternoon, Mr. Chatterjee"!

The gentleman could rightly understand that I was no other than Chatterjee and not Hambridge or anyone else. Introduction could be had from the colour of my skin. Probably the letter



View of a countryside road

which I sent to them was responsible for this.

The gentleman said, "I am very glad to see you."

"Thank you, so I am. I think I have come earlier than the scheduled time. I had no watch and that was the trouble."

"Never mind. I was expecting you."

He expressed a feeling as if I was known to him for a long time and said, "I will now take you to my representative. The office is nearby. He will show you everything. You better come to my car."

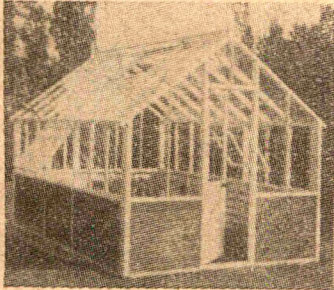
A motor car was waiting in front. I took a seat there.

The gentleman who welcomed me took the gear. The distance was short and the car stopped after a little while.

Both of us got down. The gentleman then took me to his office room. A big table was surrounded by about three chairs. I sat down on one of the chairs and asked, "May I get a glass of water?"

"Why water? I think tea would serve the purpose better."

He went out. There were some catalogues on the table. I took one of them and began to turn over the pages. I saw some nice coloured pictures inside it. They were pictures of flowers. The costly art paper of the catalogue easily attracted the readers. It revealed the good taste of the Company.



A Green House

The gentleman returned with a cup of water and said, "Very sorry. I would have been glad to give you hot water but I did not find the arrangements ready just now. So please take this cup of cold water."

"That's right. I was looking for cold water."

I took the water. Another person came in.

The previous gentleman introduced us. "He is Mr. Chatterjee and he is Mr. Drew."

Mr. Drew was a good-looking young man with a tall well-formed body. He shook my hands and said, "Very glad to see you, Sir."

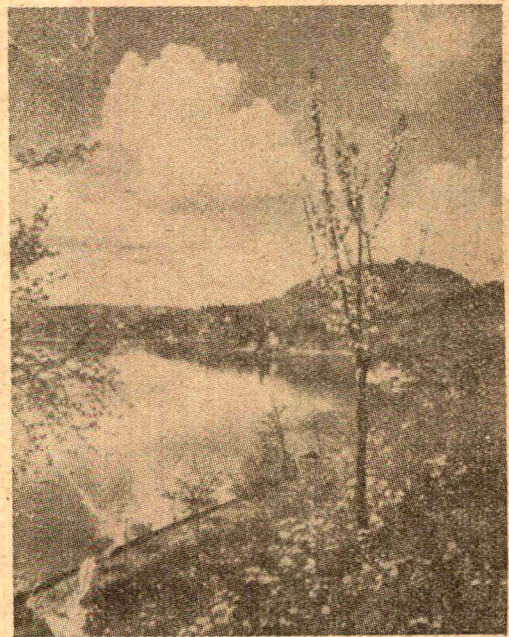
The previous gentleman then went out.

I showed Mr. Drew my introduction letter which I got from the Indian Journalists' Association. He was very glad to read it.

Then we two went out to see the garden and the cultivation thereof.

If you entered any of the Green Houses you would have no intention to come out, the sight was so much pleasing. Different types of

flower-plants were kept in separate glass-cases. Beautiful flowers blossomed in each plant. And what should I say about numerous unknown flowers and their exquisite beauties! Even the temperature of the Green House was suitable for those plants. The plants which grew in tropical countries were kept in glass-cases where it had been possible to maintain the temperature suitable for them by mechanical means. Some young women were deeply engaged in their duties and not only young but some elderly ladies were also engaged there in the same job.



View of a small river

I saw in a room many gunny bags and a boiler. Of course the boiler was not working but the buckets on which plants were grown were scattered there in large numbers.

The workers were painting suitable colours on different types of flowers. They said that after such painting the flowers would become far more beautiful.

Inside the other room I saw some bush-like things. I asked, "What will you get from these?"

"We get seeds from these. And these seeds are sent to the market for sale."

I walked with the gentleman and saw diffe-

rent cultivated fields. Those were of ladies-finger and of cauliflower.

Here oxen were not used for the plough. The tractors had taken their place.

Then comes the question of rainfall. Our peasants are very much anxious about the rainfall. In this country those problems are unknown. On the two sides of a land there were two pipes and they were revolving with great speed. And the water was falling on the field like actual rainfall. It was with so much ease that the cultivation was going on. No such year passed here when one got disappointed after sowing seeds.

I asked the gentleman, "What's about the snakes in your country?"

"Snakes?" the person turned to me and smiled, "Where are snakes? Of course there may be some, but they are very small and seen very rarely. And if they bite at all, they do not cause much harm."

I asked, "How many workers are on duty here?"

"Sixty. But including the staff it will be about 300. We are to work on 100 acres of land."

The gentleman very kindly took me to every corner and showed me many things. I got tired, he was not fatigued. Many persons like myself visit the nurseries daily and see their vast fields for sowing seeds and their art and skill of agriculture and they show them with pleasure. There is no question of getting fatigued. One can come into close contact with their spirit of work and the pleasing surroundings of untiring life in any village of England any day (excepting Saturdays and Sundays).*

* English translation of a Bengali feature broadcast through B.B.C., London, on 3rd September, 1955.

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SOME STRAGGLING TRIBES IN INDIA

By BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

THE tribes of India, according to 1951 Census, numbered over twenty-five millions. These constitute Free India's composite anthropological bulk of different aborigines either settled like the Naga, Garo, Kachari, Khasi in Assam; Santal, Munda in Bihar and Orissa; Bhuiya, Bhumij and Khond in Orissa; Gonds, Baigas, Konkus in M.P.; Bhils in Bombay and Greater Rajasthan; Kurumber, Kanikar, Irular and Yanadi in South India or they may be of nomadic nature migrating from one tribal zone to another in search of food and habitation.

Curiously enough, some stragglers of these multifarious tribes are noticed—far behind the gaze of the public—to inhabit across a close terrain-belt of West Bengal—in the Jalpaiguri District. They are not nomadic or predatory by habit, but speak a dialect of their own and are tribally distinct from the Tibeto-Burman off-shoots of any of the anthropological kinds generally found across the north-eastern frontiers of India. Their descent is yet untraced, though local traditions confirm that they have

been, from time out of mind, living in the same village called Totapara, which lies on an upland called Totapahar in the Madarihat police-station of the Jalpaiguri District.

They are known as Totos and live huddled up in an area of about four square miles, encompassed by the most densely type of a peculiar thicket and bramble for which the Dooars is so well-known.

They are a meek people, rather friendly and reserved but quite intelligent. The 1901 Census recorded their number at 72 males and 99 females and mentioned them as Animists, while their number as per subsequent censuses were recorded as follows:

| Census-year | Male | Female | Remark |
|-------------|---|--------|--------|
| 1911 | 125 | 110 | Hindu |
| 1921 | No separate record: as they were | | |
| & 1931 | recorded as Hindu in 1911. | | |
| 1941 | Recorded as being 334 in number. | | |
| 1951 | Recorded: there are 71 huts in Totapara with 314 inhabitants—all Totos. | | |

The heart of their sylvan capital—Totapara—can be reached by elephants from the nearest civil station Ballaiguri. Straw-covered bambco-buttressed huts cluster in the hamlet having been mounted on *dais* (*vulgo: machans*) of wooden props six to seven feet high. Tree-stubbles generally hollowed out in notches contrive to serve as so many flights of "foot-boards," as it were, to the inner chambers of their forest huts; while they can be easily thrown up or withdrawn, at night or on demand of extraordinary jungly situations, like gangways.

Every family-unit rears poultry, piggeries, as well as dairies on a miniature scale.

Their hamlets have rather weird settings—thick forest and swift, babbling rills nearby or sparkling streamlets in remote woods—constitute their only source of drinking water.

On the eastern flank, the hilly terrain shoots up into the Badoo peak where haunt the spirits of the sylvan deity called Ishpa, akin to Pan. Curiously the word Ishpa seems to be a variant of the Sanskrit term Ishwa, meaning the Supreme Being. The Totos are generally very stout, have broad and defined features, dark brown skin, small but slant eyes and wear scant cloths but gorgeous ornaments and body-decrators as becoming of the traditions of the aborigines. Male Totos delight in ornamental ostentations and wear necklaces made of strangled *cowries* or glass beads. Females wear simple skirts and scarves, pendulous ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, rings as well as necklaces. They are free from priestly hierarchy, but the Totos have unflinching faith in the Ishpa, which helps them to conquer any situation, however difficult or surmount any danger, however felt to be otherwise incurable like a fell disease or the terror of a wood-goblin.

Offerings of meat and oblations of liquor are made to appease the wrath of this benevolent deity in the traditional manner in which the entire Toto-folks join in merry-junkettings. They also deify a pagan goddess called Chima, akin to Hecate, which also seems to be a variant of Sanskrit word *Chinmoyee*, meaning the cosmic Spirit.

This deity is propitiated to bring on greater animal fertility or better harvest of bumper crops, a custom, which also obtains amongst

other aborigines, whether in India, Africa or Australia, and is accompanied by offerings of cock, hen, hog, or black puppies. Goat offering, such as it was a custom with the Greeks, to appease the vengeance of a Moloch or Hecate is singularly unknown amongst the Totos. There are about a few cattle-heads in the little Toto-world. They eat pigs, goats, deer, birds of almost all categories, but not beef. This explains the only reason why the 1921 and 1931 Censuses recorded them as Hindus. Some of them also eat snakes, rhinoceroses or even tigers! They call 'rice'—the *maruza*, which again appears to be a variant of the Greek root *oruza*, from which the word 'rice' has been derived.

Their cooking is simple and done in pots which they can make from earth. Food is served in wooden basins and vessels, while liquor in bamboo phials (*poiipa*), *hadia* (pot-brewed liquor) is their principal drink and life's elixir, as it were!

Every Toto has his own bamboo-walled kitchen garden, where barring vegetables and greens, betel-nuts are grown abundantly. There are also mango, jack-fruit and guava trees scattered here and there in the Totoland.

Like all settled aborigines, their cultivation is systematically primitive, they know the art of sowing broadcast their seeds. It seems that like most of the aborigines they were at first averse to the settled life of living by agriculture and did not know how to turn clods of earth by ploughshare, geared by a team of bullocks or buffaloes, which they always felt like a tough job. But, as the proverbial *jungle*, they are always past-masters in the art of clearing jungles and hunting games. They know the process of preparing clean soot-free wood-charcoals which they use as fuel in braziers in preference to the usual firewood. When a particular area is cleared of jungles, the same is ploughed up by rough wooden rakes and then sown over in turn by seeds of seasonal crops. By the eastern flanks of Totapahar runs the border of Bhutan, dotted here and there by patches of oranges, cultivation across the terrain ridges and furrows. This seems to be something like an enchanted world where—everywhere you notice—numberless oranges all in lush bloom of golden colour, abound in luxuriance. The Totos have a good roaring trade in oranges in their outlandish

realm. Father, mother, children, irrespective of sex and age, all become partners in this seasonal industry and carry large basketfuls of these golden treasures on their backs to sell at considerable cash price to the *beparis*, viz., middlemen traders who hail from nearby business towns as agents of big merchants of Calcutta or other important centres for the obvious purpose.

The Totos are also good at basketry and split-bamboo or wicker-matting crafts. This helps them also as cash-earners; or, they barter their wares for rice which forms the staple of their life's only meat and drink.

The 1951 Census records that this straggling, tiniest tribe in India, has as many as a dozen or so of groups or sub-castes. Marriages among blood relations on either father's or mother's side, are banned by their ethnic taboos, but they are essentially endogamous, viz., a Toto must marry a Toto. Bigamy is fairly unknown to them, but a young widow can re-marry a year after her husband's death. Like all tribals, marriage is simple enough with them, it being only an affair with no ceremonial routine of oath-taking, such as it obtains amongst their civilised counterpart elsewhere. But their Bacchanal bout is, however, remarkable, joined by the entire folks of their community-groups, with drum, band, cymbal, flute, jazz and dance.

This smallest tribe in India has also some sort of Liliputian government and is noted too, for its capacity of survivability, endurance and flair for corporate living.

The Totos bury their dead as also know how and when to bury their old hatchets in a brawl.

Inheritance to goods and chattels or their properties follows from the law of the first-born on the male side, as it obtains among the Hindus and others of the civilised world. They also count their months by lunar calendar, starting from the third lunation, called *tarrish*, obvious-

ly a variant in *vulgo* of *tri-tithis* i.e., *tritiya* of Sanskrit.

It is notable, however, that the Totos have not come under the proselytising influence of any outside religion, faith or culture, so far.

It is a happy augury that the West Bengal Government have recently decided upon the setting up of a State Advisory Council for the Tribes as well as an Institute of Tribal Welfare and Researches somewhere at Calcutta. This will, assuredly, look to the interests of this straggling remains of a fast decaying tribal people across the far eastern border of the province and help them grow up into a people quite culturally knit-together under one anthropological group.

They are, as a rule, a bit coyish by nature and pretty wary of the din and cheer-free life of their more culturedly superior counterparts, living in the haunts of civilisation in far-off cities and towns.

They can stand any amount of rigorous hardship, except sophistries. For, they desire, to all intents and purposes to be left alone in their own wonderland of wood-doves, deer-stalking, hog-hunting or orange-raising to lead an unfettered life, untouched by the glare and greed of the fashionable world. Surely, they demand no Totoland for themselves like others of their ilk in Free India; they have no turn for frippery politics, nor do they care altogether for what a diplomat might fight for a *leben-sraum* issue in preferring a separate claim for the hilly-tribes or for selves!

Indeed, to rejoice with the dreamy hills and dales; throb with the spookish rule of the sylvan Ishpa; laugh at gloomy spells of Chima—Nature, just to drink life to the lees and, say it the last farewell manfully before shuffling off the mortal coil, is the only be-all and end-all of his mental Deutschland he craves here in the lonely tribal world under the sun!

AGRA UNIVERSITY COLLEGES AND THE U.P. GOVERNMENT

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A. and PROF. MADAN LAL SANGAL, M.A.,
D.A.V. College, Dehradun, Agra University

THE attitude of the Congress Government of U.P. towards the Agra University Affiliated College Lecturers has not been what it should have been. The discriminatory policy and attitude of the U.P. Congress Government in this respect has caused deep disappointment and also resentment among the Lecturers in the Post-Graduate teaching Affiliated Colleges of the Agra University. They have been subjected to discriminatory treatment of the worst type, financial hardship, and whimsical, arbitrary, piecemeal, irrational reforms that have made the situation worst and increased the defects and created heartburnings.

We shall first of all state what the Government have done. Then we shall point out the defects and objections in what they have done. Finally we shall indicate what remedies should be adopted, failing which what consequences their actions are likely to lead to.

The object of this article is to make the intellectual elite of this country familiar with the enormity of the injustice done to us by our own national Government,—not to criticise them so much, and at the same time it is hoped that the Government also benefiting from a healthy criticism of the injustice, discrimination, and irrationality of their action, should remove these injustices, and thus establish their claims to be regarded as a civilized modern progressive Government that does not obstinately persist in refusing to remove the injustice done by itself. We hope the learned Doctor Sampurnanand, our Chief Minister, and the extremely cultured Education Minister Sri Kamalapati Tripathi will soon rectify the situation and do us justice.

In the Post-Graduate Colleges of the Agra University formerly the Lecturers were given Rs. 200 to Rs. 450 and the Heads of the Departments Rs. 300 to Rs. 600, when in the Residential Universities of U.P. the Lecturers were given Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, the Readers Rs. 500 to Rs. 800, and the Heads of the Departments Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 or Rs. 1,250 (we are not sure). Thus the difference in the ceiling in the case of the Lecturers was Rs. 50

only as between Agra University Colleges and the Residential Universities of U.P.

Recently the U.P. Government abolished the Readers' post in the Residential Universities by giving all Lecturers there the grade Rs. 300 to Rs. 800. Thus the difference in the ceiling of Lecturers' pay now became (Rs. 800 minus Rs. 450) Rs. 350. So, when our leaders did not talk of the 'Socialist Pattern of Society' the difference was Rs. 50, but when they indulged in such talks the difference became Rs. 350!

The Congress Government of U.P. next indulged in whimsical, piecemeal, irrational reforms in the Agra University Colleges. They gave a so-called Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to the second and third men in the Post-Graduate Colleges where there are five and eight teachers in the Department. In this manner in some big Departments even the fifth or sixth men are getting this Senior Grade where there are, say more than twenty or twenty-five teachers.

Now, this Senior Grade given to the second, third, fourth, etc., men in the Post-Graduate Departments of our Colleges having five, eight etc., number of teachers, not based on the academic qualifications or the length of service of the recipients of the Senior Grade, is extremely unjust, invidious, and unreasonable and has created very natural resentment and bitterness of feelings among the vast majority of the Lecturers who for no fault of their own have not got it. The defects of this action may be pointwise summarised as follows:

1. First Class second men with very long service to their credit in smaller Department (i.e., where the number of teachers is below five) have not got the Senior Grade when very junior Second Class (or even Third Class in some cases) second and third men in larger Departments (for no credit of theirs) have got it. How strange!

2. When all second men (those in smaller Departments, i.e., having less than five teachers) have not got the Senior Grade, some third, fourth, and even fifth men (in very large Departments) have got it. Is it justice

3. Those who have got it are not only not more qualified than those who have got it (often they are definitely less qualified), but they do not have to do any additional work, as the maximum number of periods that a Post-Graduate teacher has to teach is fixed at twenty-one periods a week by statute, no matter there are five, eight, or eighty teachers in a Department. One fails to understand why some persons should be especially given greater salary and greater glory? And for what reason or justification?

4. Again, if (as certain persons in the U.P. Government want to make us believe), the government's object was to give a lift to a few very senior, old, deserving second men in some of the older Colleges whose future is blocked by Heads of the Departments of the same age, then this measure has defeated that object even. For by it similar senior, old deserving second men in smaller Departments (not having five teachers) are not covered. So, the bottom is knocked out of their not very reasonable excuse.

5. Again, if the importance of a Department increases by reason, not of the especial academic qualifications or accomplishments of the second or third men, but by reason of having five or eight teachers in the Department, then the natural question arises—why give the Senior Grade to the second and third men only, why not to all the five and eight teachers of the Department?

6. It has put some second, third, and even fourth and fifth men on par with their Heads of the Departments, which is unique in history and which does not make sound sense.

7. Nowhere in the world we heard of giving a Senior Grade to less qualified men in preference to more qualified men, to junior men in preference to senior men, and in which the academic qualification and length of service of the recipients was no matter for consideration. But this is what our own Congress Government have done. This is the truth. And is not truth really stranger than fiction?

This patent injustice to all lecturers in our colleges (other than a few second and third men, etc.) should be removed at once by extending this Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to all lecturers in our Post-Graduate Colleges,

no matter how much it may cost the Government, and no matter that they have chosen to indulge in an 'economy drive' just now. A patent injustice must be removed speedily at all costs and no excuse should be pleaded to perpetuate this oppressive injustice a day more. It must be noted clearly that this injustice was done to us by spending more government money (by giving Senior Grade to some persons), and therefore the Government should not hesitate to spend still more Government money to correct this injustice by extending this Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to all other lecturers in the Post-Graduate Colleges of the Agra University, if necessary, by imposing some such tax as the Education Cess. This irritating discrimination must go in any case *at all cost*.

We earnestly hope and request the enlightened and sympathetic leaders in charge of the Province whether in the Government or outside to realise the grave and gross injustice done to us and without any further delay or the need of any further agitation to correct the sorry and unjust state of affairs soon, very soon. The just Government should do justice by—

1. Immediately extending the Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to all lecturers in all Post-Graduate Colleges of the Agra University, and thus introduce uniform grade among the lecturers (who do the same type of work).

2. Giving our Heads of the Departments a better grade or at least an allowance so that there may be some recognition for their greater responsibilities. And also between the Heads and the second men lecturers there should be some difference.

3. If possible just now, if not possible just now then surely at a future date, the Government should give the same grades to the Post-Graduate College teachers of the Agra University as to the teachers of the Residential Universities of the State, for there should be no difference for doing the same work between the sister Universities of the State. In this connection they should kindly note that the non-Post-Graduate-teaching Affiliated Colleges of the Residential Universities of U.P. can never be compared with the Post-Graduate-teaching Affiliated Colleges of the Agra University, and as such our Post-Graduate-teaching Affiliated Colleges should get the Grade of the Residential

Universities, and not the lower grade of their Affiliated Colleges.

Any reasonable man can see that our demands are most reasonable and just. It is sincerely hoped that public sympathy will be on our side, and that the Government will undo the mischief it has done (may be without meaning it), and thus not force us to take recourse to trade-unions which we do not surely like. The Congress Party that received Gandhiji's blessings should never stick to obstinately

refuse to remove the injustice it has done to us. Let it not be said of the Congress Cabinet of the Uttar Pradesh Government what Lord Ripon said of the British Cabinet once, "The Cabinet, I admit, has got the giant's strength, and it is using it like a giant." The credit and strength of a modern civilized Government lies not in obstinacy or doing injustice particularly to the builders of the nation; but in doing justice and in yielding before the right cause.

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U.S.A'S INTEREST IN RABINDRANATH

By BENOYENDRA SENGUPTA,

Superintendent, Cataloguing Division I, National Library, Calcutta

DURING my recent visit to the United States under the U.S. Department of State's International Educational Exchange Programme I had occasion to visit quite a number of important libraries—Public, University, State and Federal. I was interested to know the wealth of Indic material in these libraries and was impressed by the collection in the Harvard University Library (Massachusetts), New York Public Library, Library of Congress (Washington D.C.). In the Library of Congress, Rabindranath Tagore's works in original (besides translations) are well-represented. Wherever I went I found people evincing interest in Gurudev Tagore. While at the International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, I found that the 'Poetry Society' was much interested in Tagore and I volunteered my services to recite and read from Tagore at an after-dinner meeting arranged by the Poetry Society. The programme was for recitals and readings from French and Bengali. After recitations and readings from French were over I recited and read from Bengali (Tagore's poems) and the audience were so much impressed that they wanted that the time schedule be extended. Some of them wished that recitals and readings from Tagore should have been included in Item I.

In the Library of Congress I found a large number of translations of Tagore's work in various languages of the world. A list of those in languages other than English is given below:

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali (transliterated title *Gitanjali*).
Warszawa, 1922. Tr. by David Frishman. 110 p., plates, port. 23½cm.
—In Hebrew.

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali (Ilahiler), tr. by Bulent Ecevit.
Turkeceye Ceviren: Bulent Ecevit. Istanbul, Ahmet Sait Matbaasi, 1941. 98 p., 20cm.
—In Turkish.

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali (Nefesler), tr. by Ibrahim Hoyi.
Istanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1942. 115 (1) p., illus. (port., facsim.). 30cm.
—In Turkish.

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali, tr. by Di Di Rege. Mumbai, Indiyana Homa Pablikesana, 1941. 10, 61 p. 22cm.

—In Marathi.

- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Mashi*.
Meine lebenserinnerungen; tr. by Helene Meyer. Munchen, K. Wolff, 1923. 3 p. 1., 370 (1) p., 1 l. 18½cm.
—In German.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *My Reminiscences*.
En ce temps la souvenirs, d'enfance et de jeunesse, traduction d'Andree Karpeles. Gap (Hautes-Alpes) Publications Chitra, Editions Ophyro, 1950.
—In French.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *My Reminiscences*.
Souvenirs: Traduit de ... per Mme E. Piecgnska. Paris, Editions de la nouvelle revue francaise, (1924).
3 p.1., (9), 221 p., 1 l. 19cm.
Tr. Emma Pieczynska (Reichubach).
—In French.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *My Reminiscences*.
Memorias, tr. Gulanara Lobato de Morais Pereira. Rio de Janeiro, J. Olympio, 1946.
229 p. port., 23cm. (Memorias, diarios compossees, 16).
—In Portuguese.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Nationalism*.
Nationalism, tr. by I. Adulomi. Warszawa, 1922.
91 (1) p., 23cm.
Title transliterated: ha-Leumiyuth.
—In Hebrew.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Sacrifice & Other Plays*.
Das opfer und andere Dramen.
—In German.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Red Oleanders*.
... Transliterated title: Rasskazy.
158 p. 20cm.
—In Russian.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Religion of Man*.
La religion d l'home, tr. per Jane Droz-vignie, 6 ed. Paris, Rieder, 1933.
296 p. 19cm. (Le prosateux modernas).
—In French.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Stray Birds*.
Zwervende vogels (uit het Engelsch vertaald door Johan de Molenaar). Amsterdam, Wereldbibliotheek-vereeniging, 1941.
101 p. 17cm.
—In Dutch.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Thought Relics*.
... Title transliterated: Lehisoth ne-shamah (tr. by I. Adulomi). Warszawa, 1923.
—In Hebrew.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Trust Property*.
(The trust property). Title transliterated: Shomer ha-Nahalal. Tel-Aviv, 1922-23?
15 p. 15½cm.
—In Hebrew.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Selections*.
... La luna nueva, Nacionalismo, Personalidad, Sadhana; traduccion hecta en el Departamento editorial. (Mexico), Universidad nacional de Mexico, 1924.
—In Spanish.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Selections*.
Selecccion de Rabindranath Tagore. Mexico, D.F., Vargas Rea, 1941.
3 p.1., 9-77 p., 1 l. 16½cm.
—In Spanish.
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Amor, versiones, parafrasis y recreaciones de Eduardo Corranza. Ilustraciones de Sergio Trujillo. Bogota, Libreria Suramerica, (1945).
2 p.1., 7-125 p. illus. 17cm. (Coleccion Nagegante, 10).
—In Spanish, tr. from the French.
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Chausons de Rabindranath Tagore, vingt-six chants transcrits par Arnold A. Bake—Paris, P. Geutheer, 1935.
129 (1) p. 28 × 22cm.
—In French.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Chitra*.
(Chitra). Warszawa, 1922.
37 p. 23½cm.
Transliterated title: Hitra, tr. by David Frishman.
—In Hebrew.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *Woman*.
(Woman). Title transliterated: ha-Ishah. Warszawa, 1923.
14 p. 23cm.
Tr. of *Woman* by I. Adulomi.
—In Hebrew.
- Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Wreck*.
(The Wreck). Title transliterated: ha-

Sefinah ha-terufah. Tr. by Uriel Halperin. Tel-Aviv, 1930.
253 p. 19½cm.

—In Hebrew.

Tagore, Rabindranath, tr.

Kabir, 15th C.

Cien poemas de Kabir; version Inglesa de Rabindranath Tagore, traduccion al castellano con notas y prologo de Joaquin V. Gonzaliz. 2 ed. Buenos Aires, Libreria "La Facultad," J. Roldan y C. a, 1923.

146 p., 3 l., front. (port.) 19½cm.

—In French

In the Reference and Bibliography Division of the Library of Congress I found complete sets of International Index to Periodicals, Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Subject Index to Periodical Literature, Literature Index and other Indexes. I fully availed of the Indexes to compile a tentative bibliography of periodical articles by and on Tagore. I was even granted a Stack Pass to collect materials and to verify from the periodicals holdings of the Library of Congress. But unfortunately the time at my disposal was too short to verify each item for the purpose of annotation.

The following list, entitled *Tagoriana*, may be of some help to research scholars and enthusiasts:

TAGORIANA

From articles appearing in periodicals, mostly foreign, in European languages by Tagore.
(Mostly translations).

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Selections*.

Selections from his work (with biographical note).

(In *Scholastic*, v. 41, January 14, 1946, p. 15).

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Aphorisms. From the Bengali of and tr. by Rabindranath Tagore.

(In *Quest*, April, 1916, pp. 530-2).

Tagore, Rabindranath.

At the fair.

(In *Fortnightly*, vol. 99, April, 1913, p. 790).

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Autumn: poem.

(In *Asia*, vol. 20, October, 1920, p. 861).

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Babus of Nayanjore: story.

(In *Golden Book*, v. 21, March, 1935, pp. 275-281).

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Case for India: abridgment.

(In *International Digest*, v. I, May, 1931, pp. 32-3).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

Child: poem.

(In *Good Housekeeping*, v. 64, May, 1917, p. 38).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

Christmas greeting to Librarians.

(In *Library Journal*, v. 55, December 15, 1930, p. 999).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

Cloudy Day; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.

(In *Spectator*, v. 147, July 11, 1931, p. 46).

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Crescent Moon: Selections*.

(Selections from the Crescent Moon).

(In *Survey*, v. 31, February 14, 1914, p. 528, port).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

Dalia.

(In *Delineator*, v. 85, Dec., 1914, pp. 11-12).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

Day's End: poem.

(In *Forum*, v. 51, Jan., 1914, p. 145).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

Die nacht der erfullung.

(In *Deutsche Rundschau*, v. 186, March, 1921, p. 331).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

East and West: poem.

(In *Independent*, v. 88, Oct. 2, 1916, p. 16).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

East and West.

(In *Living Age*, v. 311, November 26, 1921, pp. 523-9).

Tagore, Rabindranath,

East and West.

(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 12, May, 1929, pp. 225-26).

Tagore, Rabindranath.

East and West in India.

(In *Living Age*, v. 310, September 3, 1921, pp. 577-584).

- Tagore, Rabindranath.
East to West.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 139, June, 1927,
pp. 729-734).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Epigrams: poem.
(In *Poetry*, v. 8, September, 1916, pp.
238-245).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Evening in July.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 112, July, 1913,
pp. 58-61).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Fairy Reveals Herself; tr. by B. Bhatta-
charya.
(In *English Review*, v. 50, March, 1930,
pp. 354-7).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Letters that Shackle our Mind.
(In *Asia*, v. 37, May, 1937, pp. 342-3).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Four Chapters: novelette of young India.
(In *Asia*, v. 36, December, 1936, pp. 765-9;
v. 37, February, 1937; pp. 108-10; April,
1937, p. 30).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Gandhi, the Man.
(In *Asia*, v. 38, October, 1938, pp. 579-
580).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song Offerings (*Gitanjali*): poem.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 54, March, 1913,
p. 236).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Gitanjali: poem.
(In *Independent*, v. 76, November 27,
1913, p. 403).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Glance: poem; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 7, 193 (?)
p. 179).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Great Britain and India.
(In *Spectator*, v. 145, August 30, 1930,
p. 280).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Harbinger: poem.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 69, August, 1920,
p. 265 and in *Literary Digest*, v. 66,
September 25, 1920, p. 400).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Harbinger: poem.
(In *Nation*, London, v. 27, June 5, 1920,
p. 315).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
India: An Appeal to Idealism.
(In *Spectator*, v. 144, June 7, 1930, p. 1932)
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
India and Bengal Lancer.
(In *Spectator*, v. 145, November 22, 1930
pp. 774-6).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
India and Russia: a contrast; abridgment.
(In *International Digest*, v. 2, February,
1932, pp. 33-5).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
India at its Worst.
(In *Living Age*, v. 330, August 7, 1926,
pp. 333-5).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
India's Message to Japan.
(In *Outlook*, v. 113, August 6, 1916,
pp. 856-81).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Issue in India.
(In *Spectator*, v. 148, January 30, 1932,
p. 145).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Keyserling as a Philosopher.
(In *Living Age*, v. 328, January 16, 1926,
pp. 158-60).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Last Song; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 148, January 2, 1932,
p. 11).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Letters at Sea.
(In *Living Age*, v. 316, February 10, 1923,
pp. 344-351).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Letters from Abroad.
(In *Living Age*, v. 316, January 13, 1923,
pp. 89-93).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Love Discarnate: poem.
(In *Spectator*, v. 147, December 5, 1931,
p. 766).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Man from Kabul.
(In *Outlook*, v. 100, February 14, 1914,
pp. 356-360).

- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Meine Religion; übers. von R. Otto.
(In *Western Monatsch*, v. 149, Dec., 1930, pp. 345-50).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Meine Schule.
(In *Deutsche Rundschau*, v. 183, April 20, pp. 127-143).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Message from India.
(In *Living Age*, v. 338, July 1, 1930, pp. 518-20).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Message of Hindu Stage; tr. by B. K. Roy.
(In *Open Court*, v. 39, March, 1925, pp. 129-30, port).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.
(In *Living Age*, v. 342, March, 1932, p. 42).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Mother India.
(In *Living Age*, v. 333, December 15, 1927, pp. 1085-7).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My First Grief; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, March 7, 1931, pp. 343-4).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Mistress of the Time: poem.
(In *London Mercury*, v. 39, December, 1938, p. 184).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Name: story, tr. from the Bengali by Satya Bhusan Sen.
(In *Asia*, January, 1931, p. 51).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Parting Wish for the Women of America.
(In *Ladies' Home Journal*, v. 34, March, 1917, p. 9).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Prayer: poem.
(In *Good House Keeping*, v. 63, October, 1916, p. 34).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My School.
(In *Living Age*, v. 326, September 5, 1925, pp. 525-529).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My School.
(In *The Modern Review*, January, 1931, pp. 1-4).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Song.
(In *World Review*, v. 6, May 7, 1928, p. 127).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Nationalism in the West.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 119, March, 1917, pp. 289-301).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
New Age.
(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 8, November, 1925, pp. 340-3).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
New Dolls and Old: story; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 21, 1931, p. 265).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
New Year: poem.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, January 10, 1931, p. 50).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Night and Morning.
(In *Hibbert Journal*, v. 26, July, 1930, pp. 577-582).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
On the Calcutta Road.
(In *Asia*, v. 21, February, 1921, pp. 102-107).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Once where We were Both Together: poem.
(In *Nation*, v. 113, August 24, 1921, p. 204).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Oriental and Occidental Music.
(In *Harpers Weekly*, v. 58, April 11, 1914, p. 13).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Parrot's Training: satire.
(In *Asia*, v. 34, February, 1934, pp. 110-112).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
The Pathway; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 14, 1931, p. 221).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Patriot.

- (In *World Tomorrow*, v. 12, January, 1929, pp. 10-12).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Poemes.
(In *Revue de Paris*, v. 28, pt. 5, Sept. 15, 1921, pp. 262-9).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Poet's Religion.
(In *Century*, v. 102, June, 1921, pp. 240-6).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Post Office: drama.
(In *Forum*, v. 51, March, 1914, pp. 455-471).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Prayer for These Times: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 204, March 20, 1920, p. 736).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Principle of Literature.
(In *Living Age*, v. 333, Nov. 15, 1927, pp. 920-925).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Rabindranath Tagore on European Music; tr. by R. Thomas.
(In *Etude*, v. 41, August, 1923, p. 524).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Rainy Noon; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 147, October 10, 1931, p. 453).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Round Table Conference.
(In *Spectator*, v. 145, Nov. 15, 1930, p. 724).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Runaway.
(In *Living Age*, v. 303, November 29, 1919, pp. 551-561).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Schoolmaster.
(In *Living Age*, v. 323, Nov. 29, 1924, pp. 477-483).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Shakespeare: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 314, July 8, 1922, p. 118).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Shishu Bholanath or The Infant Lord Forgetful; tr. by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, (poem).
(In *Living Age*, v. 319, November, 1923, p. 237).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Skeleton.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 65, August, 1918, pp. 125-6).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Skeleton: a study in Karma.
(In *Living Age*, v. 310, August 20, 192 (?), pp. 487-491).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Skeleton: poem.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 85, June 27, 1925, p. 34).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Son of Man: poem.
(In *Christian Century*, v. 52, April 10, 1935, p. 486).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song Bird: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 324, March 14, 1925, p. 608).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song Bird: poem.
(In *Popular Education*, v. 42, June, 1925, p. 573).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song of India.
(In *Independent*, v. 105, April 30, 1921, p. 445).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Sorrow's Dark Night: poem.
(In *Christian Century*, v. 59, January 14, 1942, p. 55).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Summer Pioneers: poem.
(In *Fortnightly*, v. 103, May, 1915, p. 846).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Sunset of the Century: poem.
(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 11, January, 1928, p. 32).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Tagore on His Drawings.
(In *Indian Art and Letters*, 4, 1930, pp. 69-72).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Tell Me a Story: tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 28, 1931, p. 306).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Temple: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 280, January 10, 1914, p. 68).

- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Temple of Gold.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 47, December 13, 1918, p. 1189).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Thanksgiving: poem.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 53, Nov. 4, 1916, p. 1186).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Three Conversations.
(In *Asia*, v. 31, March, 1934, pp. 138-143), port.
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
To Africa: poem.
(In *Spectator*, 158, May 7, 1937, p. 858).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
To the Watch: poem.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 111, May, 1913, p. 681).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Trial of the Horse.
(In *Living Age*, v. 303, October 18, 1919, pp. 148-150).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Tryst: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 278, August 30, 1932, pp. 573-574).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Two Poems: poem.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 47, August 19, 1913, p. 218).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Union of Culture.
(In *Living Age*, v. 312, January 21, 1922, pp. 139-150).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Die verlorenen juwelin; erzählung, übers von H. Meyer-Franck.
(In *Western Montatsch*, v. 145, January, 1929, pp. 494-500).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Voice of Humanity.
(In *Living Age*, v. 331, October 15, 1926, pp. 172-176).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Water Hyacinths: poem; tr. by N. Gupta.
(In *Rotarian*, v. 44, June, 1934, p. 58).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
Wayfarer: story; tr. by S. Tagore.
(In *Living Age*, v. 352, March, 1937, pp. 28-34).
- Tagore, Rabindranath.
When All My Doors are Open: poem.
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(To be continued)



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A STORY OF INDIAN CULTURE: By Bahadur Mal. Sarvadanand Universal Series, Vol. XVIII. Published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. 1956. Pp. 359. Price Rs. 5.

In this scholarly and thoughtful work the author brings the fruit of this thorough study and mature thinking to bear upon the causes as well as the processes of development of the dominant Indian culture from the Rigvedic times down to the present. The first section of the work bearing the title *Indian Culture in the Vedic Age* gives a fairly comprehensive picture (illustrated by appropriate quotations) of the civilisation of the Rigvedic Aryans under the heads of Political Organisation, Economic Conditions, Social Life, Morality and Religion, Philosophical Conceptions and Attitude towards Nature, while it winds up with a notice (all too brief) of the ideas of the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads* and the six *Vedangas*. In the second section entitled *Movements of Reform* the author examines the factors leading to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism as well as the cults of Saivism and Vaishnavism (all dating according to his calculation from the 6th century B.C.) and their characteristic doctrines. The third and the most important section having the title *Vedic Religion becomes Hinduism* begins with an analysis of the racial and cultural factors leading to this transformation and the part played by the Brahmana Smarita class in the same. It then proceeds to present a complete picture of the different aspects of neo-Hinduism by describing on the one hand what the author thinks to be its retrogressive tendencies in the shape of the rise of the popular religion, the hardening of the caste system and the decline of the position of women and on the other hand its great achievements in the field of literature and science, philosophy and higher religion as well as cultural expansion in

Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The fourth section called *Hinduism in the Middle Ages* continues the story of India's cultural decline while it describes very briefly the reciprocal influences of Hinduism and Islam. The fourth section bearing the title *The Modern Period* deals with the Hindu renaissance which in the author's opinion amounts to a revival of the Vedic Aryan spirit.

While we have nothing but praise for the author's critical approach to the various aspects of his subject and his lucid style, we may be permitted to make a few remarks. There is a certain inappropriateness in the title of the work which deals exclusively with the fortunes of what is generally called Hinduism through the ages, although the author is careful to designate it *A Story of Indian Culture*. The work as a whole betrays a want of proportion, full and adequate attention being given to the culture of the Rigvedic period, while the Middle Ages especially are dismissed with a brief notice. In the author's chapter on the deterioration in the position of women (Book III, Ch. IV) there is no reference to the progressive admission of women's property rights in the *Vyavahara* sections of the *Smritis*, nor to the divergent views of these authorities on such points as widow-remarriage and *Sati*. Elsewhere there is a certain amount of contradiction as when the author mentions as characteristic of the Middle Ages the general institution of child marriages leading to sexual excess and physical as well as moral decay of the people, and the popularity of the cult of *sannyasa* (pp. 301-06), simultaneous or where he refers at the same time to the little influence of the mediaeval saints on the structure of Indian society and the vigorous as well as countrywide spread of the reform movement started by Ramana and Kabir in the 14th and 15th centuries (pp. 304, 317). The alleged antiquity of the Saiva and Vaishnava sects which is traced back to the 6th century B.C. in one place (p. 165)

is contradicted by the author's earlier and correct statement on p. 150. The author's reference (p. 8) to the coins of the Indus people is inaccurate. The statements that all earlier Indian governments were democratic in nature (p. 20) and that the kings of India unlike those of Ancient Egypt and Mediaeval Europe do not present any glaring instances of sheer autocracy (p. 3) are rash generalisations which are belied by the facts of history and should not have found a place in this work. Mention may be made, lastly, of a number of printing mistakes, of which the most serious is the misprint of the name of Bengal's great poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt (p. 348).

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHI'S FIRST STRUGGLE IN INDIA: By P. C. Chaudhury. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1955. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review may be regarded as an admirable addendum to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's excellent treatise on the subject in that it contains many revealing documents to which Dr. Prasad had no access, laboriously dug out by the author from Government archives. Some of Gandhi's correspondence relating to the subject treated and among them the one in Hindi reproduced in facsimile add to the value of the book. The following passage from the book will show how things stood then in Champaran:

"The set-up of the tenancy in Champaran was such that a tenant could not walk with an umbrella opened within a mile of the *kothi* of the European planter."

And conditions such as this threw up leaders who organized resistance against the planters (1907-8) dubbed as Raiyats' Revolt. It is interesting to note that even in 1908 there were stout souls like Seikh Gulab who refused to work as special constables. • Chapter V—His (Gandhi's) Own Review—will be read with profit and interest.

The author says that he has nothing original to offer and he fittingly ends the book proper by quoting Rajendra Prasad. Sri Chaudhury has rendered a service to Gandhian literature. The production is good and bears the usual Navajivan stamp.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

MODERN LEADERS OF RELIGION: By Srimat Puragra Parampanthi (D.C. 1/16, pp. 360). 1957. Can be had of the author at 'Viraj', Dibrugarh, Assam. Price Rs. 4.50 N.P., one dollar or 8sh.

In this book the author has made a attempt at a comparative study of the philosophy of religion. He has selected twelve out of the many leaders of thought born in the 19th century—and included among them theologians, poets, philosophers, social workers, psychologists, scientists and statesmen. The author quotes profusely from their writings and presents a varied study of religion. He calls this the age of intellect and has adopted the objective standpoint to understand religion. One thing has come out of his search, that all of these thinkers are realists at bottom and this is not without reason.

Modern civilisation is charged with materialism, setting too much store upon what a man or nation has rather than upon what a man or nation is. Since the Reformation, governments were set up in Europe adopting a secularist stand in matters of administration and education. This gradually spread all over the world. It was a revolt against the dogmatic and traditional religions which kept humanity tied to medievalism and sectarian strifes and subjection to man-gods. The new form of government was a political and moral necessity. But the consequences have been far-reaching, effecting complete secularisation of human outlook on life. No doubt there has been considerable progress in material sphere. But without due attention to the spiritual side, this material progress was without a proper guidance as to what to use to make of it. This brought about a crisis in civilisation. Present-day man is haunted with a feeling of nothingness and frustration and asks, 'What is the remedy?' The answer is plain and simple—'By evolving a new philosophy of life, by reinterpreting and harmonising religions, by a 'synthesis of Faith and Science.' Since Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen preached for the first time the Religion of Harmony, as the New Dispensation of the Age, much water has flown under the bridge. No longer leaders of thought take his teachings as a religion of shifting beliefs. They are one in their admission that Religion is ever progressive, it includes the whole of the past as it progresses onward. To put it philosophically, with the new age has dawned a new spiritual consciousness, where man is felt more than ever to be a child of the Eternal and a faith rooted in the eternal truth of things, a faith that leads to love, duty and reverence, love that breaks all barriers of caste or creed, duty that seeks the realisation of love at all costs in life and if need be through death, reverence with a clear.

sifting insight for the past as well as for all times. Religion will thus embrace secular life. In short, the whole universe rests ultimately upon a foundation of the Spirit—and that Spirit is the infinite God. Man is also a spirit and the tests of his life and achievements, joys and sorrows must be spiritual. He has a spiritual destiny which is eternal both extensively and intensively. All mankind are bound up in a common life in the spirit, which is also spiritual and eternal.

The book provides a profitable reading. Excepting a large number of spelling mistakes, the printing and get-up are nice and price very moderate.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

SAMSKRITA SAHITYA VIMARSA: By Kaviraj Acharya Devendranath Sastri. *Bharati Pratisthan, 31, Anandapuri, Meerut, U.P.* Price Rs. 16.

We have here a critical survey of Sanskrit literature in its different branches, made in the Sanskrit language, which is supposed to be 'the world language' and 'the mother of all other languages'. This is, perhaps, the second attempt to present a comprehensive account of Sanskrit literature in the Sanskrit language, the first being the one made several years back by Sri Hansraj Agrawal. The book under review is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the Vedas and Vedangas, including grammar, prosody and astronomy, the philosophical systems, the Puranas and the Agamas, and the second part with *belles lettres* with brief references to rhetoric, music, *dharmasastra*, *arthasastra* and *namasastra*. The account of every topic, nay, of every work, is accompanied by profuse quotations enabling the readers to have direct acquaintance with the original writings concerned. But in the absence of references to printed editions and in cases to definite indications of the sources of the quotations the inquisitive reader finds it rather difficult to satisfy his curiosities and eagerness to have further light on a particular point. The authorship of one particular verse has been ascribed to two different writers in two different places of the book (pp. 509, 537) without making any definite reference to the sources. It is not clear if any principle has been followed in the order in dealing with the poets. Of course, there is no chronological arrangement. Though drama has been assigned a separate section we come across here names of persons who are not

authors of any dramatic works. We find here as well as in the section on Vedic commentaries a few names of modern writers though a number of other sections can equally boast of many of them. On the whole the book which gives in one volume a fair account of the important aspects of the vast and valuable literature in Sanskrit will be read with profit and interest by students of Sanskrit Pathasalas as well as by all lovers of Sanskrit who will appreciate the wide range of the scholarship of the learned author even if they cannot agree with him on many points. The printing and get-up of the book is fine. The price appears to be rather high especially in consideration of the financial condition of students of Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JUKTARASTRER RAJNAITIK PAD-DHATI: By David Cushman Coyle. Translated in Bengali by Gautam Gupta. Published by Parichaya Publishers, 175-A, Park Street, Calcutta-17. Pp. 182. Price Rs. 2.

This is a Bengali translation of *The United States Political System and How It Works* by David Cushman Coyle in English published by the New American Library of World Literatures, Inc., New York in 1954.

This book in fourteen chapters deals exhaustively with the various aspects of the U.S. political system. A short history of the evolution of the system has been given in the preface which is illuminating. In presenting the subject, the author has tried to give a true picture of the state of affairs of his country. He claims no perfection for the American political system and has shown how the system has developed through experiments and difficulties. Many pitfalls of the U.S. system may be helpful to us as we may learn from their experience. The U.S. pattern is individualistic and capitalistic and ours is socialistic (without abandoning individualism altogether), so there must be some difference. But we both are democratic and hence we agree on broad principles. The book is a welcome addition to political literature in Bengali.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

ARYASHUR-KRIT JATAKMALA (Jatak 1—20): Edited and translated by Suryanarayan Chaudhury. *Sanskrit-Bhavana, Kathotia, Post. Kajha, Dist. Purnea, Bihar.* Pp. 287. Price Rs. 3.

The *Jatakmalā* is a serial story, so to speak, of Buddha's repeated re-incarnations, prior to his attainment of Enlightenment. These edifying tales have been translated as is well-known into various languages. They were rendered also into Sanskrit, with slight modifications, by the poet Aryashur. Twenty of his renderings are now published in the original, together with their Hindi equivalents and after suitable editing by the scholarly editor-cum-translator, who has made an excellent job. It is to be earnestly hoped that he will bring out, before long, in a similar manner the remaining *jatakas* as well.

KHISHTIJ: *By Chandraprakash Varma. Saraswati Publishing House, Allahabad. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1-8.*

An anthology of fifty-nine poems, by a poet who sings of the ever-inviting happiness of horizon,—that hyphen between Heaven and Earth, whenever his imagination wafts him away from the daily rut or when Nature's beauty pierces his heart into tune and tears.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHAKTAMAR STOTRA: *By Manji Damji Shah. Printed at the Kishore Printing, Bombay. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 50. Price 12 annas.*

Forty-four Sanskrit scholars, offering prayers to Rishabhdev Bhagavan, composed in Vikram Samvat 800, by a pious Jain Muni, Acharya Shri Mantungsuri Maharaj, has a legend behind them. Brahmin pandits at the Court of Raja Bhoja had shown certain miracles; and thereupon he asked the Jaina pandits if they could show any, and in order to test their devoutness, put 44 shackles on the feet of the Muniji and asked him to free himself if he could. The Muniji began to recite *shlokas* in praise of Rishabhdev Bhagavan, and at the recitation of each *shloka*, one shackle broke down. Thus at the end of the 44th verse, he was completely free. On this Raja Bhoja was greatly impressed and began to hold the Jaina religion in as much respect as that of the Brahmins.

K.M.J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Symbol of the Tree in Mythology

John Stewart Collis writes in *The Aryan Path* :

If we walk through even a small wood at night we find it eerie. If someone tells us that we will encounter alarming appearances or hear ghostly cries, we are quite likely to see or hear them—for, though the scene outside has changed completely, a wood or forest in 1957 A.D. is much the same as in 1957 B.C., or long before. We can understand how from the earliest times trees have exercised a powerful influence upon mankind. At first they were feared. And when a thing is feared it is not seen for what it is : something else is seen, a god or a devil; and in the eyes of early man there were many tree-gods and tree-devils to be placated and worshipped and treated with circumspection.

As time went on they saw more than gods and devils. A multitude of supernatural beings people the woods—gnomes, fairies, elves, pixies, fauns, dryads, satyrs, leprechauns. It is strange how the fairies appeal to us still and how easily we accept them in literature. When we read about Ariel we do not find him ridiculous. Nothing could be more fantastic or far-fetched than the idea that Prospero could open a pine tree and let Ariel get out. Yet we accept it readily, just as we accept the notion that Sycorax by the help of her most potent ministers and in her unmitigable rage did confine him there, within which rift he remained a dozen years venting his groans; and we are quite prepared to hear Prospero threaten to rend an oak and peg him in its knotty entrails till he had howled away twelve winters. And we know how beautifully the nymphs and naiads, the fauns and dryads, enter into Greek and Roman literature in the hymns of Homer and the odes of Ovid. They thought that it was not possible that the splinterer of the crag was also the shaper of the hyacinth—there must be many gods. Looking round upon the rich and lovely lands of Greece and Italy, they beheld a multitude of spiritual toilers among which the tree-spirits took a prominent place, while the chief woodland deity of classic times, Pan, has returned to us in modern days as Pantheism.

Even the Gods of Olympus themselves started as trees. Though eventually they held court upon the Mountain in all the panoply of deified beings, they could not have got there without the benefit of the oak, the ivy, the apple and the mistletoe—thus Zeus from the oak, Dionysus from the ivy, Applo from the apple.

In the same way we see Thor in Northern Europe associated with the rowan tree whose bunched berries in autumn still astonish us like flaming flowers; we see Ukko, their god of thunder, and Taara, and Balder, all taking their origin from the oak; we see the sacred grove of Upsala dedicated to Woden, the god who after hanging for nine nights on the gallows-tree descended to the under-world and brought back the prize of wisdom. In Egypt, we see, Osiris, the god of vegetation, had his origin in a tree as also Adonis in Syria and Aitis in Phrygia. *The Book of the Dead* of the ancient Egyptians gave instructions to all souls on their arduous journey to the Islands of the Blest. The soul on leaving the body set out to climb the hills and cross the desert; and, when at last, weary and faint with hunger and thirst, he reached the divine sycamores, then one of the goddesses—Nuit, Hathor, Selkit or Nit—emerged from a tree and offered him fruit, bread and water. Thus refreshed, he could proceed on his journey. but, being now the guest of the goddesses, he passed safely through all perils and eventually reached the Islands of the Blest where he found happiness and peace for evermore.

It was not only the great forest with all its echoing mysteries and deep shadowy shrouds, nor the single tree of compelling size or fearful aspect, which commanded the veneration and promoted the idolatry of the people. A clump of trees made a great impression. A few standing closely erect upon a hill suggested divinity. Sometimes they were thought of as the abode of gods, and sometimes they were regarded simply as natural temples in which gods might be approached. In both cases they were known as groves. No race was more influenced in this way than the Jews. So deeply did the Semites cling to the belief that there was a spiritual

force inherent in vegetation that the Old Testament prophets, engaged in removing the Deity out of reach, were appalled at the perversity with which the Israelites persisted in planting groves and setting up altars in the sacred shades. The Old Testament is riddled with the denunciations of the prophets regarding them: "He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves," or "And they set them up images and groves in every high hill and under every green tree," "And they left all the commandments of the Lord their God . . . and made a grove" and so on. As a boy at school, aged ten, I remember being expected to pull a solemn face over this, and under the head of "Civinity" being made to learn by heart the imprecations of the prophets. This put me more against the prophets than the groves.

A grove could also be a centre from which a deity would give advice or make prophecies—that is, an oracle. A rustling could be heard among the branches! Was it not a god speaking? Soon they learnt to interpret his message through specialists in this kind of thing—priests. Moreover, the roots of the trees were regarded as cords of communication with the lower regions, the abode of departed spirits who were informed with wisdom and knowledge of the future. Thus the very deep roots of the Oak at Dodona, reaching down to Tartarus, justified that the grove should be considered even more qualified in prophetic power than the famous grove at Delphi.

When we today look up into the sky we see the endless ether. In earlier times they saw a roof. Here, beneath their feet, was the earth; there, above, was its roof—blue, scarfed or sparkling with jewels. What was holding up the roof of the world? What pillared it? It would seem that a cloud-capped mountain could easily be conceived as a pillar—and was thus conceived. But still more wide-spread was the idea that a tree, a Universe Tree, was responsible for sustaining the sky. They imagined the existence of colossal trees, the most famous of which was the Scandinavian Yggdrasil Ash.

All Life is figured by Them as a Tree [wrote Carlyle]. Yggdrasil, the Ash-tree of Existence, has its roots deep-down in the kingdoms of Hela or Death; its trunk reaches up heaven-high, spreads its boughs over the whole Universe: it is the Tree of Existence. At the foot of it, in the Death-Kingdom, sit three *Nornas*, Fates—the Past, Present, Future; watering its roots from the Sacred Well.

Descriptions of extraordinary trees of this kind lent themselves to the tautological rhetoric of the word-drugged Jews. Thus Ezekiel spoke of a tree "whose height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations."

And thus Nebuchadnezzar:

"I saw, and beheld a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof to the end of all the earth: The leaves thereof were fair and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it."

In still earlier times when the mind moved even more freely in creative mood there was really no boundary to the properties of the Universe Tree. The grander the conception, the easier to believe. It bestowed knowledge, wisdom, bliss. It could grant men courage and give women children. It was the ladder by which the dead could mount to Heaven. It provided milk, water, dew and rain. Its juice was intoxicating. Its seed was the progenitor from which all forms of life were created. Its trunk was the abode of gods who fed upon the ambrosia which gave eternal life. Its roots reached down into the lowest depths of the nether regions, from whence rose the springs that gave water to the rivers of the world. Its boughs composed the scaffolding of the sky; its leaves were clouds, its fruit the stars—the sun and moon but baubles in its branches.

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The intricacies of tree-worship make any plain or comprehensive statement rather difficult—I have but held up the mirror to a few aspects. The Indian conceptions would make a study in themselves. The great god, Brahma, who, letting the light of his countenance fall upon chaos, dispelled the primeval gloom and lifted the earth from the ocean, is represented in Hindu mythology as having emanated from a golden lotus which had been quickened into life when the spirit of Om moved on the face of the

waters. What we do find in Indian mythology, or in interpretations of it, is a deeper digging into the meaning and significance of symbols than we get elsewhere. Thus, to take a single example, there is the Garden of Eden with its Tree and its Serpent. The tree makes an easy symbol; it is the Tree of Knowledge, partaking of which we were expelled from the paradise of innocent ignorance and took upon ourselves the burden of consciousness.

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Some Modern English Writers

Stephen Spender writes in *Careers and Courses*:

I am going to talk about the several generations of English writers, some of them older and some of them younger, who are all today working and writing in England. And in talking about this English literary situation, I want you to bear in mind that I myself am a very old writer indeed. The reason why I am very old is firstly, that I am 45 about 10 years past the age when many people retire from better professions than writing and secondly, that a good many generations have gone by in the 25 years since I was 20, because I reckon that now-a-days it takes about 5 years for them to be a new generation of writers. Don't blame this on the writers. It is really the result of our living in an epoch when every five years or so it is discovered that events, or some event, has happened, which cuts the young people who are are just rising to the age of 20 irrevocably off from those who have attained the mature age age of 25.

For instance, five years after the first World War, to a youth of 20 a veteran of 25 who had fought on the Western Front in France was a glamorous incomprehensible neurotic; and in the 1930s the older writers who participated perhaps in the Spanish Civil War, to a boy of 20 already in 1935 seemed like some stone effigy of a participant in the Crusades. Thus it is a dinosaur who is now speaking to you and if I try to touch on the younger generations of writers in England I must warn you that I probably have the viewpoint of a derelict monster. So, in the early 1920s we had writers like Michael Arlen, early Aldous Huxley and T.S. Eliot of the *Waste Land*, who seemed to characterize a period that ended exactly, I should say, in the year 1928. Then in 1928 there was a spate of war books about the first World War, written 10 years after the event, i.e., 10 years after 1918; and then there was the grim early 1930s, followed already in 1935, by a revolt towards a kind of apocalyptic personalism led by poets like Dylan Thomas, who has died recently, and George Barker; and then in 1939 there was the second World War, when the best writing had now the qualities of a letter sent home from the front, whether it was a soldier's front or a civilian front, in bombed London. And so on; so it goes on; every 5 years a new generation, and so I am left today with a rather curious literary scene which reminds me of a view of mountains seen

through a plain from far away, perhaps, even seen from the ocean which lies beyond the plain.

To follow out my metaphor, at the back there are the cold peaks of the mountains which are snow-covered, remote and universally admired. That is how the work of D.H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats and Edith Sitwell must seem to the young writer today, who is just getting on to 20 years old. He feels the presence of the white clear-cut mountains very incisive against the sky, and yet he thinks there is no way of getting to them. The transparent heights of these mountains do not seem to connect with the dusty plain on which he has to live and work. And on the slopes of the mountains, and still far away, perhaps there is an animated town inhabited by the spiteful, self-indulgent, gay inventions of the early Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh. Here are Mr. Gumbrell and Paul Pennyweather, creatures of *Decline and Fall* and *Chrome Yellow* and other novels typical of the 1920s and not far away from them are the exotic and erotic and intoxicated figures of Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* and always inhabitants of a Paris of the 1920s which today seems as remote as Nineveh or Babylon and of a Spain which was a country where nothing was thought about except Bullfighting. And nearer still to the young writer on his dusty plain are a group of father figures towards whom our 20 year old writer feels a more lively irritation. These are Auden, McNiece, Isherwood, the writers of the 1930s, amongst whom there is myself. The young writer feels towards us rather as we, when we were young, felt towards our parents who were active before, let us say, 1914. He feels that somehow we were involved in and therefore perhaps responsible for everything unpleasant that has happened since the year 1930 and just in the same way I used to think that my parents' generation should have come to some sensible arrangement with the Kaiser and because they did not do so, they were responsible for the first World War; so today the young think that since we opposed Fascism without preventing it, we probably made things much worse than they would have been if we had done nothing at all about it, and the young think that in any case by interfering and by writing about political themes we caused the confusion of politics with literature, which still hangs over their plain in an untidy mess of dust. They feel that we abandoned the disinterested pursuit of literature for the messy introduction of a political cause into literature and that whilst

the cause was lost, or at any rate it was not won by us but the other people, literature also as a result suffered severe losses.

Now there is a further complication to my metaphor of the mountains and the plain, and this is that despite the distancing and the intervals between generations that I have described, nonetheless all these generations are writing and talking at the same time. Eliot and Huxley and the writers of the 1930s are by no means extinct volcanoes; in fact they are very active development and changing volcanoes and yet, and this is very important from the young man's point of view, those old mountains Eliot and Huxley are changing along lines of their own development, changing along lines which are quite removed in time from any that the younger writer born so many generations later can develop along. In fact, if the past literature of the older writers proves inaccessible to him, the present activity of the older writers is also equally inaccessible as a starting point for the younger writer. Of course, in this account, just to be fair, I should mention that there are one or two quite accomplished writers who do not fall into any such clear categories. For instance, there is Graham Greene and his novels about Sin and Catholicism and yet, admired as Graham Greene is and widely read as he is, I do not think that his work influences any one else to feel sympathy or even hostility for it or against it. So the writer rarely is looking back, as I suggest, to the figures of Yeats and Eliot and Edith Sitwell of the oldest generations.

Now, what does he do in this situation? I really think that answer to this question ought to be a demon, that is to say, I think the answer ought to be totally unexpected, arising from no anticipated direction although later on we should also be able to see that this unpredictable direction was all along inevitable; in other words, the answer ought really to be a genius. A genius is really always the answer to problems of literature. And in fact I have to admit, that I think there is rather a lack of genius in writing all over the world today, and it may be the sign of this lack of genius, particularly in England, that the answer is a very clearly stated, rather safe and comprehensible one, perhaps, too comprehensible. If you read the English Magazines, like the *London Magazine* or *Encounter*, you see it in the angry letters from the younger writers and what the younger writers are saying is: "No more experiments, no more adventures, no more mysteries! Our predecessors have gone quite far enough. What we are willing to concede to them

is that we might take over their ashes and make use of anything we find of value, in order, in our work, to consolidate this and make something clear and ordered out of it. But what we want for ourselves is the literature of limited aims about known things, which also perhaps have a background of academic learning. For example we might write a novel about the rather disreputable going on of Professors and teachers of some University but not the University of Oxford or Cambridge, we are sick and tired of them, but some small University like Reading. And in our verse we will study accepted past models of respectable poets and we will adapt these to express suitable occasions for our own poetry as these occasions arise in our experience." I don't think anyone who has read such a novel as *Hurry on Down* by John Wayne or *Lucky Gin* by Kingsley Ames would disagree with this account of their aims. What these writers really do is to abandon the efforts of their predecessors, to take the most far-fetched ideas and to concentrate them into the terrible crystal of a story or poem. In fact, the very idea of doing anything as grandiose and as ambitious as this would strike the younger writers as wrong and they dryly remark that it is really better to describe truthfully one rather shabby provincial Don instead of aiming at producing anything so unreal and inexact as terrible crystals. Crystals, they go on to say, are the concern of mineralogists, and I can quite imagine how the argument would go on. I ought to add though that the picaresque novels of Mr. Wayne and Mr. Ames, which are about modern life with the scene laid in an English provincial University, are both of them very well written and they are highly entertaining. They certainly succeed in establishing a kind of basic idea from which to make a new start.

And perhaps the most interesting thing about them, and perhaps the most interesting thing about the literature of the younger writers in England today, is that they reject tragedy. Not merely are they cynical and gay but they are written in a style which deliberately aims at passing from one comic episode to another, without arriving at any particular conclusion or trying to state an attitude which is tragic towards life. They, on the contrary, insist on treating life as a string of anecdotes, as episodic, as funny as macabre but inconclusive. In other words, they go back to the literary form which used to be called the picaresque.

Now this is all very well in the novel but I must say that in poetry I find it rather less effective. Indeed it is only a certain neatness of form which prevents the poetry of Mr. Wayne

and Mr. Ames, because they and their friends write poems as well as novels, from being too dry and, in fact, rather boring. Of course, the point surely about a poem is that it does have to have intensity and passion behind it. D. H. Lawrence, for instance, once remarked: "The trouble about the so called Georgian poets who wrote before the first World War was that they blew off their poems when the pressure-gauge of emotion had got too little steam up." And the same might be said about many of the younger poets writing in England today. But, all the same, I think one can understand the attitude of these younger writers. They do not want to go in for Crusades because the Crusades have usually ended in wars. They do not want to be carried away by great passions. They like literature, and they take writing seriously. It is a kind of bedrock writing on a very narrow bed and a rather smallish rock. Probably, these writers would say they do not care if literature shrinks to rather narrow limits. They are not intimidated by words like provincial. They talk about solida-

rity, retrenchment, correctness and so on and they look on their work of writing as doing a job well. All the same, I must admit that I find all this a little bit depressing. Of course, one aspect of it is it corresponds to a tendency of the English today not to look outside their immediate surroundings at all. From outside England, from some place like—let us suppose—Singapore, it looks almost absurd that English Writers, young English Writers should be thinking today that the aims of English writing should not only be to turn away from foreign lands but even from London, Oxford and Cambridge, because even these great centres in England itself seem to be too cosmopolitan. . . . All I mean is that I feel writing is very confined today, unless it has in every country windows opening on to the outside world, and I cannot help hoping that perhaps some of these writers will, like D. H. Lawrence, who also started from the provinces, move out into the world. I don't believe today that literature can get stuck at certain places, or even in certain forms with such very limited aims.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What is Jordan?

As the Sixth Fleet of the United States Navy steams towards the Middle East, the stability of Jordan hangs in precarious balance. By the time these lines appear further explosive developments may have taken place. But whatever the internal situation of King Hussein's dominion, one question is bound to remain relevant: what is Jordan? A constructive solution for an apparently unviable state depends on the answer.

A fact which is too often forgotten is that Jordan is *Arab Palestine*. The first partition of Palestine (the territory included in the provisions of the Balfour Declaration) took place in 1921. In that year, the Mandatory Power lopped off two-thirds of the original area of Palestine and set up the mandate of Transjordan. This, in 1946, became the independent kingdom of Jordan. By the 1921 division Transjordan was allotted some 37,400 square miles, while only 10,400 square miles remained to truncated Palestine.

Population figures are equally illuminating. At the time of the partition Transjordan's population was less than 400,000. The present figure of 1,400,000 has been reached through the incorporation of some 500,000 Arabs in the region annexed by Jordan from Palestine in 1948, and by the entrance of some 500,000 Arab refugees. That is to say, two-thirds of Jordan's current population consists of Palestine Arabs, and the original third was initially Palestinian. Unlike their lot in other Arab host countries, the Palestinian Arabs in Jordan have full voting rights and are completely enfranchised citizens. It is clear from these data that in all essential respects, geographically, demographically and politically (the Palestinian Arabs constitute a two-thirds majority), that Jordan is *de facto* the state of the Palestine Arabs.

The Palestinians are largely concentrated on the west bank. More politically alert than the Bedouin on the other side of the Jordan, they provide the leadership for the pro-Soviet, anti-Western intrigues which created the most recent crisis. The ousted Premier Nabulsi, for instance, is a Palestinian Arab.

Arab Nationalism, despite its present negative and destructive character, is undoubtedly a potent force in the Middle East which it would be folly to minimize. But how artificial is the

attempt to subdivide it into categories labelled "Jordanian" or, for that matter, "Palestinian," present developments indicate. In an interview with Kennett Love, a *New York Times* correspondent (March 23, 1957), the then Premier Nabulsi declared: "Jordan cannot live alone. Our intentions were from the first to work for Arab unity; the first step is a sort of federation and the first phase of federation is to have it between Syria and Jordan."

Perhaps the most significant paragraph in Mr. Kennett Love's dispatch is his appraisal of Jordanian nationalist feeling. "Most Jordanians interviewed by this correspondent said that they did not regard the prospective loss of sovereign independence as a serious matter. Many spoke of themselves as South Syrians and declared that the people had not developed any strong sense of Jordanian nationality in thirty-six years."

These observations have long been familiar to students of the Middle East. Any useful approach to the problem of the region must distinguish realistically between the authentic resurgence of Arab national sentiment extending even to grandiose dreams of Pan-Islam, and the dynastic rivalries and feuds which cut across the area not always following its territorial demarcations. Artificially created buffer-states like Jordan can have no inner cohesiveness on the present basis. Jordan lacks economic viability since the withdrawal of the British subsidy, and the chief bond among its citizens is the hatred of Israel systematically nourished by the Egypt-Soviet-Syria axis. The only crop such soil can grow is trouble.

The American decision to support an independent Jordan is welcome in so far as it serves notice on Russia to stop maneuvering in the area. The Eisenhower Doctrine was invoked as soon as young King Hussein announced to the world that "the propaganda campaign and the internal crisis were the responsibility of international communism and its followers." The President of the United States decided that the integrity of Jordan was vital to American interests and took unilateral action to make his position unmistakably clear. American ships, equipped, we are told, with nuclear weapons and headed by the air-carrier Forrestal, set sail in the appropriate direction. The Middle Eastern agitators and, presumably, Soviet Russia got the point.

It may be noted that the United States acted without consulting its allies and without sanction of the United Nations. When America felt its interests threatened by further communist penetration in the Middle East, our country acted swiftly and alone, apparently prepared to accept whatever consequences the move might precipitate, including the possibility of military action. Whether or not one approves of "brinkmanship" as national policy, one cannot help wondering why the United States chose Jordan for this demonstration. The extent of Soviet penetration had been more forcefully shown by the wholesale annexing of Egypt and Syria, and by Soviet support of Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal. The threat to the West, through absolute control of canal by pro-Russian elements and the loss of oil supplies and vital oil routes to Great Britain and Europe, was a far more dangerous move in the struggle for power between East and West than anything that could happen in the feeble kingdom of Jordan. Yet the United States chose to be righteously indignant when the democracies of England, France, and Israel took independent steps to safeguard their particular interests as these were vitally endangered by the build-up of Soviet armor in Sinai and the canal zone. Then President Eisenhower grew eloquent on the sanctity of the United Nations as an instrument for the redress of grievances and as the forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The chief result of American intervention last October seems to have been the total loss of the Suez Canal as an international waterway. The Egyptian dictator has emerged from his military defeat with the victor's prize of absolute control of the Suez Canal, and makes no secret of his further aggressive designs against Israel.

However, all this is water through the canal. When it suits our government, the United Nations can be bypassed without homily or sanctimony. The question now is to what purpose will King Hussein and his state be bolstered?

If Jordan is being preserved merely to continue its role of pawn of the Great Powers, whether Britain or the United States, its future is no brighter than its past. A country must have a sounder reason for existence than that of a predestined puppet. Unless some organic principle of cohesion is discovered, Jordan is bound to disintegrate and be swallowed up piecemeal by its eager neighbors. King Saud eyes the south, Syria the north, and, were the process of dismemberment to start, Israel would have no choice but to absorb the west bank which juts into its heart. But, however tempting to the bordering countries

such a dismemberment might be, the result would only add to the problems of the region.

Jordan could exist for reasons of inner vitality and not as an artificial creation were it to become openly what it is in fact—the state of Arab Palestine, just as Israel is the state of Jewish Palestine. This would mean that the population of Jordan, instead of squandering its energies in sterile belligerence and violent dreams of a second or third round, would have to concentrate on the development of the country. This is not idle fantasy. In antiquity, the region was once one of the granaries of Rome. It could be irrigated and restored, just as Israel has been, through zeal and imagination. Such plans as that of the Jordan Valley Authority, if put into effect, would transform Jordan as well as benefit Israel. Jordan and Israel form a natural economic and physiographic unit whose industrial and agricultural potential could be richly exploited were peaceful relations to replace the present impotent border raids.

The emergence of an economically viable Jordan would be a logical solution for the chronic Arab refugee problem, so long fostered and exacerbated by Arab demagogues. Palestinian nationalism could be gratified on the soil of what is actually Palestine, and perhaps the other Arab states could be persuaded to permit their kinsmen to start leading normal lives of productive work.

Admittedly, so reasonable a proposal has little to recommend it to the Egyptian dictator or his cohorts who are more concerned in the maintenance of a *casus belli* than in the welfare of their wretched populations. But, since the United States has entered the arena directly in connection with Jordan, perhaps some construc-

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tive solution could be ventured upon. For the United States to show its strength merely to bolster one form of Arab chauvinism against another is not enough. International communism will batten on the Middle East as long as the political and economic issues of the region add to the unrest and misery of all who live there. Jordan provides an opportunity for a fundamental attempt to deal with basic ills—*Jewish Frontier*, May 1957.

How American Literature Inspired Indian Leaders

This is the last of the three articles by Dr. Narasimhaiah in the *American Reporter*, May 22, 1957:

It is largely for its broad humanity and deep moral fervour that American literature has exercised its influence across the oceans. As early as the nineteenth century, American literature was a world force. Shelley fed on the romances of Charles Brockden Brown; Keats praised him; Scott admitted his wonderful powers; Hazlitt thought him a real genius. Emerson influenced the mind of Europe as did Mrs. Stowe its heart. Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was regarded in China and Japan as a text-book of Western democracy. In Russia, after the revolution his poems "honouring humanity" were declaimed all over the country. In France, Edgar Allan Poe was mostly responsible for the peculiar turn French literature took in the hands of such writers as Baudelaire, Mallarme and Paul Valery, who in turn, founded the Symbolist movement on the same principles that Poe enunciated.

In India, the writings of Washington, Jefferson and Tom Paine were inspiring to national leaders. Thoreau's *Walden*, which became a bible of the English labour movement, nourished Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation. It is said that Gandhi is indebted to Thoreau no less for the contents of the essay than for its title *Civil Disobedience*. Thoreau, it may be recalled, refused to pay the tax to an administration in whose measures and expenditures he had no faith and which he opposed from principle.

It will interest us to hear that Thoreau, who influenced Gandhi, was himself profoundly moved by the loftiness of Sanskrit literature. He referred to Buddha as "My Budha" and said of the *Bhagavadgita*: "Beside the vast and cosmogonical philosophy of the *Bhagavadgita* even our Shakespeare seems sometimes youthfully green and merely practical."

To Emerson, his contemporary and one of the greatest Americans of all time, India meant much more. He wrote of the *Gita* in his *Journals*: "It was the first of books; it was as if an empire spoke to us; nothing small or unworthy but large, serene, consistent, the voice of old intelligence. . . ." It is not the sentimentality of a superstitious man. Few were more critical than Emerson. Formerly "Indostan was stupid" and its religion "absurd." But later his essays and poems were impregnated with Indian thought.

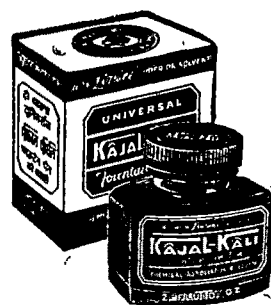
It is said that the transcendentalism of Emerson and Thoreau must be traced to French utopianism and German mysticism. But let it be remembered that in those countries transcendentalism led to an abdication from public affairs, but in America, as in India, it led to an incessant concern with them. That really is the essence of Hindu philosophy—service above self.

It was a very powerful current in the nineteenth-century America and not a few felt its influence. Besides Thoreau and Emerson, there

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were A. B. Alcott and Margaret Fuller. Arthur Christy says that Whittier (whom every school-boy in India has read) "offers in his poetic work more poems on Oriental themes, more paraphrases of Oriental maxims and more imitations of Oriental models than may be found in Emerson's verse."

Whitman, of course, is the "Sanyasin of America" as Swami Vivekananda said. His *Leaves of Grass* shows no superficial understanding of the *Gita*.

Later Carl Sandburg and Eugene O'Neill showed considerably the influence of Indian thought in their writings. The crowning achievement is that of T. S. Eliot, who, one makes bold to say, would have written not *The Waste Land* but altogether a different poem but for the influence of the *Upanishads*. What otherwise might have been a poem of disintegration now ends with Shanti, Shanti and hope for the future of man, thanks to the message of Datta, Dayadhvam and Damayata from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.

If for nothing, only for the curiosity of knowing what effect the so-called other-worldly philosophy of the Hindus has had on a practical people like the Americans, it is worthwhile studying their literature. Speaking of the infiltration of Hindu thought into America, Romain Rolland said in his *Prophets of New India*: "For there can be no doubt that it has contributed to the strange moral and religious mentality of the modern United States. . . . It is a psychological problem of the first order intimately connected with the history of our civilization."

Another Western thinker is even more enthusiastic when he says that "just as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the newly discovered riches of classical literature were stimulating the minds of Italians by a new creation, so in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the newly discovered literatures of India have been stimulating the leading writers of America to new explorations and new horizons of thought." The case of Eliot, the most influential poet of the first half of the century, should substantiate the claim.

A word must now be said on the rival claims of the literatures of other lands on our

attention. Apart from England, and perhaps Ireland, which has in recent times at least one major poet and one major novelist to boast of, in W. B. Yeats and James Joyce, no other English-speaking country has developed a literature of its own. As for European literatures, provision must be made for their study and, indeed, has been made in respect of French and German (more for the language than for the literature) in view of their international importance. As for Russian and Chinese, which are now coming on the horizon, a beginning must be made in spite of barriers of language.

In the meantime, it is hoped that, since English is a compulsory study in the colleges, we may avail ourselves of the opportunity to teach American literature. This could be done not only under the programme of English literature but also as a subject of special study by providing for it among optional subjects and by having a paper on American literature for the English Honours courses.

It is of interest to note that the Sorbonne in Paris established a chair in American literature 35 years ago and the University of Berlin had a similar chair up to the collapse of Germany; in Uppsala, Sweden, there is an American Institute. Oslo has made American literature the special field of one of its permanent chairs.

In Indian universities although chairs need not be founded straightaway, advantage can be taken of the presence of American scholars who come on an exchange basis.

It is sad that in the field of letters none of the outstanding men—poets of the order of Frost, Sandburg, Wallace Williams; playwrights and novelists like Eugene O'Neill, Faulkner, Hemingway, and literary critics like Blackmur, Cleanth Brooks, John Crow Ransom, Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, Douglas Bush—some of them university teachers—should have been enabled to visit us, spend some time in university communities, and help us to know why America has become in the twentieth century "the seat of Muses, the Athens of our Age, and the admiration of the world."

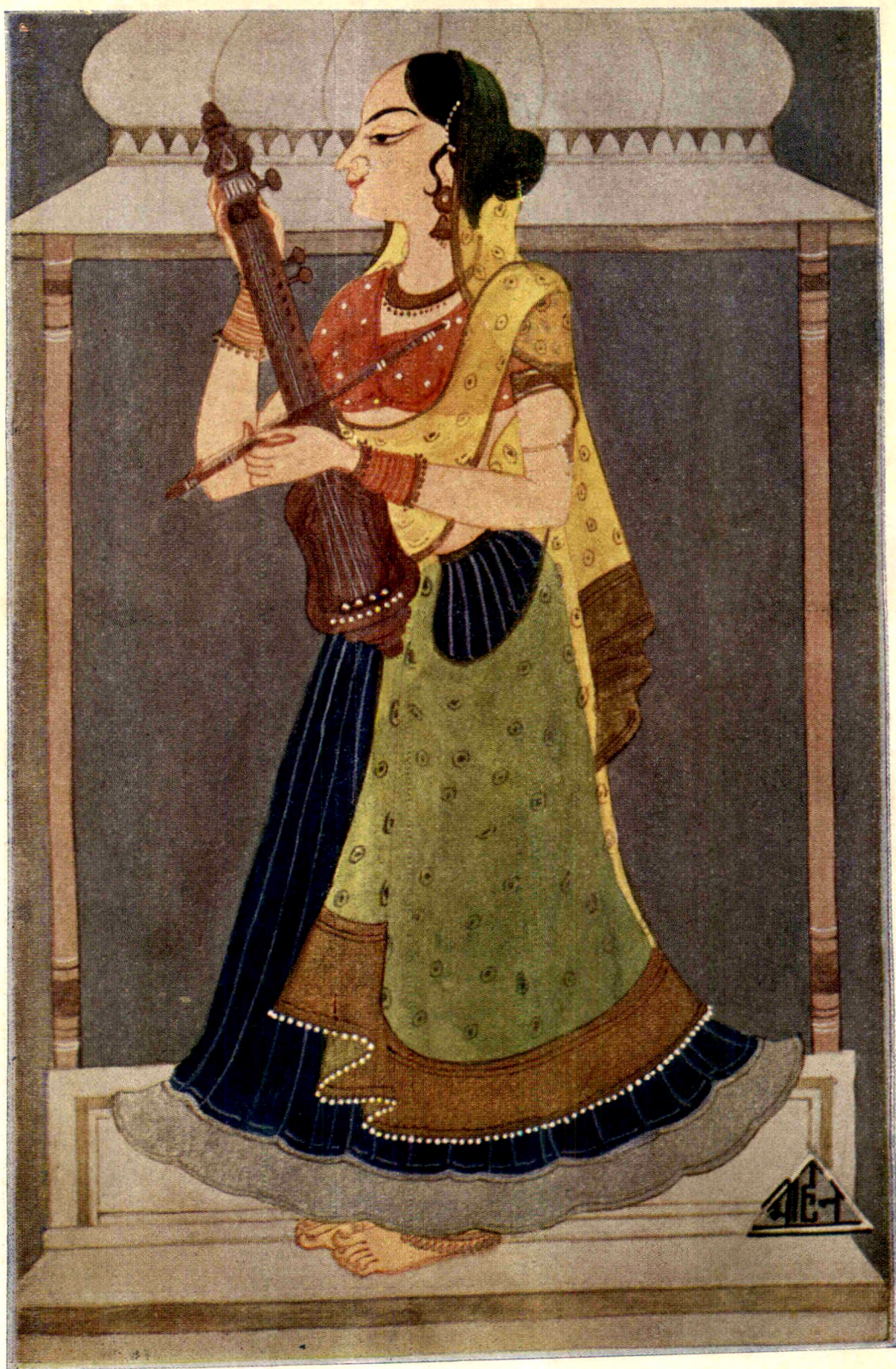




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NOTES

Plans of Mice and Men

We are told by the puissant lords of New Delhi that the Second Five-Year Plan is likely to cost Rs. 800 crores more than the estimated 4,800 crores odd. We are exhorted by the same lotus-eating ivory-tower dwellers that despite all privations and suffering, *to others*, they are determined to carry out the Plan.

The Plans are necessary beyond all doubt, because without planned development of our potential resources, the nation will never be free from want and the country will not be able to keep pace with the fast progressing nations of the civilized world. But in all Plans, first things must come first, on the basis of realities. For otherwise there would be utter confusion in the execution, leading to enormous wastage, theft and faulty production, which would have a devastating effect on the nation's economy.

We have been forced to write in this vein for some time now, because we find that the three prime factors in Nation-Building, Honesty, Efficiency and Dedication to the cause, seem to be at heavy discount at New Delhi and the provincial capitals. As these three are all of the essence, this deliberate neglect of the prime factors has brought about a major degeneration in moral values, all over the country.

People like ourselves, who have bought *swadeshi* for over half a century and gave preference to cottage products and khaddar, at great added expense, are becoming aware that corruption has eaten deep into the vitals of Gandhiji's cherished *gram udyog* and khadi development schemes. Indeed, a senior executive of one of the biggest khadi organisations told us some time back that he had never thought

that after thirty years of devotion to the cause of the people, he would have to take to the profession of a pick-pocket!

More recently a young and highly efficient officer of the Central Government—of one of the departments that show up the efficacy of their organisation *by publishing figures of amounts spent, without any details of work done*—came to us. This young man had been transferred to Calcutta suddenly, on the pretext that the office there needed an efficient officer, at grave consequences to him due to serious illness in the family. The real reason was his thorough checking up of the payments made by his department, much to the inconvenience of his senior officers. "Honesty is a crime in New Delhi," he said, showing an urgent telegram from his helpless wife in Delhi, to whose aid he could not go.

The common citizen today has been reduced to the last stage of absolute penury. Prices are still rising and profiteering and black-marketing is going on merrily. How can he possibly listen to the hollow exhortations for further austerity, particularly when those who are asking him are by no means even trying to set an example of austerity, sacrifice or dedication?

Let them set up first in New Delhi, an independent organisation to look into the state of affairs and conditions that prevail in the country, after ten years of reckless spending and the consequent deluge of corruption. And let them base their Second and Third Five-Year Plans on that basis. If the Planners are able to carry the Nation along with them, then and then only would these Plans mature and be fruitful, otherwise it would only be planning for Chaos.

Productivity and Rationalization

In order to raise the productivity of the country, the Government of India sent a delegation of officials and non-officials to Japan last year, to study the productivity movement in Japan and recommend measures for propagating a productivity programme in India. In the context of the ambitious industrial programme in the Second Five-Year Plan, an increase of productivity can play an important role by stimulating operations and by motivating industrial personnel to produce more goods of better quality. The Delegation on return to this country has now submitted its report. The Delegation points out that in a rapidly increasing economy, the increase of productivity can be a powerful element of national policy for increase of national wealth and the raising of the standard of living without creating unemployment. The Delegation warns that productivity should not be confused with rationalization and the retrenchment of surplus labour. It has recommended the creation of a National Productivity Council to launch an effective national movement for increased productivity in India.

Productivity has been defined as the ratio of the goods or services produced, that is, the output of wealth produced to the input of resources necessary for the production. The resources include labour power, electric power, materials, etc. Productivity can be expressed in terms of quantity by the measures of produced goods in relation to the input of resources, or in terms of money value. The latter case includes the concept of the added value of production. Added value is the net productivity value added in the course of production, and is equivalent to difference of selling price and the cost of raw materials, electric power, depreciation of machinery, etc. An increase of productivity means simply to find a better way to utilise the various tools of production, so that more goods can be produced at the lowest possible cost. Increased productivity will result when improved practices and techniques are applied to the various activities.

The increase of productivity will result in (a) an increase of national wealth, per capita income and standard of living, (b) a lower cost of production, and (c) a stimulation of invest-

ment due to increased profits of the industry. Higher productivity is not an end in itself. It would lead to social progress through an improved standard of living. The immediate effect of increased productivity is the reduction in the cost of production. This would enable the produced goods to compete more effectively in the market. It will yield more profits and will make it possible for the industry to plough back part of the profits for expansion and improvement of the enterprise and also for research. The Delegation observes that it is sometimes said that increased productivity will lead to unemployment. But the experience of other countries belies this fear. Higher productivity has in fact gone hand in hand with higher level of employment. The Report of the Delegation is informative and thought-provoking and the measures recommended by it may be profitably adopted in this country with a view to raising the productivity of our industries.

The Delegation warns that productivity should not be confused with rationalisation and the retrenchment of surplus labour. But in our view the Delegation's report suffers from the misconception that there is a difference between rationalisation and productivity and further that rationalisation inevitably leads to the retrenchment of surplus labour. The Delegation is apprehensive that if in this country rationalisation is adopted on a full-fledged basis, then unemployment will increase. In its report the Delegation has said many things about productivity, but has said little about rationalisation. In this country there is a wrong conception about the real importance of rationalisation and the general idea is that rationalisation will create large-scale unemployment. That is why the Government are not much in favour of rationalisation in cotton textile industry and jute industry. Sometimes ago it was reported that the National Industrial Development Corporation would extend financial assistance to the jute and cotton textile industries of India for adopting the process of rationalisation. But the scheme has not made much headway for the reasons best known to the authorities.

What India needs today for the successful implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan is not foreign aid, but increased productivity by

our industries. The increased productivity of our factories and labour would mean increased export potentialities and that would result in reducing our external indebtedness. Rationalisation and productivity however go hand in hand and they bear a functional relationship to each other. Productivity now means rationalisation of production or, in other words, it is rationalised production. This simple conception has been eluding the grasp of our authorities and as a result their thinking is halting and hesitant over the issue of rationalisation. Rationalisation is a continuing process and it never assumes a condition of static stage. There is no finality to the process of rationalisation. Rationalisation will create rationalisation and surplus labour in one stage of rationalised production will be deployed in the next process of rationalisation. There can be no greater wrong than to think that rationalisation will bring unemployment.

The productivity of labour cannot be achieved simply by regrouping the raw materials or by regrouping the existing accessories. Productivity is a function of technological improvement and there cannot be anything as the productivity of labour without the technique of production. The technique of production calls for progressively developing technological process so that with the least employment of labour and accessories the maximum output can be obtained and the surplus labour will be employed in devising further technological improvement. The USA and West Germany and other developed countries of the West have adopted the principle of rationalisation that means for them the maximum production with least expenditure.

Japan cannot be regarded as a model for India in the field of production. India is much richer in resources and potentialities than Japan and with better technological progress India can be classed with the USA or West Germany in the near future. The productivity of Japanese industries, though considerably high as compared with that of India, is substantially low as compared with those of the USA, the U.K. and West Germany. The productivity of Japanese industries is one-fifth of the USA, one-third of the U.K. and two-fifths of West Germany. Recognition of this low productivity has brought about the launching of a productivity movement

in Japan. Japan is now fast moving towards rationalisation. It is now sending a number of teams of industrialists, labour and technicians for study of the techniques of productivity increase in the United States.

It is time India goes ahead with rationalisation in order to save her important industries like jute and cotton textiles and iron and steel. Notwithstanding coal and rich iron ore resources, India is still a backward country in the production of iron and steel not only in quantitative aspect but also in qualitative aspect. The jute industry is hard pressed against the rationalised production of Pakistan and countries of Europe. With the adoption of better techniques of production, the cost structure of those countries is low, and the productivity is much higher in comparison to that of India. India is handicapped with her old machinery that produces less at a higher cost. The employment of labour should be determined in terms of economically efficient productivity and not merely in terms of man-hour.

With only 7,000 looms installed in the Pakistan jute mill, she is getting the production of thrice the number of looms in India. The Pakistan jute mill works in three shifts and her production is almost equal to that of the 70,000 looms installed in all the jute mills in India. The authorities in India are almost indifferent to the impending disaster that would overtake our industries unless rationalisation without tears is adopted.

Banking Developments

The Reserve Bank of India has just issued two of its annual publications on Banking, namely, the *Reports on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, 1956* and the *Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India, 1956*. The former reviews banking trends and policy during the year mainly on the various statements submitted by the bank under the Banking Companies Act, 1949 and the latter contains a wealth of statistical data pertaining to individual banks and the banking system as a whole based on the annual balance-sheets of banks. These two publications together provide a full picture of the progress of banking in 1956 and are separately reviewed below.

Economic activity in India during 1956 was characterised by the emergence of inflationary pressures in contrast to the comparative monetary stability that prevailed in 1955, observes the Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India during the year 1956. This was primarily the result of an increase in the magnitude and tempo of the development programme. For the banking system, the year was one of considerable stresses and strains as the mounting demand on it for credit by trade and industry was not accompanied by a commensurate expansion in its resources. This led to the emergence of an acute financial stringency, analogous to the experience of 1951. During the first half of 1957, banking resources have expanded significantly.

The higher level of activity for the banking system in conformity with the growing tempo of economic activity was markedly reflected in a sharp expansion in bank credit. The level of advances of all scheduled banks, exclusive of money at call and short notice and due from banks in India, rose by Rs. 151 crores or 25.5 per cent to Rs. 745 crores as at the end of December 1956—the largest rise in any year since 1951. The pressure of credit demand on bank resources, which was exceptionally high in the busy season of 1955-56 continued in the slack season that followed indicating continuance of the trend noticed in previous Reports toward a broadening and growing diversification of the Indian economy, consequent upon the emergence of new industries with a non-agricultural base; it also reflected partly a trend toward accumulation of stocks which is commonly observed in a phase of expansion.

The growing developmental activity led to a large increase in the advances of banks, which was not matched by a corresponding accretion to their deposit resources; in fact, the pace of deposit expansion slowed down in 1956. Thus the net deposits of scheduled banks increased by Rs. 77 crores as compared to Rs. 90 crores in 1955, the rate of expansion going down from 10.1 per cent to 7.9 per cent. Time deposits had a net increase of Rs. 45 crores, in contrast to the net rise of only Rs. 32 crores in demand deposits, and this was a continuation of the trend noticed in 1955. Since the end of the

year, the pace of deposit expansion has undergone a significant increase.

The sustained demand for bank credit in the year 1956, combined with an inadequate growth in deposits, led the banking system to have larger recourse to the Reserve Bank. Over the year 1956, the total of outstanding borrowings under sections 17(4) (a) and 17(4) (c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act by scheduled banks increased by Rs. 56 crores in contrast to a rise of no more than Rs. 20 crores in 1955. An interesting feature of the Reserve Bank's lending has been that while a relatively greater rise took place in gross borrowings against Government securities than under the Bill Market scheme, the outstanding amount of borrowings under the latter at the end of 1956 was much higher at Rs. 65 crores than that against Government securities amounting to Rs. 21 crores, despite the rise of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the Bill Market rate at which funds were lent, and the higher stamp duty toward the end of the year.

In contrast to a record rise in bank credit, the total of bank investments declined in 1956 by Rs. 18 crores, the ratio of investments to their net deposits in consequence recording a fall from 42.3 per cent to 37.5 per cent. This decline was the result of the unloading of their investments in Government securities to meet the greater demands of trade and industry. The total number of offices of banks rose during 1956 by 107 to 4,192 as compared to a rise of 53 in 1955 and 11 in 1954. This was the largest increase in the post-war period and reflected the increasing pace of branch expansion.

On the organisational side, the Report draws attention to the amendments to the Reserve Bank of India Act and the Banking Companies Act, as well as to the growing role of the Reserve Bank of India in financial administration in the context of a developing economy. It also refers to the setting up of the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operations) Fund and the National Agricultural Credit Stabilization Fund during the year. The Report refers to the improvement in the standards of operation and financial soundness of the banking system which has taken place as a result of the Reserve Bank's policy of periodical inspection of banks. By the

end of 1956, all the reporting banks had been inspected at least once, and wherever defects were observed in the working of individual banks, they were called upon to take steps to remove them. A few banks were also called upon to submit periodical reports to the Reserve Bank showing the progress made by them.

During the year 1956, licences were issued to one Indian scheduled and 3 Indian non-scheduled banks to carry on banking business in India raising the total number of licences so far issued to 49. While the licence granted to one non-scheduled bank in 1951 was cancelled during the year, 47 non-scheduled banks were refused licences. Nineteen non-scheduled banks went into liquidation or were ordered to be wound up in 1956, while certain proposals for amalgamation received consideration of the Reserve Bank. The Report observes that in view of the rapidly rising investment in the private sector, particularly in industry, banks may also be required to meet a part of the medium-term credit needs of the industry in the country. In this connection, the Report refers to the proposal to set up a Refinance Corporation, the main object of which would be to help augment the resources available with the banking system for the use of medium-sized industrial units (that is, units having resources up to Rs. 2½ crores) in the private sector. The Report also points to the possible inadequacy of bank resources to meet the rising demand for bank credit of the private sector under the Second Five-Year Plan and emphasises the need for extensive branch expansion towards the solution of the problem and measures for further strengthening the general financial position of banks either by way of merger or amalgamation of smaller units, wherever possible.

While the Report on the progress of banking gives data relating to the business of banks within India only, the *Statistical Tables* covers the operations of banks in India as well as outside. According to the latter, total deposits of all reporting joint stock banks rose by Rs. 80 crores during 1956, as compared to a rise of Rs. 92 crores in 1955. This was largely accounted for by scheduled banks (Rs. 76 crores); deposits of non-scheduled banks having risen by only Rs. 4 crores. While total deposits of Indian

scheduled banks rose by Rs. 84 crores, those of foreign scheduled banks declined by Rs. 7 crores. Total credit extended by joint stock banks, on the other hand, rose by Rs. 158 crores in 1956 as against Rs. 92 crores in 1955. Investment of joint stock banks in Government securities declined by Rs. 18 crores the whole of which was accounted for by scheduled banks while "other investments" showed a rise of Rs. 3 crores.

As regards the foreign business of Indian scheduled banks, deposits and credit (including bills purchased and discounted) extended by them outside India rose by Rs. 1 crore and Rs. 7 crores, respectively, as against a fall of Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 1 crore, respectively in 1955. Their foreign offices, however, declined from 99 in 1955 to 98 in 1956. The current operating earnings of Indian scheduled banks improved by Rs. 8 crores over 1955, while their current operating expenses increased by Rs. 5 crores with the result that their net profit before taxes (after taking into consideration recoveries and depreciation in assets) increased by Rs. 3 crores compared with a rise of Rs. 33 lakhs in 1955. The net profit of exchange banks increased by Rs. 46 lakhs in 1956 as against Rs. 58 lakhs in 1955. The ratio of current operating expenses to current operating earnings of Indian scheduled banks stood at 79 per cent in 1956 as against 82 per cent in 1955. For exchange banks, the ratio was a little lower at 76 per cent compared with 77 per cent in 1955.

The most distressing feature of banking developments since 1956 has been the progressively expanding bank credit, particularly against foodgrains, leading to inflationary conditions. The situation in consequence of unrestricted bank credit has so much worsened that the Reserve Bank admits its inability to control the credit base of the country. Recently Pandit Nehru wrote a letter to the Reserve Bank sounding a note of warning that if the commercial banks in this country did not follow the directions of the Reserve Bank in the matter of credit squeeze, then the Union Government would have to take proper steps against the defaulting banks. The Reserve Bank's performance in the matter of credit control has not been encouraging. The tendency towards speculation

in foodgrains by hoarders was evident as early as May 1956. The Reserve Bank asked the member banks at that time to reduce their credit against foodgrains. But surprisingly enough that direction was withdrawn in November 1956. The banks in consequence started lending again against foodgrains to an unlimited extent. The recent seizure of rice-stocks from mills in and around Calcutta amply shows that the rise in the price of foodgrains and their apparent scarcity are not so much the result of inadequate supply as it is the result of speculative hoarding with the help of bank credit. The Reserve Bank is greatly responsible for this state of affairs and had it the foresight in November 1956 it could have seen the inevitability in consequence of the withdrawal of its directions in that month. Now it is too late to take effective steps in controlling the credit expansion.

The Reserve Bank has been endowed with wide powers under sections 21 and 35A of the Banking Companies Act, 1949. With the help of these powers, the Bank can effectively control the lending operations of the member banks, provided it has the will to do so. Instead, its admission of failure to move effectively in the matter does give no credit to it. Why does it not ration credit for its member banks? It should refuse to give any financial assistance either under section 17(4) (a) or section 17(4) (c) to its member banks for a period of at least six months.

Much Ado About Nothing

The Wealth Tax Bill and the Expenditure Tax Bill, as were conceived originally, raised much hope that they would be jointly a step forward towards the levelling up of classes in this country. They were directed towards socialisation through taxation. But the Bills that have now come out of the legislative anvil fall far short of the expectation that was raised when they were drafted. The Hindu joint family is a fiction of law and it is time that the conception of the Hindu joint family should be omitted from fiscal measures. There are now so many exemptions from the expenditure tax that the yield from it will be very insignificant and that could have been raised by other means. The most objectionable feature of the measure is the

exemption allowed to the expenditure on race-horses, bullion, precious stones and jewellery. The Finance Minister has not fully realised the implications of such exemptions.

In this country the rate of capital formation is very low, not exceeding 6 per cent of the total national income as compared with the developed countries of the West where the rate of capital formation is not less than 20 per cent of the national income per year. India is the traditional home-land for hoarded wealth and that is one of the main causes for the paucity of industrial capital here. The expenditure tax has been designed to discourage consumption so as to encourage savings and capital formation as well. But now that these exemptions have been granted under the Act, there will be a tendency to purchase bullion and jewellery solely for the purpose of hoarding and that will generate a condition of dissaving. In other words, the main purpose of the measure is sure to be defeated by the extent of exemptions. As a result of this exemption, the price of the yellow metal will record a further rise and so also the general price level in its wake. The exemptions now allowed under the expenditure tax will defeat the purpose also of the wealth tax, to a certain extent. An individual family, instead of the Hindu joint family, should have been taken as the basis of the taxation in this country. In the name of the joint family, expenditures will come to be elusive.

These measures are a new venture in the field of taxation and uncertainty lies about their achievements. The evasion of taxation is widespread in this country and according to the estimates of the Income Tax Investigation Committee, it will not be less than Rs. 1,000 crores a year. Evasion on a larger scale will be possible under these two new measures. By raising the rates of estate duty on the same scale as does prevail in the U.K. the purpose of the wealth tax could have been fulfilled and by imposition of a higher rate of super-tax on individual income, the purpose of the expenditure tax could have been achieved.

Hindi Commission Report

The report of the Official Language Commission was published on August 12, about a year after it had been submitted to the Presi-

dent. Nothing was, however, said about the reasons for delay in publishing the report.

The Commission which was headed by the late Bal Gangadhar Kher consisted of twenty members. Of these all but two have recommended for the adoption of Hindi as the official language. The two dissidents are Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, the well-known authority on linguistics and Dr. P. Subbaroyan, former Home Minister of Madras and Congress Member of Parliament.

While the majority has not committed itself on the question whether the preparatory period of 15 years provided in the Constitution for the change-over from English into Hindi as the official language is sufficient or not, its other remarks elsewhere in the report leave no doubt that the majority would very much like Hindi to be introduced by 1965, as envisaged in the Constitution for the change-over.

In their notes of dissent Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. P. Subbaroyan have pointed out that the introduction of Hindi by 1965 as an all-India language for official use would engender great confusion and would encounter hostility from a large section of the Indian people. The two distinguished persons have condemned the over-enthusiasm of the proponents of Hindi. They have expressed the view that it is absolutely necessary to retain English for many years to come.

Dr. Chatterji, who it should be noted is one of the great patrons of the Hindi language in West Bengal, considers that the choice of Hindi as a language to replace English for pan-Indian affairs has been hasty. The unduly large amount of money that was being spent for the propagation of Hindi could not but be a source of irritation for non-Hindi-speaking people.

Dr. Subbaroyan holds that *the official language must be one which has been fully developed and till such time "we must perforce continue to use English."* The relegation of English to a secondary place in our education and public life will certainly not be for the good of the country." He also points out that this view is supported not only by State Governments of Madras, West Bengal and Mysore and Judges of the various High Courts, but also by illustrious statesmen and educationists, including Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Dr.

Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman, Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. Lakshman-swami Mudaliar and Dr. K. M. Munshi.

Enough has been said for the introduction of Hindi as the official language. The major part of the report is a plea for Hindi. The great majority of the Congress press and highly-placed persons have between themselves kept up a constant propaganda in favour of Hindi so much so that on occasions even the Prime Minister and the President have to come out openly against the over-enthusiasm of the supporters of Hindi. To that extent, however, a scientific attitude, which alone can show us the correct way, has been lacking in the discussions. Dr. Chatterji and Dr. Subbaroyan, both of whom are well-known and respected Congressmen, have uttered a warning which it is the earnest hope of many patriots, would receive due consideration of the authorities concerned. The misguided policies of our rulers have brought the country on the verge of bankruptcy: it would be nothing short of national disaster if by virtue of brute majority the Government should impose Hindi upon India disregarding the harmful consequences.

India is a multi-national country inhabited by races and cultures differing, in some cases, as widely as an Indian from an Englishman. It would be the height of folly to try to mould such varying cultures in any uniform pattern. This ill-conceived effort has already produced the Naga problem (which we know has other reasons also behind it) which is costing India so much in men, money and international prestige. The solution of the problems of a country with so many cultures as India is, cannot be properly determined on the lines followed by countries in completely different historical circumstances. For a healthy solution of our problems we have to look to countries having similar problems, in this respect the multi-national Soviet State (even there the Russian-speaking people constitutes the absolute majority of *all* the peoples in the U.S.S.R.) and Switzerland. Though Russian was the language spoken by the majority of the people of the U.S.S.R. and though it had been in use as the official language all along and despite the fact that the Russian language was the most developed language in the U.S.S.R. capable of every use the Soviet

State did not impose Russian upon the peoples of the Soviet Union. Even now, all the regional administrations (including courts) are conducted in the regional language and all the laws of the Soviet Union are published in all the sixteen languages of the sixteen constituent republics. This much then for the largest country in the world. In one of the smallest countries, in Switzerland, there are four national languages, namely, French, German, Italian and Romansch. In China, again the Constitution clearly lays down that the official language in the minority nationality regions must be the language of the minority nationality concerned. This provision is being followed in practice notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese-speaking people constitutes more than ninety-five per cent of the total population of China.

Contrast with this the attitude in our country. The Hindi enthusiasts are not ready to allow the regional language to be used even in local official functions. A reflection of this attitude is discernible even in the report of the majority of the Official Language Commission. The Commission's terms of reference obliged it to consider only the feasibility of the use of Hindi as the official language. But the majority has not kept itself within this bound and has also suggested the introduction of Hindi as the medium of instruction in all the Universities of India. Suffice it to recall that Mahatma Gandhi, who was one of the foremost proponents of Hindi in India, always insisted upon the fact that the medium of instruction must always be the mother-tongue. The departure from the terms of reference of the Commission to suggest the introduction of Hindi as a medium of higher education cannot therefore easily be taken to have been prompted by any desire to encourage higher education of the Indians. It is, however, encouraging to find that though both Dr. Chatterjee and Dr. Subbaroyan are members of the Congress they have kept their principles about party obedience. Such courage and independence are rare now-a-days in India and all sane persons should rally round them.

Be it noted that it is not the question of a language only. On the determination of our present policy is bound up the whole of the future development of India. And the posterity would not pardon us for our folly; nor would

our scheming enemies would sit idle and refrain from taking advantage out of that folly. The nation should beware.

Official Language Commission

We append below, the press report of the Commission's findings, as given in the *Statesman* :

New Delhi, August 12.—Published today, a year after it was submitted to the President, the report of the Official Language Commission confirms what has lately been known unofficially about its contents.

While 18 of its 20 members hold the constitutional provisions for the replacement of English by Hindi as the official language of the Union to be "practicable, wise and comprehending," the other two—Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. P. Subbaroyan—have strongly dissented.

Although the majority asserts that "practically all responsible opinion accepts the constitutional settlement of the language problem, it has refrained from committing itself on the question whether the preparatory period of 15 years provided for the change-over in the Constitution is sufficient or not.

It is "neither necessary nor possible" for the Commission to "prognosticate and pronounce" on this issue, says the majority report. But the accompanying observations make it clear that the majority stands by the target date of 1965, envisaged in the Constitution for the change-over.

In fact, at one place the majority clearly states that its recommendations are directed towards the "earliest possible" implementation of the constitutional provision for replacing English by Hindi by 1965.

Nor are the two dissenting members in any doubt about the majority's stand. Both have regretted that the majority's zeal to achieve the change-over by the target date would lead to the "imposition of Hindi" on non-Hindi-speaking people and to "confusion and chaos" in the country's public life.

Importance attaches to the two notes of dissent because their authors are the representatives on the Commission of Bengali and Tamil, two of the most developed regional languages of India. Besides being an eminent Indologist, Dr. Suniti Chatterjee is the Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council, Dr. Subbaroyan is a

leading Congress M.P. and a former Home Minister of Madras.

Both urge that the question of progressive use of Hindi for official purposes should be kept in abeyance and reopened only when the States voluntarily accept Hindi and its knowledge spreads throughout the country.

Although the two notes are written with restraint, Dr. Subbaroyan and Dr. Chatterjee point out that there are in the country already signs of incipient "Hindi imperialism." The implementation of the majority report, they feel, would create two classes of citizens in India, of whom the Hindi-knowing would be the privileged one.

Exception has been taken to these remarks by the Chairman of the Commission, the late Mr. B. G. Kher, who appended a covering note to the report to deplore these sentiments.

It has been emphasized in the majority report that even after the constitutional provisions on language are fully implemented, English would continue to be used as a "second language," particularly as a medium of contact with the rest of the world.

According to the majority, the Constitution and the Commission's recommendations appropriately relate only to official business, leaving aside a vast field of activity which may be called the "private sector of national life." In this the language of pan-Indian communication will be developed by the people voluntarily.

This has not obviously satisfied the dissenting members who demand that the Constitution should be amended to permit the use of English for a "long, long time, to come."

Dr. Subbaroyan points out that this view is supported not only by the State Governments of Madras, West Bengal and Mysore and judges of the various High Courts, but also by illustrious statesmen and educationists, including Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar and Mr. K. M. Munshi.

It is interesting that both the majority and the minority views are sought to be buttressed by considerations of national unity. While the majority declares that tardiness in the implementation of its recommendations could be countenanced "only at our period" the two notes of

dissent declare that, in view of the recent linguistic outbursts in the country, imposition of Hindi would undermine national unity, particularly because Hindi was less developed than other Indian languages.

Although one of the terms of reference was to suggest restrictions on the use of Hindi for official purposes, the Commission has recommended that no such restriction is necessary at present.

Among the positive recommendations made by the majority for the progressive use of Hindi for official purposes is that departments like Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Excise, Customs, which have countrywide coverage, should evolve a measure of "permanent bilingualism."

It has also suggested that the Government should have powers to compel its employees to acquire reasonable knowledge of Hindi, although leniency should be shown to Government servants above 45 years of age.

According to the majority view, at the time of change-over to Hindi in the law courts, the Supreme Court and High Courts should deliver judgments in Hindi and lower courts in regional languages.

The Commission attaches importance to the task of adopting proper Hindi terminology and declares that the aim should be clarity, precision and simplicity. Doctrinaire insistence on language purism is deprecated.

In the field of education, the Commission suggests compulsory instruction in Hindi at the secondary stage all over the country, although it has rejected the suggestion that students in Hindi-speaking areas should compulsorily learn some other Indian language.

Both the universities and the Union Public Service Commission have been asked by the Commission to make arrangements for the introduction of Hindi as an additional medium for examination besides English.

On the use of Devnagri numerals, however, the Commission has no recommendation to make, but it suggests that the matter may be re-examined by the next Language Commission to be appointed in 1960.

A recommendation of importance, however, is that a National Academy of Languages should

be set up, preferably at Hyderabad, for the development of Hindi and regional languages.

Pandit Pant who presented the Commission's report to the two Houses of Parliament this morning will soon move for the appointment of a 30-man parliamentary committee to examine the Commission's recommendations. Twenty members will be elected from the Lok Sabha and 10 from the Rajya Sabha.

Under the Constitution, the committee will be elected on the basis of proportional representation through a single transferable vote. This is done to provide representation to all points of view.

Only after the parliamentary committee makes known its views on the Commission's findings, can the President take action to give effect to them.

New Delhi, August 12.—Appropriately enough the report of the Official Language Commission, published today, begins with a quotation from Chandogya-Upanishad: "If there had been no speech, neither virtue nor vice could be known, neither the true nor the false, neither the good nor the bad, neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant. Speech alone makes known all this. Meditate upon Speech."

Not to be outdone by the majority, Dr. Surendra Kumar Chatterjee, a signatory to the minority report, has also begun his note of dissent with a quotation from the ancient scriptures. He says: "I adore that all-knowing supreme light, darkness-dispelling, from whose mouth has issued the goddess, the sacred stream of all speech."

Eurafrica Project

An integral part of the European Common Market and Euratom treaties signed in Rome, the capital city of Italy, on March 25 this year, is the Eurafrika Project. The Project by which European powers would collectively exploit the resources of the continent of Africa was originally conceived by the French imperialists as a way out of their financial difficulties arising out of the French war against the peoples of Algeria and other North African countries. The plan was enthusiastically taken up by the West German Government and has eventually been made a part of the European treaty already

referred to above. Significantly enough, while the British Government has openly indicated its opposition to the Eurafrika Project (the London *Times* wrote on February 22, 1957, that the "phrase 'collective colonialism' . . . might with more reason be applied to the concept of Eurafrika") the United States has regarded it quite favourably. Presumably the U.S. hope was that the Eurafrika Project could eventually be made to serve as a barrier against the neutralist wind coming from the Asian countries and as an extension of the various Western military projects in the Middle East and elsewhere. As at present constituted the Eurafrika plan comprises six European powers, France, Federal Republic of (West) Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Luxemburg. The project of associating the colonies of the European powers in the E.C.M. (effectively only the French African territories), initially to run for five years, would involve a joint capital investment of \$581,250,000 by the six European powers in exploiting the European colonies in Africa and elsewhere. France and West Germany would contribute 200 million dollars each, the Netherlands and Belgium 70 million dollars each, Italy 40 million and Luxemburg 1,250,000 U.S. dollars. The fund thus created would be invested in the colonial territories (principally in Africa) in the following manner:

| | (In million dollars) |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| French Union territories in Africa | 511.25 |
| Belgian Congo | 30 |
| Netherlands' Colonies | 35 |
| Somaliland | 5 |

In other words by this arrangement France would gain \$311.25 million dollars for her colonial development while all the other contributors to the fund would lose inasmuch as the latter countries' contribution to the fund are much greater than the investment allocated to their overseas colonies. Plans for the utilization of this money in each of the territories would be drawn up by the respective colonial authorities but the distribution of allocation among various projects within the territories would be decided by the Common Market Council by a qualified majority of 67 votes.

The question naturally arises what, actually, is the benefit to the participating coun-

tries from this arrangement? As already noted, the project was originally conceived by the French Government and France's gain from the arrangement is self-evident. She gets much-needed capital assistance to develop her African colonial resources which are vital for sustaining the French national economy (one-third of French exports go to the French Union countries and one-fourth of her imports come from them—the prices being generally advantageous to France).

The West German businessmen get the benefit of a preferential treatment in the French colonies in Africa on the same footing as France and thereby gain a valuable market for her products.

The other European powers also count upon some gain in the bargain—specially in getting a favourable market for their products.

N The project, however, spells great danger for Africa and for world peace. The intrusion of the advanced Western industrialists in the African economy is bound to prove a disintegrating factor in the African economy and would greatly injure the embryonic African industries struggling for a foothold. There is again the danger of the African lands being swarmed by surplus labour from the European countries who would naturally keep away the Africans from superior and technical posts and would thereby accentuate the backwardness of the African economy.

All the countries participating in the Eurafrika Project are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The motive behind the project was again the preservation of the tottering French imperialists in Africa. The other European countries, through their investment in the French colonial lands would gain a vested interest in the continuation of French colonial rule and this would in turn further complicate the already complicated French relations with her African colonies. It would engender a sort of collective imperialism and would be an explosive force in an already explosive African scene.

Independence Day in Karachi

The following news-item came over here on the 15th of August. It indicates the exceedingly disturbed state of affairs in Pakistan. Stability

in politics can never be attained in a country whose politicians are unable to face the realities at home, and consequently are constantly trying to stir up hatred and passion all round.

"Karachi, August 14.—A 31-gun salute in Karachi and at Dacca and Lahore, at dawn today, ushered in the eleventh year of independence for Pakistan.

"Newspapers and political leaders reviewed the decade of freedom, the main comment of their survey being that the country had yet to achieve political stability and that the present leadership had failed the nation.

"In the words of Miss Fatima Jinnah, 'public life has been poisoned by ugly tendencies of behind-the-scene intrigues and sordid bargaining to perpetuate personal interests. Time has come when people should no longer tolerate anti-democratic tendencies. The demand of the people for early elections is the only solution.'

"The Supreme Council of National Reconstruction Movement—an organization of influential public men—said last night that 'if the country is to be saved and the purposes of Pakistan movement to be fulfilled, general elections should be held by March 1958, under the auspices of a Creator Government consisting only of such political parties as are wedded to Pakistani ideology.'

"A dispassionate review of events during the last 11 months shows,' the Council said, 'that Mr. Suhrawardy has not only failed to fulfil national hopes but on the contrary has allowed himself to be a party to exacerbation of the situation and the resultant uncertainty in our national affairs which prevails today.'

"During this period the general economic situation of the country has gone from bad to worse. Prices of commodities have gone up to a staggeringly high level and the law and order situation has deteriorated.'

"Pakistan cannot command any respect in foreign countries unless there is political and economic stability at home.'

Power Politics in Yemen

The British interference in the affairs of Oman has started the inevitable reaction, as the following news report indicated. This in its turn has started complications in the Arab world of which the outcome is extremely uncertain.

"Washington, August 10.—The State Department spokesman said today that Britain had informed the U.S.A. about six weeks ago of Soviet shipments of arms to Yemen. He did not explain whether the U.S.A. had been aware of these shipments earlier.

"Yemen officially informed the U.S.A. that it was receiving arms from the Soviet Union, authoritative sources said yesterday.

"Yemeni diplomatic representatives in Washington disclosed in consultations at the State Department recently that an agreement had been reached with the Soviet Union for several shipments of arms, including tanks and fighter aircraft.

"The arms shipments were described by the Yemeni Charge d'Affaires in the State Department talks as 'insurance for defence against British military forces on the Yemen-Aden border,' these sources added.

"A Foreign Office spokesman said in London on Thursday that Britain was aware that there had been six, possibly seven, shipments of Soviet arms to Yemen.

"He told his daily news conference that he understood these shipments included a number of aircraft. There were also about 50 Soviet instructors or technicians in Yemen."

The Situation in Syria

Another State of the Arab world is cutting adrift from the apron strings of the N.A.T.O. group. The reaction in the U.S. is well-reflected in the editorial from the *New York Times* reproduced below:

"Over Syria last week there was an atmosphere of growing crisis.

"The immediate cause for concern is Syria's rapidly accelerating drift toward the Soviet sphere and the growing indications that it is becoming a base for Communist penetration of its neighboring states, particularly Jordan and Lebanon. The underlying facts are these:

"Syria stands athwart the pipelines from Iraq to the Mediterranean and at the center of a cluster of the five nations—Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel—most friendly to the West.

"Syria's Communist party (founded in 1930 as the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon) is the strongest in the Middle East. It is a legal

party. Its leader, Moscow-trained Khalid Bakdash, is a member of the Syrian Parliament. Since 1954, when pro-West President Adib Shishekly was forced into exile, Bakdash has capitalized on unrest born of political instability, the frustration of intellectuals trained in Lebanon's Western universities and the weakness of other political groups. He has built a network of Communist fronts that now dominate the political, social and military life of the country. The spearhead of the pro-Soviet element in the Government is Lieut. Col. Abdel Hamid Serraj, head of Army intelligence and the real power in Syria.

"At the same time that Moscow made its arms deal with Egypt's President Nasser, it offered arms and economic aid to Syria. Since the Suez crisis, weapons have been pouring into Aleppo, Syria's Mediterranean port, in a steady stream. A month ago Syria and Moscow signed an economic agreement providing for industrialization of the country and modernization of her communications—including her airfields—with Soviet equipment and technicians.

"Two weeks ago, Secretary of State Dulles sent Deputy Undersecretary of State Loy W. Henderson to the Mideast to assess the Syrian situation. Last Wednesday he returned to Washington and reported his findings.

"Although the details of Mr. Henderson's report were not made known the State Department said Thursday that he voiced 'deep concern lest Syria should become a victim of international communism and . . . a base for further threatening the independence and integrity of the area.'

"On the basis of Mr. Henderson's report the Administration took two steps:

"First, the Defense Department announced that it was organizing an air-lift of arms to Jordan, presumably the country facing the most immediate threat. Jordan's young King Hussein last April put down a threatened coup by pro-Nasser and pro-Syria elements which he said were inspired by 'international communism and its followers.' As a result of this crisis President Eisenhower pledged \$10,000,000 in arms to Jordan to help her resist aggression. It was to speed implementation of this pledge that the air-lift was decided upon.

"Second, the Defence Department announced it would speed arms shipments to Lebanon, probably by air, and to Turkey and Iraq."

Unrest in Cuba

The world turmoil has affected the new world as well. In Cuba there has been a state of extreme unrest for a year. The report given below is from the *New York Times*:

"Twenty-four years ago last Wednesday Fulgencio Batista, a Cuban Army sergeant, came to power by coup d'etat. He has been Cuba's dictator for all but eight years since then and has often boasted, 'My destiny is to carry out revolutions without bloodshed.'

"For almost a year, however, there has been unrest in Cuba. Last winter a group of youthful revolutionaries launched a guerilla war against the Batista regime from the jungle-covered Sierra Maestra at the eastern end of the island. Since then violence has spread. There have been sniping attacks on the highways, bombing incidents in large cities and arson in the sugar fields. Last spring a rebel suicide squad shot its way into the Presidential palace in Havana in an abortive attempt to assassinate the President.

"The rebel movement is headed by the student leader, Fidel Castro. The movement is composed of various groups—many in opposition to each other—that have found common ground only on the question of Batista's ouster. They bitterly denounce Batista's regime for throttling Cuban democracy and civil liberties. Batista has called his opponents 'criminals' and 'Communists.' His grip on power has been based largely on the support of the Army.

Last week, for the first time, elements of the military joined in the revolt. On Thursday units of the Cuban Navy and maritime police mutinied at Cienfuegos, the largest port in south central Cuba. The Army, supported by tanks and aircraft, suppressed the uprising in a day-long battle. At least twenty persons were killed, thirty wounded. Afterward there was a new wave of bombing incidents in Havana and elsewhere.

"At the end of the week it was reported that President Batista had been shaken by the fact that the spirit of revolt had spread to part of the armed forces."

Call it Aggression?

The main purpose behind the setting up of the United Nations Organization is to ban war or aggression by unilateral action without the authority of that organisation. Formerly, the right to wage war was regarded as an essential incident of the sovereign status of States. Since the end of the Second World War, that idea seems to have changed, that is, it is no longer the inherent right of a sovereign State to commit aggression in foreign territories. There is little to distinguish between an aggression and the waging of war. The UNO has been created to "save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and it was thought at a time that the UNO would be a super-State and aggression would be a crime in international law. The Nuremburg trial of German war leaders and their subsequent execution created the notion that national sovereignty was now subject to the overall authority of the comity of the nations. The trial and execution of the Japanese war leaders by the victors of the Second World War also confirmed this idea.

But hopes were belied much earlier than was expected. The Korean war may be regarded just as a starting point in the post-war era. But nations still seem to possess the right to commit aggression and war is not a crime if it is confined among the victorious nations of the Second World War, simply because these nations claim to be the mentors of the world opinion and the keepers of conscience of the smaller and dependent nations. Aggression followed in quick succession in Viet Nam, in Tibet by China, in Suez Canal by Britain and Egypt. Still the UNO, like Browning's God, spoke no word when calamities befell mankind. Now comes the latest act of aggression by Britain in the desert of Oman in favour of the Sultan of Muscat. This is no doubt an outburst of oil politics in the Middle East. But what we want to ask is—What is the function of the UNO? When countries of the world are the judges in their own cases and also in the cases of their friends and enemies and take liberally armed action without the concurrence of the UNO, then practically the UNO may be regarded to have ceased to function effectively in the affairs of

the nations. The British action in the Suez Canal and also in Oman indicate that the UNO is practically powerless or it has no will to control the dispute among the member nations. Further, the UNO does not raise its finger against such flouting of its authority. The British action is an attempt to by-pass the authority of the UNO. The Eisenhower doctrine provides a theoretical basis for such by-passing and the British act of aggression results in practical demonstration that member States, if they are powerful enough, can override the authority of the UNO.

Court Defence in the U.S.A.

The fortnightly *Reporter* of New York in its issue dated the 11th July carries an article by Irene Soehren on the problems of lawyers defending "unpopular" defendants. Lawyers who have to defend such defendants are generally associated with the defendants irrespective of the attitude of the lawyer. Soehren refers to a number of instances where lawyers, taking up the defence of unpopular defendants willingly or unwillingly, were involved in trouble later on. But on many occasions lawyers have no option in defending a particular accused when they are directed by the court to do so. Again, in the southern States of the U.S.A. it is very difficult to get a white lawyer to defend a Negro in any case involving the racial question "and there aren't many southern Negro lawyers."

But the lawyer in the U.S.A. seem to be maintaining the high standard of their service despite threats from the Government and the people in general. In a particular case the Connecticut Bar Association assessed five dollars on each of its members to pay for the defence of eight alleged Communists who pleaded inability to pay for their defence. In many cases, however, eminent lawyers in the U.S.A. have to take up defence even when they cannot expect any financial return so that George Spiegelberg, one of the most reputable lawyers in New York and who had successfully defended Sergeant John David Provoost charged with treason, recently came out with the demand that Government should bear the cost of defence of indigent persons. And in the case of the conscientious American lawyers the demand seems to be fully justified.

Reunification of the Socialist Forces

A renewed hope of the reunification of the socialist forces in India caught the public mind when a few days ago Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, the General Secretary of the Socialist Party and Shri Jayprakash Narayan, the P.S.P. leader, met to discuss a possible merger of the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party. However, the hope was soon to be nipped in the bud since the talks not only failed to be effective; they, on the other hand, created new bitterness in the relationship of the democratic socialist leaders.

Dr. Lohia, the dissident Socialist leader, apparently was ready to come back to the fold accepting the flag and symbol (hut) of the Praja Socialist Party. He, however, wanted to have the name changed to simple Socialist Party, the word "Praja" being dropped from the name of the merged party. Moreover, the new party would have to accept in toto the existing constitution, policy and programme of Dr. Lohia's Socialist Party. He was unwilling to make concessions on any other point.

It is no wonder then that the talks failed. It would have been a real wonder if the Praja Socialist leaders had agreed on merger on such humiliating terms. But then on merits Dr. Lohia must be regarded as having been right on principle and his stand provides a clear-cut rallying point for democratic opponents of Congress. It was Dr. Lohia's disagreements with Shri Ashoka Mehta over the latter's thesis about "political compulsions of a backward economy" which in effect would have bound the Praja Socialist Party to the Congress chariot, aggravated by Jayprakash's demand for the strictest discipline, that originally caused the split in the P.S.P. Jayprakash's recent overtures would seem to suggest that he has since undergone much self-analysis. But while Jayprakash, perhaps, Lohia and even some leading members of the P.S.P. also were favourable to the idea of a Socialist merger, some of the bellicose utterances of Dr. Lohia and more particularly of Shri Ashoka Mehta could not be regarded as conducive to the growth of a congenial atmosphere which alone could usher in unity of socialist ranks.

Shri Jayprakash has since formally resigned from the Praja Socialist Party. This cannot but

be a grave blow to the party. While he had left the formal leadership of the party in 1954 he never gave up his membership and was always available for consultation at National Committee meetings (as a matter of fact, he was an invitee to practically every meeting of the National Executive of the P.S.P.).

Problems of Democracy in India

What are the problems of democracy in India? A symposium in Calcutta in which some of the younger intellectuals participated along with the veterans recently discussed the issue but, as would perhaps be expected, failed to agree on a consensus.

Superficially the problems are many: social, political, administrative, economic, educational, moral and psychological. But fundamentally all these are but manifestations of one phenomenon—poverty. The experience of the successful democracies has conclusively shown that democracy, whether it be called a way of life or spirit, has not prospered without having a prosperous economic base for its functioning. So that in India also the fundamental task before the democrats is to press forward economic development. The problem, therefore, is rather how to achieve economic progress without having to lose the basic human values? This is a problem to which no satisfactory solution has yet been found.

Those who tend to emphasize the psychological factors often forget that a man's attitude is largely the product of his environment. The truth of this statement is not diminished by the fact that man's attitude is also a potent factor in changing his environment. The striking difference in the attitude of civil servants in India and other democratic countries to their citizens is largely accounted for by the degree of the difference of status and education between the official and his countryman. General poverty breeds fear, insecurity, corruption and dictatorship.

Those of our countrymen who tend to discourage planned economic development on the alleged ground of compulsion and regimentation again misses the lesson that the so-called democratic countries could flourish only upon the ruthless exploitation of a major part of the

world and its people—an avenue not open to, nor sought for by, the Indian people.

For both national power and individual prestige India must become economically prosperous in as quick a time as possible. An extension of democracy requires extension of education, housing, improved standard of living—all of which are again inseparably dependent upon economic progress. Viewed from this point, no slashing of the targets of the Second Plan should be advocated. Suggestions can only be fruitful as to how the implementation of the plan could be related to the most minimum sacrifice on the part of the people, whose power of endurance has almost reached its zenith. To reconcile progress with current welfare is not an easy task (as a matter of fact, no country in the world has so far been able to achieve it wholly) but this is the challenge of our times.

State Transport in Calcutta

The State Transport in Calcutta completed nine years of its existence on July 31 last. In an article in the weekly *West Bengal*, August 8, commemorating the occasion, Shri J. N. Talukdar, Director-General of Transportation, discusses the achievements and problems remaining to be solved. The State Transport fleet, he notes, has increased from 25 in 1948 to 492 employing more than 6,000 persons. The growth of the department was facilitated by loans totalling Rs. 75 lakhs granted by the Central Government from time to time. By March, 1958, another 110 buses would be on the road replacing 40 private buses from two routes and 60 old small buses of the State Transport directorate. In other words there would be a net addition of 3,100 seats,—some of the new buses being double-deckers and others providing greater accommodation in general than the existing private and State buses contemplated to be replaced. Shri Talukdar also notes some achievements in employee welfare and training facilities. With regard to the latter, a technical school would soon be established to train technicians.

On the crucial question of public service, however, Shri Talukdar is rather reticent. He merely touches it and dismisses it on the plea that no improvement is possible without an increase in bus fares. He goes so much as almost

to threaten that without an increase in fares even the existing passenger facilities cannot be maintained. He, however, does not deem it at all necessary to deal with persistent public complaints about irregularity of service, very frequent breakdowns and other running inadequacies. It is not unusual, as every bus-goer would confirm, for one to wait even up to half an hour and still to be disappointed in getting his bus. Such happenings, it should be noted, are never isolated.

The inefficiency and other deficiencies of the State Transport Department service has been pointed out by the Calcutta correspondent of the weekly *Vigil*. He notes the irregularities in service and the heavy number of accidents in which State buses are directly or indirectly involved. About the question of fare the correspondent points out that while Calcutta fares may be considered low in comparison with those obtaining in other big cities of India, the service here also is far inferior.

But how far is fare cheaper in the State buses of Calcutta? The correspondent of the *Vigil* writes:

"The bus fares of Calcutta buses were determined at a time when the vehicles used petrol. Now, almost all the buses use diesel oil whose price per gallon is below fifteen annas. That reduces the running cost to a level lower than the cost of petrol at any time during the last 20 years. There is some defect in the calculation of costing of fares for the State buses of West Bengal. West Bengal Transport charges for reservation for any tour—education or otherwise—are the highest amongst the big transport systems in India. Per hour, West Bengal charges are Rs. 18—whether the buses are on the run or remain stationary. The charges for U.P. buses are Re. 1-8 per mile and Rs. 3 per hour of detention excluding the running time and the first hour. Bombay State Transport charges Re. 1-12 per mile and Rs. 3 for detention per hour excluding the first hour and the running time. The detention charges are waived by the Bombay State if the tour is recognised as an educational tour. Mysore charges only Re. 1 per mile and no detention charges for educational tours. Now, take a party round Calcutta in a State bus and let us see the charges. If the party takes this route:

Howrah-Botanical Gardens-Belur Math-Dakshineswar-Indian Museum-Zoological Gardens-Howrah: the total mileage will nearly be 40. Reasonable detention will be $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 hours to visit all these places, and total running time $2\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. By West Bengal standard the charges would be Rs. 123 and by the Bombay standard it would be Rs. 70 only."

Transmission of News in Hindi

The Official Language Commission in one of its recommendations has called for the introduction of Hindi as the medium for transmission of news by the news agencies. The objective is the reduction of the inequality between the Indian language dailies and the English language dailies. The latter have so long been enjoying an advantageous position through the fact that they have not to arrange for translation of the reports which they receive in English, while the Indian language dailies cannot publish the news without first getting that translated into the respective languages. This has tended to subject even the leading Indian language newspapers under some restraint. The introduction of Hindi, it is suggested, by obviating the need of the Indian language dailies of translation and simultaneously imposing that used upon the English dailies, would provide the non-English dailies with a much-needed fillip. However, how far that is going to be realised in actuality? While the Hindi language dailies may derive partial benefit the greater majority of Indian newspapers, both English and non-English, would be put under additional strain. The implementation of the recommendation would mean that Press Trust of India would be supplying news through the medium of Hindi, but the bulk of international news would still be coming through English. The proposed arrangement, if put into practice would therefore mean an additional burden upon the non-Hindi, non-English papers of finding still another translator for Hindi in addition to the present staff required for English. Even the Hindi newspapers would not be relieved of the necessity of maintaining the staff for English translation. It is not therefore clear how the change-over from English to Hindi in the field of news distribution is going to help Indian journalism and, through that, Indian public education.

Save Hindi in Punjab

Enthusiasts for the Hindi language will read the following communique with mixed feelings. It shows what fanaticism leads to:

Chandigarh, August 11.—Congress legislators from the Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab, after a five-hour closed-door meeting here, passed a resolution asking the people of the areas not to associate with the "so-called Save Hindi agitation, which has passed into the hands of irresponsible, communal-minded and frustrated persons."

The meeting was convened at the initiative of Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister. Beside Giani Gurmukh Singh Musaffair, the Punjab P.C.C. President, the meeting was attended by 47 of the 65 legislators from the region.

The resolution said there was a deliberate move behind the screen of the "Save Hindi" agitation to sabotage the regional formula on the eve of its implementation. The formula was conceived for the benefit of the long-neglected Hindi-speaking areas.

The meeting endorsed the resolution passed by the joint meeting of the Punjab Congress Legislature Party and the Punjab P.C.C. executives on August 1 calling on the people not to allow themselves to be exploited by communal forces.

A Decade of Independence

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is an elder statesman of India, of great experience and considerable political acumen. The following abstract of his talk before the Rotary Club, taken from the *Statesman*, is of great interest, as it expresses the cautious and considered opinion of a proved politician:

"The inauguration of linguistic States had helped strengthen extreme provincialism in India, said Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar while giving a talk on "A Decade of Independence" at the weekly luncheon meeting of Calcutta Rotary Club at Prince's, Grand Hotel.

"Every State, he said, was now a competitor for any industrial project that the Government undertook. If India was really one, he asked, why this bitter controversy about location of

industry. It was true that every State should have a minimum of industrialization to ensure a better standard of living. But controversy regarding special industries like a steel plant was certainly engineered by gross parochialism.

"Discussing the problems the country faced after the first decade of independence, Sir Ramaswami said he was much perturbed by the way the judiciary was referred to by Ministers. The judiciary was the strongest force to safeguard the Constitution and the rights of the individual. But there was a tendency to do away with the judiciary in certain circles.

"Hurried legislation, not properly drafted, called for interference from the courts which were not to blame for the delay they caused. Everybody should see that in the hurry for progress and for the implementation of the Second Plan, 'the essence of democracy' was not missed.

"Sir Ramaswami felt that the problem of law and order was the most important problem. In Calcutta, for instance, both rich and poor, the motorist and the pedestrian held law in contempt. Mounted policemen had to be stationed on football grounds. These were symptoms of general indiscipline among the people, which had to be checked.

"India, he said, had made great progress during the past 10 years. Whatever might be said of the inflationary trend and the rise in prices, the common man, particularly the factory worker, enjoying amenities which they could not expect before. The confidence that came among Indian businessmen through independence was now reflected in the country's industrial development. The production of industrial and consumer goods had gone up and the standard of living was higher.

"From his experience abroad he felt that India was now in a unique position among other nations. Much of this achievement was due to the Prime Minister who, by his dignified way of entering into any controversy, had earned a reputation all over the world. This, he regretted, could not be said of many others who represented India in delegations abroad."

Parochialism in Planning

One of the major evils that the Five-Year Plans have engendered is the extremely insidious

moves of highly placed persons at the Centre on parochial motives. The report below, taken from the *Statesman*, is an example :

"All the West Bengal Government's schemes for subsidiary industries at the site of the Durgapur Coke Oven plant have been held up till the third Five-Year Plan. The foreign exchange difficulty is only one, and by no means the most important, of the several factors standing in the way of implementation of the schemes.

"So far only private party has finalized arrangements with the Durgapur Coke Oven plant for the establishment of a fire brick and silica brick factory at Durgapur.

"While there is no doubt that Union Government has been forced to give priority to basic industries because of the foreign exchange difficulty, it is widely felt that provincial rivalry at Ministerial level at the Centre and among the planners is responsible for shelving West Bengal's schemes for the development of chemical industries, particularly at Durgapur. The State, in its original attempt to get the Coke Oven plant scheme approved by the Union Government, experienced not a little opposition from influential people interested in the industrial development of Madras. Those who resisted the scheme feared that the new lignite enterprise in South India would suffer from competition with chemical industries that might flourish at Durgapur.

"West Bengal's financial resources have also definitely weakened the State's bargaining power with other States at the Centre in respect of approval for the various development schemes. It is also stated that British and other foreign investors fear that West Bengal might be another Kerala after the next general elections and, therefore, prefer to locate their plants outside the State.

"Meanwhile, the erection of the Coke Oven plant is going according to schedule. It is expected to be completed by the middle of next year, but the supply of thermal power from the 6,000 k.w. power-house at Durgapur will not be available until 1959. In the intervening period, power for the Coke Oven will be available from other sources."

Famine Threat in West Bengal

West Bengal is said to be on the verge of a famine equal in magnitude to the one that visited the unfortunate State about a decade and a half ago in 1943. All the elements of a disaster are there, real shortage aggravated by hoarding, official bungling and central apathy. During almost the whole of the past year rice prices have remained unusually high. While any sensible government would have taken the warning at the beginning of the harvest year the State Government remained complacent. At some time when the Centre was inclined to believe in the truth of food shortage in West Bengal, the State Government strongly denied the existence of the same so that the supply of Central rice which might have gone to ameliorate the distress of the people here was diverted elsewhere.

The shortage is not of rice only but of all foodstuffs generally. The prices of some articles of food again are so high that these are well beyond the reach of the middle classes. Rice, wheat, sugar, milk, fish, vegetables and the greater majority of the items of daily use have all become very dear, in some places very difficult to procure even. There are still three months before the grains can be harvested. Broadly speaking the markets would not be impressed by the new harvests before December. The coming months then are going to be crucial for the people of the State. Unless quick and effective measures are taken the already aggravated suffering of the people would defy description.

The Naga Problem

A new hope of a solution of the protracted and costly Naga problem arose with the recent decision of the Naga convention to give up the "Independence from India" demand. The convention attended by responsible Naga leaders instead suggested the creation of a separate autonomous territory (separate from Assam) within the Indian Union.

This is obviously a very reasonable stand to take. We have all along been of the opinion that the real solution of the problem of the Nagas can hardly be achieved by inspired slogans of "independence". On the other hand, it was not proper for the Government of India

to tag the Nagas with Assam with which they did not want to be integrated, rightly or wrongly. Sometime ago Pandit Nehru in a speech before Lok Sabha made a possible new approach by the Government toward the problem of our North-east Frontier. The new decision of the Naga convention has opened out further prospects of an agreed political solution. Indian statesmanship would certainly be able to rise up to the occasion, it should not be far wrong to hope.

Congress and the Freedom of the Press

One of the Ministers of State in the Ministry of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy in West Bengal is Shri Tarunkanti Ghosh, who has substantial proprietary interests in two of Calcutta's leading dailies—the *Jugantar* in Bengali and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published in English. *Jugantar* published a report, with photographs, depicting the miseries of the Bengali middle class, in the Independence Day issue of the paper. This, however, was not to the taste of the Pradesh Congress Chief, Shri Atulya Ghosh, who immediately fired a broadside against the newspaper. Speaking at a public meeting at the Calcutta maidan on Independence Day he referred to the report published in the newspaper and said, in effect, that if the management of the newspaper belonged to the Congress and if anybody in the management held that the miseries of the Bengali middle class had been due to the rule of the Congress he (Atulya Babu) would ask him to resign from the party. "The order, of course," as the *Vigil* remarks in a well-considered leader in its issue of the 24th August, "was meant for Shri Tarunkanti Ghosh and it meant that he should resign his ministership."

Shri Tarunkanti Ghosh followed up Shri Atulya Ghosh's speech with a letter of resignation of his ministership to the Chief Minister, who wisely enough, asked Tarun Babu to withdraw it and make it up with Atulya Babu. A Communist daily, the *Swadhinata*, carried the news. Eventually, however, accord was reached between Atulya Babu and Tarun Babu and the latter withdrew his resignation.

The *Vigil* has asked some pertinent questions in this connection:

"The first question is," the *Vigil* writes, "why the *Jugantar* and for that matter the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* have so far kept silent

over what the president of the W.B.P.C.C. said at the maidan meeting? Do they accept the position that they cannot criticise Congress rule because a member of the proprietors' family is a Minister or that the latter cannot remain a Minister if the newspapers in which he may have a proprietary interest make any independent criticism of the Government's policies or actions? Was there really an understanding between the parties concerned that Tarun Babu's inclusion in the Ministry meant that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* group of papers would support the Government in every matter and would not publish any criticism of the Government or that Tarunkanti Babu, remaining a Minister, would so exercise his influence as to make those newspapers toe the Government line?

"What is Tarun Babu's offer of resignation intended to prove? Is it to show that he has felt hurt or offended by Atulya Babu's statement? Or is he anxious to remove the suspicion from the public mind that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* group of papers was in fact bound to the Congress Government by some strings of which his Ministership was one? In that case why are the papers themselves silent?"

The weekly refers to the strange behaviour of the Calcutta newspapers in maintaining a studied silence over the whole episode, and writes that presumably they had been obedient to hints from the Writers' Buildings disregarding the public interest. "It seems," the editorial goes on to say, "the independence not only of the *Patrika* group of papers but of a much larger circle that is in question or open to suspicion."

The withdrawal of Shri Tarunkanti Ghosh's resignation was preceded by an exchange of letters between a member of the management of the *Patrika* group and Shri Atulya Ghosh. The correspondence dated the 16th August was not published before the 21st August. These letters, the *Vigil* maintains, were designed to provide a cover for Shri Tarunkanti's ignominious withdrawal of resignation.

Pakistani Intrangisence

The following report taken from the *Statesman* speaks for itself:

"New Delhi, August 23.—Pakistan's inability hitherto to express a clear acceptance of the World Bank's latest proposals on the canal water dispute is believed to be holding up further talks

between Indian and Pakistani representatives in Washington.

"This is also said to be the basis for the report from Washington that the World Bank may decide to withdraw its good offices in the dispute, which has continued for the last five years.

"According to authoritative information here Pakistan's reply to the World Bank's proposals, which were delivered late in July, conveyed that country's acceptance in terms which the World Bank regarded as somewhat conditional.

"For instance, it is understood that in commenting on some of the proposed heads of agreement tabulated by the World Bank the Pakistan Government used expressions to suggest that its acceptance was subject to interpretations made by Pakistan.

"Not fully satisfied with the reply the World Bank is reported to have sought clarification, which the Pakistan Government has been considering before sending another formal reply to the Bank.

"On the other hand, India has not been asked for any clarification with regard to her own reply, which is taken to mean that the Indian attitude to the Bank's proposals has been found to be satisfactory.

"Until the required clarification has been received from Pakistan and only if it is regarded by the World Bank as suitable for further negotiations will the next series of talks between India and Pakistan begin in Washington.

"Meanwhile the extended period of the Bank's good offices, from March 31 to September 30, will shortly come to an end. It will be up to the Bank itself to decide whether a further extension be desirable. •

"While it is still hoped here that the Bank will continue to lend its good offices beyond September 30 it is possible that the Bank may well decide to stand aside if the required clarification from Pakistan does not give promise of fruitful discussion."

The Ballistic Missile

The *New York Times* has published the following report about the antecedents of the Russian Ballistic Missile:

"Bonn, Germany, Sept. 4.—The long-range ballistic missile said to have been tested in the Soviet Union recently was blue-printed in Germany fifteen years ago, according to a pioneer

German rocket physicist.

"The assertion is made in a book entitled *Physics of Jet Motors and Jet Weapons*, to be published this month in Munich. Its author is Dr. Eugene Saenger, director of the Stuttgart Institute for Jet Propulsion Physics.

"The 52-year-old Austrian-born scientist is understood to be directing research work for the United States Government and the West German Transport Ministry.

"In the manuscript, Dr. Saenger says, the Soviet missile reported tested with success was either the T-3 or the T-4A, also known as the M-104 and the M-102 respectively.

"He writes that both devices were described in detail in a paper prepared by himself and Dr. Irene Bredt in 1942. He was working at the time at a Nazi air research institute.

"An assistant of Dr. Saenger, who is ill at present, said the physicist, had reason to believe that the paper fell into Soviet hands when the Red Army overran East Prussia in 1945. The assistant said that Dr. Saenger's information on the current Soviet missile technique was based on technical publications available to him and a wide acquaintance with rocket scientists working east of the Iron Curtain.

"In his book Dr. Saenger states that the T-4A missile was designed as a two-stage, rocket bomber. It is launched from a sled or ramp and is powered in the second stage by the combustion of a kerosene-liquid oxygen fuel. It may possibly employ a ram-jet motor in the first stage.

"He estimates its range at 4,300 miles to 10,000 miles. The time of flight from the Soviet Union to the United States would be about one hour and a half, according to Dr. Saenger.

"The T-3, also a two-stage rocket with a similar second-stage motor, is designed to fly about 5,000 miles, the physicist writes. It would travel on an arc nearly 900 miles high at the maximum, he says.

"A members of the Stuttgart Institute staff said that Dr. Saenger was not certain which missile type was the subject of tests reported by the Soviet Government. On the basis of information available to him, the physicist had not expected the T-3 to be developed before 1960, the staff member said.

"Dr. Saenger's institute was host to a number of Soviet rocket scientists in February, 1956."

PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA

By PROF. G. D. BHARGAVA, M.A.

It is gradually coming to be recognised that the modern State has to deal with the problems of an infinite variety and enormous complexity. Many of them are so subtly and delicately interwoven that they escape formulation and as such a proper understanding of each one of them is essential. Since the issues before the modern State, which has adopted parliamentary democracy, are so complex and difficult of comprehension, the Government has to get a real grasp of the nature of public opinion to make it strong and stable. In all democratic States the masses no longer play the role of "dumb driven cattle" but they are sincere and active in thought and action to influence policies and decisions of the Government through the various media of expressing public opinion. Public opinion, thus, is of valuable service in clarifying the multifarious issues and policies in modern States.

The importance of public opinion has been well brought out by Prof. M. Ginsberg in his work, *The Psychology of Society*, when he remarks that

"Public opinion is of importance not so much *qua* opinion but *qua* public."

"Public approbation or disapprobation, though not always enlightened, indubitably works as restraint upon the policies of the ruling power and the value of public opinion therefore consists not so much in its power of initiation but of control."

Furthermore, just as it is the guest who is a better judge of the feast than the host, the master of a house a better judge than the builder and the connoisseur a better judge than the artist, likewise it would not be an unfair supposition that the people who are ruled will know better where the governmental shoe pinches. If parliamentary democracy in modern States has to succeed, effective, intelligent and critical public opinion in the country is imperative.

Having briefly pointed out the value of public opinion I have now to point out the meaning of the term public opinion. Lord Bryce has rightly remarked that public opinion is "an aggregate of the views men hold regarding matters that affect or interest the commu-

nity." It is, therefore, evident from this that public opinion embodies the mass of ideas and judgements operative in a community and these beliefs and decisions are more or less stable and emanate from a feeling of community of interests. G. Schomoller has very beautifully observed that

"Public opinion is like a harp of million strings upon which there play winds from all directions. The sounds that emerge are not always unitary or harmonious. The most varied streams of melody cut through each other."

Having succinctly brought out the import and meaning of public opinion, I would now proceed to a detailed discussion of the various media of expression and cultivation of public opinion in India.

I. NON-COMMUNAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

With growing responsibilities of the State in political and non-political fields a tendency of mixing up the governmental machinery with the cultural and non-communal agencies is also developing. This, in a way, exerts a hampering effect on the expression of the public opinion and propagates simply the ideologies of the ruling people extending them to the intellectuals of the country. The activities of the various academies and institutions set up by the government and the way in which the services of the intellectuals, the economists, the educationists, the artists and the writers are being harnessed for the "cause of the nation" may well apply a spur to the course of regimentation. Utmost clarity on all issues and maximum freedom to all non-political and non-communal matters alone would help come into being sound public opinion under present conditions in India. For his self-expression, a radical reorientation of the cultural views and enrichment of his personality an individual needs a plurality of vigilant and efficient organisations—social, intellectual and cultural. In order that a sound public opinion grow and take root in the soils of this country greater liberty and co-operation are to be granted by the Government to the various cultural and non-communal institutions. It will

be more than ever necessary to encourage the autonomous cultural and social movements along with the political movements for securing free and fearless criticism and ascertaining sound public opinion of the masses. There is a greater justification in realising that for public opinion to be a really helpful force, there is need of much decentralisation and division of power. The cultural activities of the State should run on autonomous lines to perfect the means of inter-communication between the various groups. It is not necessary, for instance, to have the Prime Minister as the President of Sahitya Academy, and steps could be taken to have a non-official sufficiently qualified to be the head of that literary organisation and of the other cultural activities of the Government. Likewise, it should not be necessary to have inaugural functions of the various cultural and literary organisations by the Government leaders and thus providing them with an opportunity to propagate their view-points. Some opposition leaders, eminent educationists, economists or prominent social workers could also be invited to present their view-points and valued opinion before the various social and cultural forums of the country. Sardar K. M. Panikkar has rightly asserted that

"The development of independent thinking related to our own institutional character is the basic need of India today."

In modern times, democracy stands on the individuals, irrespective of caste, creed or colour and the creation of such institutions, where the individuals are permitted to express their independent views, is the urgent need of the day. We have reached a stage of political evolution which makes it essential for us to get rid of the institution of communalism. We have to create an atmosphere wherein the cultural and non-communal institutions grow with more vigour and strength. It is only within these institutions that there would be an overflow of ideas from one group to another and this would make possible the development of an enlightened public opinion.

II. RADIO AND PRESS

The significance of the radio and the press as representatives of public opinion cannot be ignored in a democratic Government. The radio

can best serve as a forum for the free expression of public opinion by providing equal and ample opportunities of broadcasting to the predominant trends of public thinking. A review of the various items of programme in the radio would enable one to gather public opinion as it is being expressed in them. The programme may range from children's world to National Programme including items meant for rural population, military people, women and talks meant for intellectuals and University people. In its function of spreading information and bringing facts to light the radio puts before the masses nothing but public opinion as it is reflected in those facts or events in general. The radio news-editing tries to give a final shape to the news items interpreting them as the reflectors of public opinion.

An unbiased assessment of the radio broadcasting in India would reveal a very dismal state of affairs. A dispassionate probe into the working of the radio in India and its efficacy as a true spokesman of public opinion would bring to light the inadequacies of the radio to fulfill its role as a champion of public opinion. Distortion of facts and presenting tainted version of events before the public are indubitably not the desirable objectives of broadcasting. Uncritical commendation for the party in power seems to be the sole function of the A.I.R. today. As it is, a critical evaluation of public events is conspicuous by its absence in the A.I.R. news programme. The public is presented with only such a view of facts as is in keeping with the policy of the Government. Talented people subscribing to a mode of thought not in conformity with official philosophy are denied even the opportunity of expression. What one notices is that only such people have an access to radio broadcasting as are related to some radio official or are patronised by some Minister of the Central or State Government. Perhaps, there seems to be no sound criterion to judge the ability of a man to get a chance of broadcasting. Even in the sphere of music it is not an uncommon phenomenon that some of the rarely gifted artists die unknown whereas those pushed and backed by the authorities dominate the picture. Furthermore, the radio could have been a very suitable medium for the discussion of matters pertaining

to public sector. For example, the views of various leading economists of the country about the plan of Indian economy could be presented before the public through the A.I.R. Thus it could have been possible to ascertain sound public opinion about the plan, as expressed in the main trends of present-day Indian thinking in respect of economic planning. But we find that the A.I.R. instead of engaging itself to more constructive work and taking a practical attitude is busy with the idle praise of the so-called achievements of the plan. The rural programme includes features depicting the so-called progress of the plan in the rural area notwithstanding the appallingly low standard of living that is reflected in the life of the Indian villager. It is, therefore, with great concern and sorrow that I have to impress upon you with all the emphasis I can lay, the failure of the A.I.R. to do justice to public opinion. The radio in India, if at all, thus mouths the opinion of a very limited section, rather the view of certain self-appointed leaders of Indian society. The domination over the radio by the Government may mean a prelude to a more ominous trend, which, if left unhampered, may lead to a total extinction and complete annihilation of public opinion.

The foregoing analysis, if stretched far, would point to the cultural backwardness of present-day India. This cultural crisis has unfortunately percolated into every sphere and stratum of Indian life. The press, as it exists in India today, has not been able to do away with the limitations of a backward culture. Before I critically appreciate the role of the Indian press as an advocate of public opinion it would not be a digression on my part to make an appraisal of the significance of the press in a democratic society. The press is the most vigilant guardian of democratic freedom and rights of the individual, the champion of public opinion and the vanguard of the people. This truth has been aptly pointed out by Sardar Gurmukhnihal Singh, Governor of Rajasthan, when he stated that

"It is the daily papers that reflect the public opinion."

Though a free press may not necessarily express sound public opinion, it is through the instrumentality of the press that people get an

opportunity to put (across) before the masses their different view-points relating to public issues of all shades.

The Indian press, on a closer examination, will be found to be neither critical nor constructive. The leading papers of India are the monopolies of some capitalists, who utilise the press so as to subserve their vested interests including self-commendation and filthy political bickerings. The papers unable to support themselves financially, seek the patronage of some rich capitalists. Constructive in character the paper consequently fails to advocate anything that is disapproved by the financier. This dependence of the press upon a handful of self-conceited financiers has more than hampered the development of the press as an organ for the expression of public opinion. Moreover, the reading population in India, because of its low cultural status, poor economic condition and mental apathy, has failed to realise the significant role that can be played by the press in a democratic set-up. Looking to the financial status of the average Indian, it would be preposterous to expect him to subscribe to the papers. That being the case the possibility of a paper freeing itself from the clutches of the capitalists and making itself financially self-sufficient is to be at once ruled out. The paper in India cannot thrive on the subscribers both for economic and other deeper reasons, *viz.*, intellectual anaemia. The dependence of the press upon the advertisers entails an obligation upon it not to publish anything that clashes with interests of the advertisers. The Indian press does not undertake a critical appraisal of the events that affect public life. Reporting without critical comments over the events fails to reflect public reaction to the events. Another serious defect of the Indian press is its absurd and peculiar infatuation with the "sensational" events. Headlines are made out of thefts, rapes, dacoities, which instead of putting on guard the people terrify their minds. The Indian press has yet to make many an experience to attain that maturity of judgement, where it will unfailingly and unmistakably discern the news value of events. Columns purporting at public education would also be a missing phenomenon in the Indian papers. The Indian papers barring some solitary exceptions have failed to achieve any-

thing worthwhile in this direction. Serious and sincere endeavour on the part of the Indian papers to educate the people is an imperative necessity of modern India. I am constrained to remark that in their hunt for achieving financial stability, the Indian papers are out for a race with one another to gain the sympathy and favour of the party in power by singing the songs of its glory. In this scramble for money it seems that the persons responsible for the Indian press have lost sight of the real objectives of the press. They have reduced it to the undignified status of a tool meant to yield to the wishes of an individual or a party.

Thus I am forced to conclude that the Indian press has certain inherent maladies because of which it cannot be considered to be a true mirror of public opinion. The freedom of the press itself being imperilled and endangered externally as well as internally, the failure of the Indian press to express public opinion is only a natural following. This trend of development of the Indian press must be a caution to all those who want the concretisation of freedom to all those who want to live in freedom rather than conceptualise it. The Indian press will do justice to Indian public opinion only when it succeeds in achieving the status of a free press. And it will become a free press only when it triumphs over the forces that are making for a corrosive influence upon its independence and autonomy. That is a very arduous, nonetheless, an all-important task of radical re-thinking on the fundamental values of human existence.

III. EDUCATION

India is making a bold experiment in democracy among a people marked by great divergences in race, language, religion, social customs and artistic traditions. It is, therefore, imperative that the democratic rulers should learn to understand political democracy as "government by discussion" and to make allowance for the other man's point of view. Great significance is to be attached to the fact that the majority of people are endowed with universal minds which would enable them to take an enlightened interest in difficult problems. This can be met by providing better education for the masses of the country. In the task of creating the conditions congenial to the expression of public

opinion a new system of universal education has to be created and cultivated, a system which would develop the habit of taking an intelligent interest in public affairs, of being critical of Government and independent thought. The Government has to provide such conditions and facilities as to rouse the sense of freedom and responsibility integral to the expression of sound public opinion. We must utilise the machinery of education to drill the new belief of common civic rights and obligations in the minds of everyone of the rising generations, whereby a high ideal of critical faculty, intellectual honesty and fairness is evoked in the individuals. To eradicate the colossal ignorance of the 90 per cent of our people and to enable them to discharge the obligations imposed on them, India needs a system of universal basic education. The universal and coherent system of education will not only serve as a panacea for the mentally torpid and intellectually anaemic people of India but will prove more effective in the expression of sound public opinion.

IV. POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

In the modern State, the electorate is so large, the number of interests so varied that it is necessary to organise them for the purpose of arriving at decisions. This is the function which the political parties perform in the State; they act as the brokers of ideas, bring order out of chaos, mould and educate public opinion. Broadly speaking, the existence of political parties is the necessary basis of the responsible government. Without it we could not secure either a coherent programme of measures or the necessary volume of organised support for the expression of sound public opinion. Lord Bryce has aptly stated that

"Parties keep a nation's mind alive, as the rise and fall of the sweeping tide freshens the water of long ocean inlets."

In India, political parties in the sense of groups of citizens united together in their political plans of action are a thing of recent growth. Without discussing the organisational set-up of the various political parties in India, I would like to concentrate myself in pointing out the part played by the political parties in awakening the political consciousness of the masses so as to enable them to express sound

public opinion. On a closer examination of this issue we find that the political parties in India are not organised on a country-wide basis; they do not represent different classes or even the interests. Though a purely political role has been pleaded for political parties in India, yet when returned to power, they try to run a State which has to undertake all social and cultural tasks. The political parties insist on working for an all-round development of the society on the plea that social, economic and political problems are not separable and the progress and development in these fields is possible through the sole instrumentality of a political party. However, in practice, the all-round interference of a political party lowers the moral tone and intellectual standard of society, obstructs the free course of opinion and becomes an impediment in making the people conversant with political issues, in organising and educating the electorate and in keeping the nation politically alive.

As the situation now stands, the structural set-up of the political parties in India, based on multiple-party system, has an evil effect on the working of the legislature and the expression of the active public opinion. The legislatures in India are no longer a forum of criticism and focus of public opinion, but have become a place of leg-pulling for the members to gain power, "an arena of politics where there is everything except deliberation." Facts as they are, great significance is to be attached to the fact that instead of poisoning the minds of the people and indulging in disruptions, the political parties should enlighten the masses to create a mobile body of public opinion. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the call for providing national character to the political parties has assumed a primary importance and various leaders of our country are taking effective steps in this direction by declaring some of the organisations, *viz.*, Panchayats, Universities, Colleges and Municipalities, absolutely free from the clutches of the political parties to enable the masses to express their independent viewpoints.

The masses of the country are to be awakened and great significance is to be attached to put an end to the disorderly organisation of the political parties and the unhealthy system of election in India, wherein the voters have no

hold over their representatives. The representatives point out and promise many things to their voters; but for the five years to come, they have to abide not by their promises or wishes of their electors, but by their party whip. This system is nothing but playing "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark, for the voters will be called on the scene only once in five years for putting a piece of paper into a wooden box and then be again forgotten.

The proper and effective expression of public opinion through these institutions requires constant vigilance from the citizens. The laziness, indifference and apathy of the masses as it exists in India today, is due to the lack of leadership. In complex societies where the members vary greatly in education and intellectual equipment, the leader cannot be a mere exponent but must be a moulder of public opinion. Genuine and co-operative leaders alone can rouse the citizen to a sense of their common interest and their public duty, can present them in a simple, intelligible and interesting form to the common men and reshape these in the light of altered circumstances. Legislators and ministers are the most prominent leaders who can secure a far-reaching influence thereby shaping public opinion.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion it is quite evident that anti-social and anti-political activities and practices can be curbed most effectively through the active public opinion cultivated in the country. To ensure and safeguard an alert, alive and effective public opinion, it is imperative to tackle the problem of ignorance, mental laziness and lack of self-confidence by spreading knowledge and enlightenment among the people of this great country of Asia, nay, of the world through the various media as indicated above. If the principles of national unity, national will and similar other collectivist ideas are to be firmly established in a vast country like India, great importance is to be attached to the concrete set-up and organisation of the truly democratic, social, political, cultural and non-communal institutions.*

* Paper read by the author as a delegate of the University of Rajputana at the Indian Political Science Conference held at Waltair (Andhra) on 30th and 31st December, 1956, and 1st January, 1957.

FOOD FACTS IN INDIA

BY DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

'Food' has been in the headlines for many a year in India. The question came in for much criticism when the late Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the then Union Food Minister, launched his decontrol experiment in June, 1952. The success of decontrol and the food situation in the country in 1954 and 1955 when the talk of the day was the disposal of food surpluses and price support policies, seemed to have closed this chapter for some time to come. The Census Report of Mr. Gopalaswami wherein he traces India's food shortage from 1921—the Great Divide¹—as he calls it and the findings of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao² and W. Arthur Lewis³ depict a very gloomy picture of the future, thus reviving the controversy.

The common man who has lost all faith in the Government statistics feels all the more bewildered to find that a problem as that of food should be there in India—the granary of the East—where agriculture has been more than a major industry; in fact a pivot round which the whole economy revolves.

The main plank of the Census Chief's thesis is based on the net food imports which in the case of India (excluding Burma) went on piling up since 1920.

In order to support his theory he studies the South Indian paddy prices for the last 150 years. While concluding that rise has been due to the increasing pressure of demand over the potential supply, he remarks⁴:

"The tap-root of this continued pressure still remains, the fundamental disparity between the demand for and supply of foodgrains, and the fact that the consumer cannot stand out against a rise in grain prices in the same way in which he stands out against a rise in prices of almost any other commodity or service. History provides no more vivid demonstration of the crucial role of grain prices in the life of the people."

II

SOME EARLIER VIEWS

Mr. Gopalaswami, it may be added, has not made any new discovery. There have, in fact, been a large number of enthusiasts before him who came to a similar conclusion. Dadabhai Naoroji proved as early as 1870, from a review of figures he had collated, that the masses of Indian population were existing in a condition verging on starvation.⁵ Sir William Crooks, during the course of his presidential address to the British Association at Bristol in 1891, while speaking on the Wheat Problem, quoted one leading Indian Economist writing in the daily *Englishman* of Calcutta⁶ as saying:

"People do not realise the fact that all the wheat India produces is required for home consumption, and that this fact is not likely to be realised until a serious disaster occurs."

No proof would, perhaps, be necessary to disprove the fallacious readings of these early writers of the 19th century, when it is realised that even in the early 20th century the problem before India was to find export markets and not to find food from outside. Even Mr. Gopalaswami himself after a thorough examination of the whole problem concludes:⁷

"Thus we start with the firm knowledge that in about 1880, India was normally surplus in foodgrains, including both rice and wheat, and the surplus was of the order of 12 lakhs of tons per annum."

Coming to the twentieth century, Mr. P. K. Wattal,⁸ made us tremble at the staggering prospect of the twenty-first century opening with a population of 700 million. It would be seen that the bias was more on the basis of a long-standing prejudice than real facts or his own findings. He simply quotes Rao Bahadur B. Vishwanath, Government Agricultural Chemist, averring that due to a shortage of roughly

1. *Census of India 1915*, Volume I, India, Part I-A, Report, pp. 165-66.

2. "The Population Problem," *Illustrated Weekly of India*, August 15, 1954.

3. Article in the Annual Number of *Capital*, 1954.

4. *Report, Ibid.*, p. 169.

5. *Poverty of India and Un-British Rule*, p. 31.

6. April 16, 1891, quoted in *Wheat Problem* by William Crooks, pp. 30-31.

7. *Census Report, Ibid.*, p. 164.

8. *The Population Problem in India*, P. K. Wattal, 1934, p. 142.

five lakh tons of nitrogen in the country, India was then producing food supply for only two-thirds of her population.

The approach of Rao Bahadur Vishwanath to the problem was as follows:

"One person of the population would require 9.66 lbs. of nitrogen as food and so a ton of nitrogen would feed 230 persons. That is, one cultivated acre of India would give enough food for one person. On this basis there must be for British India alone 272 million acres under cultivation, whereas we have actually only 222 million acres or there is a shortage of 50 million acres."⁹

He further substantiated his conclusions by quoting Sir Thomas Holderness who thought that according to Indian ideas and a traditional standard of very thrifty and frugal living, five acres of good irrigated land supported a family of two adults and three children comfortably, but when such a family held less than 5 acres of land, and that too of poor quality and un-irrigated, then there was want and hard struggle for existence.¹⁰

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, a few years later,¹¹ shifted the emphasis from acres per head to caloric requirements. During the course of his address before the first Indian Population Conference, 1936, he stated that India's food supply then yielded 280.4 billion calories and the food shortage was of the order of 41.1 billion calories. He dealt with the subject at a greater length in 1938 in his *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* and concluded¹² that 48 million or over 10 per cent people of India in 1935 were practically without food. The picture would appear to be more sordid than the one painted two years later by Sir John Megaw whose findings were that "only 39 per cent people were adequately nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished and 20 per cent very badly nourished."¹³

Similar remarks in terms of caloric shortage had, in fact, already been made by Dr. R. K.

Das in 1932.¹⁴ According to him per capita food supply in India amounted to only 0.75 million calories against the required quantity of one million. The standard adopted by him was the one laid down by the Food (War) Committee of the Royal Society which was 2,618 calories a day per unit of population.

At about the same time, Dr. Gyan Chand discussed the problem more exhaustively.¹⁵ Although he went the way of his predecessors and stated that¹⁶

"There is reason to believe that the increase of cultivated areas has fallen short of the increase of population by nearly 11 per cent, if the area under food crops is taken into account, and if allowance is made for the increase in area under non-food crops, by 8 per cent,"

yet he did more justice to the problem by pointing¹⁷ out that

"In India, it is not possible to estimate the total food supply of the country or the rate at which it has been growing. It is more difficult to state at what rate the food supply will grow in the future."

This second statement which is actually preceded in the text nullifies the first to a great extent. A further study of the observations made by him reveals that his readings were influenced more by the poverty and misery of the people than the actual food shortage. This is explicit when he said:¹⁸

"But the chronic semi-starvation of a vast majority of our people which no one does or can deny, means, if it means anything at all, that India has been and is suffering from shortage of food."

Dr. Gyan Chand himself disbelieved our agricultural statistics because of many more reasons and remarked that¹⁹

"Any attempt to demonstrate statistically whether agricultural production and—since agriculture dominates our economic life—production in general has or had not

9. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

10. P. K. Wattal, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

11. "Population—Capacity and Control in India," Convener's Address before the first Indian Population Conference, 1936.

12. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, 1938, p. 26.

13. Sir John Megaw *Enquiry Report*, 1940.

14. Paper on the "Problem of Over-Population in India" at the Session of the International Congress for Studies regarding "Population Problems" held in Rome in 1952.

15. Dr. Gyan Chand, *India's Teeming Millions*.

16 & 17. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

been keeping pace with the growth of population, has to be ruled out."

Similar were the findings of Messrs. Bowley and Robertson who pointed out that²⁰

"These figures of agricultural production at present are quite insufficient to determine whether or not food is increasing in proportion to population."

These readings in food statistics were certainly true. Although Sir C. D. Deshmukh could boast only a few years back that "in statistical sampling India can justifiably claim with the USA the foremost rank in the work,"²¹ yet they are far from satisfactory. The Prime Minister while speaking on the subject before the Conference of Food Ministers rightly scolded a note of warning when he said:²²

"I am sorry to confess it that we base it on nothing solid at all—on just guess-work, surmises. That is not good enough in a matter of vital importance."

Strange as it would appear, though Dr. Gyan Chand rejected the existing statistics with regard to agriculture, he also built up his thesis on the basis of the same. Taking the population of British India in 1934 as given by the Health Commissioner for India, he concluded²³ that while the average cultivated area increased by about 11 per cent the population increased by 21 per cent.

Then he studied the decennial average increase in the area under different food crops and concluded that exports decreased and imports increased during the period. This confirmed his original findings that the food deficit of the country was increasing year after year.

The important point to note is that Government had not up till then addressed itself or even concerned itself with the problem of feeding not only the ever-increasing population as well as foreign peoples but also a vulnerable population of the cities. The political conditions and transport paralysis throughout the country stood to

challenge the successful prosecution of the war. The result was the introduction of rationing and bringing to the forefront the question of food.²⁴ Various Committees which were set up from time to time to go into the problem, did not try to investigate the matter for themselves, but suffered from the prevalent prejudices particularly because of the difficult times through which they were passing. Their readings were, however, more sober. The Foodgrains Policy Committee, for example, which submitted its report in 1943, stated:²⁵

"Though it is true that taking India as a whole (and subject to the qualification that certain deficit areas constituted exception to this generalization) and taking an average of years, she may broadly be described as only slightly less than self-sufficient in foodgrains as a whole."

The observations made by the Famine Enquiry Commission two years later in 1945 were not very different. While dealing with the subject of 'Need for Imports' the Commission observed:²⁶

"Apart from their intrinsic value imports have a great psychological effect. In 1943, public confidence was greatly shaken by the events in Bengal and the difficulties experienced in other areas in maintaining supplies. It is essential that public confidence should be maintained. In this matter imports play a most important part."

This implies that imports were required more as a safeguard against psychological fears than to meet any real shortage.

One of the members of the Commission, Mr. Afzal Hussain, who submitted his note of dissent, did not agree with the majority report with regard to the position of cereals. He said:²⁷

"The point which I wish to make is that over-emphasis on cereals is misplaced, it gives an exaggerated and unnecessary importance to this source of food, and such a

20. *A Scheme for an Economic Census of India*, 1934, p. 35.

21. Speech before the International Statistical Conference at New Delhi, *The Hindustan Times*, December 6, 1951.

22. Food Ministers Conference 1952, *The Hindustan Times*, February 20, 1952.

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

24. "The Yearly requirements of these services amount to approximately 800,000 tons of wheat, rice, barley, maize and millets." (*The Famine Enquiry Commission Final Report*, 1945, p. 53).

25. *Report*, p. 33.

26. *Report*, p. 55.

27. *Famine Inquiry Commission Final Report*, 1945, p. 342.

policy will be a serious obstacle in the path of a satisfactory solution of the food problem of India."

The Committees that followed²⁸ took it for granted that the country was suffering from a definite shortage and simply deliberated on the extent of imports required. None of them right up to the Planning Commission diagnosed the problem for themselves.

III

We have so far looked at only one side of the picture. The remarks of this shortage were not allowed to go unchallenged. From the available statistics (whatever their worth), Prof. Brij Narain²⁹ in 1923 showed that a talk of food production lagging behind the population increase was a false cry and that the alarm if any was uncalled for.

Dr. Thomas took up the issue in 1935.³⁰ He proved that during the period 1900-30 population increased by only 13 per cent while agricultural production increased by 29 per cent.

A year later Sir David Meak came to a similar conclusion during the course of a paper read by him³¹ before the Royal Society of Arts. Taking 1909-10 to 1913-14 as the base, he opined that production under food crops increased by 21 per cent during the period of 25 years, while the increase under all crops was 18 per cent. He also showed that while population increased by only 0.60 per cent per annum, agricultural production increased by 0.65 per cent per annum and mineral production by 2.7 per cent.

The thread was taken up by Prof. Karve,³² who also studied the problem on the basis of agricultural production. He prepared an index number and showed that agricultural production had increased by 44 per cent during the period 1901 to 1930.

28. The Food Grains Policy Committee, 1948; the Food Grains Procurement Committee, 1950; the Food Grains Investigation Committee, 1950 and the First Five-Year Plan, Draft as well as the Final.

29. *The Population of India*, p. 1. Sir Ganga Ram (Production vs. Reduction) also counted 5 million tons as necessary exports while calculating India's food requirements.

30. "Population and Production," *The Indian Journal of Economics*, Vol. XV, Part IV, April 1935.

31. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June 1936 (Vol. LXXXIV), p. 844.

32. D. G. Karve, *Population and Production in*

The problem having become so very controversial, Dr. Thomas again came to the charge and made a comprehensive study of the subject in 1939. He rejected the calculations made by his predecessors on the basis of percentage increase in the area under cultivation. According to him:³³

"This is a rather unsound method, because the bare acreage figures give no indication of the nature of tillage, the adequacy of water supply, the state of crop rotation and other material factors. It is well-known that certain improved crops give a far higher income from an acre of land than the old one."

A comparison based on area as criterion will not reflect the addition in production according to him because of the improved varieties of seed and irrigation provided. Rejecting the acreage criterion, he prepared comparative tables on the basis of production and stated that while during the period 1911-34, population increased only by 12 per cent, agricultural production increased by 20 per cent.³⁴

IV

Thus we see how the controversy over food has been raised and discussed for over half a century. Those who built up their thesis to prove that the country is short of her requirements, took the acreage under food crops or even cereals and the population increase. The strong force to their side is the increasing amount of imports each year ever since 1920. This confirmed their conviction and they felt that their study presented a coherent whole. Again, caloric requirements have been taken by others and it has been proved on the basis of the same that a huge percentage of the population is practically without food. Those who opposed them made their calculations on the basis of agricultural production and population increase. There is much that can be said on both sides. In order to form an independent opinion we have to re-examine the whole position *ab initio*.

V

CALORIC REQUIREMENT CRITERIA

One of the measures to assess our food shortage adopted by Dr. Das, Dr. Radhakamal

33. P. J. Thomas and N. Sundarama Sastry, *Indian Agricultural Statistics*, 1939, p. 87.

34. Thomas and Sastry, op. cit., p. 88.

Mukherjee and Sir John Megaw is on the basis of the availability and requirements of food in terms of calories. A detailed study on these lines has, however, been made only by Dr. Mukherjee. Even his approach to the problem from all angles seems to be rather faulty.

Assessment of Available Calories.—The aggregate food supply available for consumption for the whole of India for the year 1931 has been taken by Dr. Mukherjee as 60.1 million tons,³⁵ which according to him would yield 215.4 billion calories. To this are added 34 billion calories from 113,000 million pounds of milk and 0.7 million calories from 7 lakh tons of fish. The figure of 60.1 million tons—the aggregate food supply—has been reached after deducting 22.1 million tons which represents exports, wastage and seeds, from the gross production taken as 82.2 million tons.³⁶

Firstly, we may have serious objections to this figure of 82.3 million tons, which is obviously an underestimate. According to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao the production of cereals, pulses, groundnut and sugarcane for the year 1931-32 for India alone (excluding Burma) was 74.4 million tons.³⁷ As is well known, even this did not cover the whole of India. Vast territories known as non-reporting areas comprising more than one-third of the country were practically excluded. Adding some 5 million tons as the production of Burma only, the figure touches the 80 million mark. Does it mean that other innumerable foodstuffs grown and consumed in India totalled only 2 million tons at that time? The production of subsidiary foods alone for the present areas of the Indian Union is of the order of 9 million tons. Gross production of 82.2 million tons (including 0.8 million tons imports of sugar and cereals) would thus clearly be an underestimate.

Again, one fails to understand why exports of the order of 2.6 million tons should have been considered as a legitimate commitment on the part of India, when a picture of scarcity is depicted for her own inhabitants. Seed and

wastage—15.5 million tons—works out to something like 20 per cent of the gross production, while today it is taken as 12 per cent only. And even this by many is considered on the higher side. It would thus be seen that the production was grossly underestimated while deductions made from this gross production were highly overestimated.

That is not the whole story. Dr. Mukherjee feels that food value in India is derived only from foodgrains, milk and fish. But what about fruits, vegetables, eggs, meat and other vegetables as well as animal products grown and consumed throughout the length and breadth of the country? The present territory of India according to the estimates of the Government of India produces as much as 11.8 and 9.1 million metric tons of fruits and vegetables respectively. The estimate for eggs is 27,917 lakhs and for meat 77,958 thousand tons. The correctness of these figures is certainly of a dubious character, but to exclude them altogether would be rather unjust.

It would be thus seen that the assessment of the food resources of India made by Dr. Mukherjee in 1938 is quite wide of the mark.

Requirements.—A probe into the method of calculating requirements will depict a more sorry picture. The total population of India was converted into man-value on the basis of Lusk's co-efficients for comparison of the food requirements of children with those of an average man or a woman³⁸ and calculation was made on the basis of 2,800 calories per man per day.

Not to speak of the forties, Prof. Lydia J. Roberts of the Chicago University while talking about the validity of 'dietary allowances' recommended by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council in May 1941 recently pointed out after a thorough search that "they are what they were intended to be—recommended allowances. Take first the question of how valid the allowances are in the sense of representing actual requirements. Much more research must be done before the question can be answered."³⁹ Practically same is the

35. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

37. *The Food Statistics of India*, Department of Food, 1946, p. 29.

38. Dr. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

39. Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation Lectures, Chicago University. Edited by Theodore W. Schultz. *Food for the World*, p. 107.

view expressed by Dr. L. B. Pett⁴⁰ who concluded that

"Neither the most satisfactory level of intake nor the optimal retention of any nutrient at any age or stage of man's development is known with certainty. Much of the information available is not presented in a form which can be given a proper biological interpretation."

Two years earlier even Dr. Mukherjee during the course of Sir William Meyer Foundation Lectures quoted⁴¹ the researches done by Mr. Niant Dhan Banerjee in King George Medical Laboratory, Lucknow. According to him:

"The basal metabolism of a peasant of the United Provinces showed that the number of calories needed was 1200 as compared with the resting need of 1600-1800 calories in the USA. For a professional man doing sedentary work the requirement is 1,000 calories."

Taking into consideration all the factors needed for such a study, his own conclusion was that the following standards could be adopted for India:⁴²

| | Calories |
|------------------------------|----------|
| "Northern India | 2400 |
| Bengal and Southern India .. | 2000" |

Maurel, a French physician, also estimated that "the number of calories necessary for a male adult weighing 55 kilograms and performing light work varies theoretically from 1650 in hot seasons in hot climes to 2750 in cold seasons in cold climes."⁴³

40. Errors in Applying Nutrition Allowances to Dietary Surveys or Food Policies. An article by Dr. L. B. Pett, Director of Nutrition, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, Canada, *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, February 1945, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 73.

41. *The Regional Balance of Man—An Ecological Theory of Population*, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, p. 232.

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 233. The Report of the Technical Commission of the Health Organisation also considered 2,400 calories net per day as adequate to meet the needs of an adult in a temperate climate and living on ordinary everyday life (quoted by Dr. N. Gangulee: *Health and Nutrition in India*, 1939, p. 62).

43. Quoted in *Regional Balance of Man*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

As against this Dr. H. R. Tolley of FAO states that the minimum desirable caloric intake is between 2550 and 2650 a day.⁴⁴

With regard to the actual amount of caloric intake, nothing definite can be said. Nearly 15 years back, McCance and Widdowson investigated the food intake of 63 men and 63 women by the individual method in the United Kingdom. The people were of different ages and occupations, but all were practically of the same income groups. The average intake in the case of men worked out to 3,067 calories and 2,200 for women. But in the individual analysis it was found that the men's calories ran from as low as 1,772 to 4,955. The most striking point was that one who took 1,772 was slightly overweight for his age and height, while the other who took nearly 5,000 calories had a normal weight for his age and height. Commenting on this, Mottram says, "To vary from the mean is in the nature of man. Exactly the same is true of children's intakes."⁴⁵

Faced with all these facts, we have to agree with Callow who while talking about diets says:⁴⁶

"Unfortunately we are not in a position to set up final dietetic standards. It is not an easy matter to find out how much of each nutrient we need, and now-a-days, we modestly talk about 'recommended allowances' instead of bodily requirements. Even these suggested allowances are by no means final. Many of them have been altered already more than once, and probably further research will show that still more alterations are necessary."

Again, according to Bowen dogmatic statements as to how much an "average man" needs in the way of energy food daily, or of the forty nutritional elements at present, though necessary to maintain his organism "in balance," must be interpreted surely as relative rather than absolute in their application, however learned their source.⁴⁷

44. *Chronica Botanica*, XI (1948), p. 4, quoted by L. Dudley Stamp, *Our Underdeveloped World*, 1953, pp. 74-75.

45. V. H. Mottram, *Human Nutrition*, p. 41.

46. A. B. Callow, *Food and Health*, p. 67.

47. Ian Bowen, *Population*, Cambridge Economic Handbooks, p. 44.

All this and many more expert opinions would thus convince any student that even if it can be proved beyond any doubt that a particular group of people or the inhabitants of a country for the matter of that are not having 2,300 calories a day it cannot be a definite case of undernourishment. The matter at most needs further investigation.

QUALITATIVE OR QUANTITATIVE SHORTAGE

Caloric analysis, if complete and carried to its logical conclusion, can lead us to correct conclusions with regard to the qualitative or quantitative deficiencies. It is, however, a matter of great regret that no effort has so far been made in this direction. Maybe, such an analysis is fraught with dangers, because we have no such definite formula on the basis of which such a decision is possible.

The chief constituents of food or more correctly a balanced diet are considered to be proteins, carbohydrates and fats. Recent researches have also added minerals and vitamins. The necessary requirements of the body are thus required to be met from the varied diet. The fundamental point is the percentage of the various constituents which constitute a full diet. In the analysis made by Dr. Mukherjee, out of the total available calories of about 250 billions, nearly 215.4 billions or more than 90 per cent are supplied by the cereals or carbohydrates as we call them. In order to reach some definite conclusions we have to split the recommended number of calories (whatever their number) into calories from carbohydrates, fats, proteins, minerals and vitamins, etc., to form a balanced diet.

Protein.—Let us first see about our protein requirements. They have been described by A. Barbara Callow as "exceedingly complicated compounds, containing carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen and usually sulphur; phosphorus is also present in a few proteins, such as, casein, the chief protein of milk . . . Their most important function is body building."⁴⁹ These proteins in themselves are of infinite range and may be divided into plant proteins, animal proteins and human proteins. Some of the proteins have only three components, but most of them is that they are twenty or even more. The chief

point about them is that they are "long chains of chemically joined amino acids."⁵⁰ In building human proteins the body seizes the amino-acids it needs and puts them together again in the right proportions and order. It is thus not sufficient to have necessary quota of proteins from any source. The scientists have always preferred to have more of proteins of animal origin.

The problem, however, is about the actual amount of proteins that would be necessary for a balanced or even an optimal diet. The subject has been comprehensively studied by Callow:⁵⁰

"In 1881, Voit advocated a daily allowance of 118 grammes of protein for an average working man. Then in 1892, Atwater put the allowance up to 125 grammes, and this remained the classic standard for many years. But gradually the pendulum began to swing back the other way. In 1904, Chittenden of Yale showed that groups of soldiers, athletes, and professional men could maintain their efficiency for several months on diets containing less than 60 grammes of protein per day; and in 1906, Hindhede, a Danish physician, who lived mainly on potatoes, found that he could remain in good health for long periods when his protein intake was cut down to the astonishingly low figure of 32 grammes per day. Most physiologists, however, considered that it was unwise to fix the daily ration of protein at such a low level, and 125 grammes a day remained the accepted standard."

Again, there has been a downward shift in recent times. "During the War of 1914-18, it was shown that laboratory workers were carrying on perfectly well on under 100 grammes." The Ministry of Health in the United Kingdom also recommended 100 grammes for an average man in 1931. Three years later, it was reduced to 80-100 grammes. The Technical Commission of the League of Nations in 1935 put it at a still lower level—70 grammes for men and 57 for women. Even this is not accepted as a gos-

49. *Human Nutrition*, V. H. Mottram, 1948, p. 50.

50. *Food and Health—An Introduction to the Science of Nutrition*, A. Barbara Callow (third edition), 1946, p. 71.

pel truth. One of Canada's leading nutritionists, Dr. E. W. McHenry of the School of Hygiene, Toronto University, wrote in an article in the Canadian Public Health Journal that⁵¹

"The recommended amount of protein for a man is given as 70 grammes per day. This has been a widely accepted figure for some years. It is debatable whether a person who receives 45 grammes of protein per day should be considered as undernourished. There is evidence that people can remain healthy on as little as 30 grammes per day. It would be desirable, probably for a man to have 70 grammes of protein a day. It is doubtful if this amount is essential for health."

Dr. Gangulee says:⁵²

"As in the case of calories, so in that of proteins, the modern tendency is to a smaller rather than a greater consumption. Thus Rubner's standard of 127 grammes, Atwater's of 125, and Voit's of 118 have given place to the standard of 100 proposed by the Advisory Committee, the 80-100 of Tyszkas, and Burnet and Aykroyd's suggestion of 79-100. Finally, the Report of the Technical Commission says, 'In practice, the protein intake for all adults should not fall below one gramme of protein per kilogramme of body weight.' For a person weighing 150 pounds this works out at 69 grammes per day."

The description given above will prove that nothing definite can be said about the actual amount of protein necessary for the body. The Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council in the United States made the following statement in the matter:⁵³

"There are no sufficient data for stating categorically the minimum amount of protein per day which must come from biologically superior protein foods. The variety of protein consumed should be stressed, and sufficient 'animal protein' should be included to prevent monotony of the diet to the degree where it might decrease consumption and thus affect nutritional status."

The Board has raised the issue of animal and vegetable proteins. Even in this there are no scruples. L. A. Maynard, Director of US Nutrition Laboratory and Professor of Nutrition, Cornell University, while speaking on the subject says:⁵⁴

"Certainly, animal protein is the preferred source, particularly from the standpoint of consumer acceptance. . . . The vast number of Eastern people who have subsisted fairly well for centuries on diets containing less than 10 per cent of its protein from animal sources present a challenge to both the physiologist and the food economist."⁵⁵

Stare and Thorn also conducted very interesting experiments in this connection and their report is worth mentioning.⁵⁶ The experiment was carried on by them with workers in a civilian public service camp involving activity calling for calorie intakes of from 2,400 to 5,000 per day. Subject to the limitation of the short experimental period (8 weeks) their conclusion was that

". . . in the presence of sufficient calories from non-protein sources, the amount of protein in the ordinary diet of an active adult may be safely reduced to 50 grammes per day, of which as little as 5 grammes may be in the form of animal protein."

CARBOHYDRATES AND FATS

Whereas proteins supply material for the body to build and grow, carbohydrates and fats serve as fuel. The chief constituents of both of them are carbon, hydrogen and oxygen. The function of both being the same, the only difference between the two is that the number of calories provided by carbohydrates is less than that by fats. To explain the function of the two, it has been said that "fat burns in the fire of carbohydrate. If there is no fire, it smokes."⁵⁷

According to Callow,⁵⁸ "The proportion of one to the other in the diet is largely a matter

51. Quoted in *Inadequate Diets, Death and Diseases and A Food Plan for Madras*, K. G. Sivaswamy, Servants of India Society, May 1946, pp. 11-12.

52. Dr. N. Gangulee, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

53. Quoted in *Food for the World* *op. cit.* p. 86.

54. 'Knowns and Unknowns About What Constitutes an Adequate Diet,' Maynard, *Food for the World*, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

55. *Ibid.*

56. F. G. Stare and W. Thorn, *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 12 (1943).

57. Quoted by Aykroyd, *Human Nutrition*, p. 47.

58. *Food and Health. op. cit.* pp. 73 and 111.

for people to settle for themselves. Fat produces more calories than an equal weight of carbohydrates, but they are more expensive and not so easy to digest. People who have difficulty in dealing with fat should cut down their fat allowance and eat starchy or sugary foods instead." Sir John Orr in his *Food, Health and Income* even established a relation between fat consumption and income.

The proportion of carbohydrates to fats is certainly an individual matter, because people vary in their tolerance to fat. Prof. McCance and Miss Widdowson found as a result of their investigation of individual diets and that fat constituted 39.1 per cent of the total calories for men and 42.7 per cent for women. Similarly, in a dietary study of six unemployed men and their wives they found that the percentage of total calories from fat was, on the average, only 31.4 for men and 34.8 for women. These six unemployed men obtained, on an average, 58.8 per cent of their total calories from carbohydrates, and their wives obtained 52.5 per cent.⁵⁹

This explains effectively why people in India deriving most of their food value from carbohydrates can pull on well. It does not thus seem to be necessary that the particular food should be taken in definite quantities. What is essential is that the diet should be a thoroughly mixed one, containing proteins, fats and carbohydrates. According to Mottram:⁶⁰

"There is no sacrosanct relation between the three. Eskimos take a diet in which the ratio between proteins, fats and carbohydrates are 5: 2½: 1, whereas Europeans and Americans take one in which the ratio is approximately 1: 1: 4. And both sets of people do apparently well on these highly different diets."

The Advisory Committee of the British Ministry of Health recommends a fat intake of 100 grammes and a carbohydrates intake of 400 grammes per day. Burnet and Aykroyd appear to be in agreement with this but they remark:⁶¹ "We have no knowledge as to the optimum proportions of these food factors in diets." The Technical Commission says, "Fat must be a

constituent of the normal diet, but the data at present available do not suffice to permit a precise statement of the quantity required." As for carbohydrate requirements it is silent.⁶²

It would be seen from the above discussion that from among the three major constituents of food even today we are not in a position to say as to what amount of the one or the other of these we should take. To talk of deficiencies in terms of any of them would accordingly seem to be simply ridiculous on our part.

MINERALS AND VITAMINS

Our knowledge about minerals and vitamins is of very recent period. "Mineral salts are" said to be "as important to the organism as calories or proteins. They have a myriad of functions in our vital mechanism, and they cannot substitute for each other in their functions. An otherwise complete diet which lacks a proper quantity of calcium, for example, or of iron, will seriously upset any living thing that consumes it."⁶³ Like fats and carbohydrates already discussed experts on nutrition have laid down daily allowances of mineral elements.

Dr. E. Q. McHenry examined these allowances very carefully and arrived at the conclusion that there is nothing definite even about them. He pointed out:

"The recommended allowance for iron is 12 grammes per day for adults. If one examines the evidence, one finds very few data, in support of this amount for men. The statement has been made that men, in the absence of haemorrhage, can maintain health on a diet practically devoid of iron. There is no evidence that an intake of 6 grammes per day would cause malnutrition in men. Estimates for riboflavin were derived largely from experiments on dogs and it is by no means certain that the riboflavin requirements of humans can be calculated on a weight basis from values secured with dogs."

De Castro⁶⁴ gives a very interesting reading about the intake of calcium. He quotes Sherman as saying that although the consumption of milk in the United States is the highest in the world, calcium deficiency is still the commonest dietary deficiency in that country.

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

60. *Human Nutrition*, Mottram, pp. 68-69.

61. Quoted by Dr. N. Gangulee, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

62. Quoted by Dr. N. Gangulee, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

63. Josue De Castro, *Geography of Hunger*, 1952, p. 43.

64. De Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

"In the tropics, on the other hand, where the soils are much poorer in calcium, and where consumption of milk and its by-products is generally much lower than in the temperate zones, rickets is rare and tooth decay somewhat less common. The reason is that in these lands of brilliant sunshine, the human organism, through the action of ultra violet rays on the skin, manufactures large quantities of vitamin D. A magnificent equilibrium is thus set up which fixes all the calcium available."⁶⁵

This explains why we here in India do not require to supplement our food with regard to calcium. The recommended 0.8 grammes of calcium per day for adults may thus be nothing more than paper value for us in India. Similar

is the case of sodium. 4.6 grammes of daily intake has been recommended for adults. "Talberg's researches have," however, "shown that sweat secreted by skin covered with clothing contains twice as much salt as sweat from bare skin. Since the Indian and the Negro work almost naked, they lose less salt than the European with his excessive clothing."⁶⁶ We accordingly require so many less calories even on this count. Besides this climatic advantage, there are a number of green vegetables amaranthus and drum stick leaves, eagerly sought for by our rural population. They are rich not only in vitamins, but also in calcium, phosphorus and iron.⁶⁷

(To be continued)

65. *Ibid*, pp. 44-45.

66. *Ibid*, p. 49.

67. Cf., Dr. N. Gangulee, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

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THE GREAT RISING OF 1857

By PROF. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE and PROF. UMA MUKHERJEE

THE most commonly talked-of topic in our days of our grim struggle against the alien country at present is the great upsurge of 1857 which constituted a most formidable challenge to the authority of the English rule in India and which formed a momentous landmark in our modern history both by virtue of what it had actually done at the time of its occurrence and by virtue of what it ultimately left as a legacy. Hot controversies still rage round the question of the real nature and character of the rising of 1857. Many persons in Congress circles are, as a rule, inclined to believe that "in 1857 an organised attempt was made by the natural leaders of India to combine themselves into a single command with the sole object of driving out the British power from India in order that a single, unified, politically free and sovereign state may be established. That attempt was conscious and deliberate" (Vide R. C. Majumdar's *The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857*, Calcutta, 1957, p. vi). This view was, perhaps, for the first time advocated by that staunch nationalist V. D. Savarkar in his book, *The Indian War of Independence of 1857* (London, 1909). While this patriotic view had its origin in the

rule, it has acquired after the attainment of our political independence a new sanctity. The organisation of Centenary celebrations of the movement of 1857 as India's First Freedom Movement by Congress circles both in West Bengal and other States of India represents the culminating point of this old but newly sanctified psychology.

On this widely accepted popular view a bombshell has recently been thrown by two of the most eminent historians of our generation, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. S. N. Sen, both of whom have produced this year scholarly and documented works on the Mutiny. Without allowing their vision to be blurred by old dogmas, they have made a dispassionate study of the relevant source-materials and have come to independent conclusions of their own. Independent views do not necessarily mean unlikeness, and here is an instance in which the independent conclusions drawn by two historians tend to converge to the same point. According to Dr. Majumdar :

"The great outbreak of 1857 assumed

different aspects in different areas" (pp. 223-24), but it was "primarily a mutiny gradually developing into a general revolt in certain areas" (p. 221).

And that is also exactly the view of Dr. Sen as presented in his *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Delhi, 1957).

"The movement," writes Dr. Sen, "began as a military mutiny but it was not everywhere confined to the army Outside Oudh and Shahabad, there is no evidence of that general sympathy which would invest the Mutiny with the dignity of a national war. At the same time it would be wrong to dismiss it as a mere military rising. The Mutiny became a revolt and assumed a political character when the mutineers of Meerut placed themselves under the King of Delhi and a section of the landed aristocracy and civil population declared in its favour." (p. 411).

The Mutiny was not, however, both the historians maintain, the outcome of a "pre-concerted plan" nor did it ever assume the dimension of a true national movement.

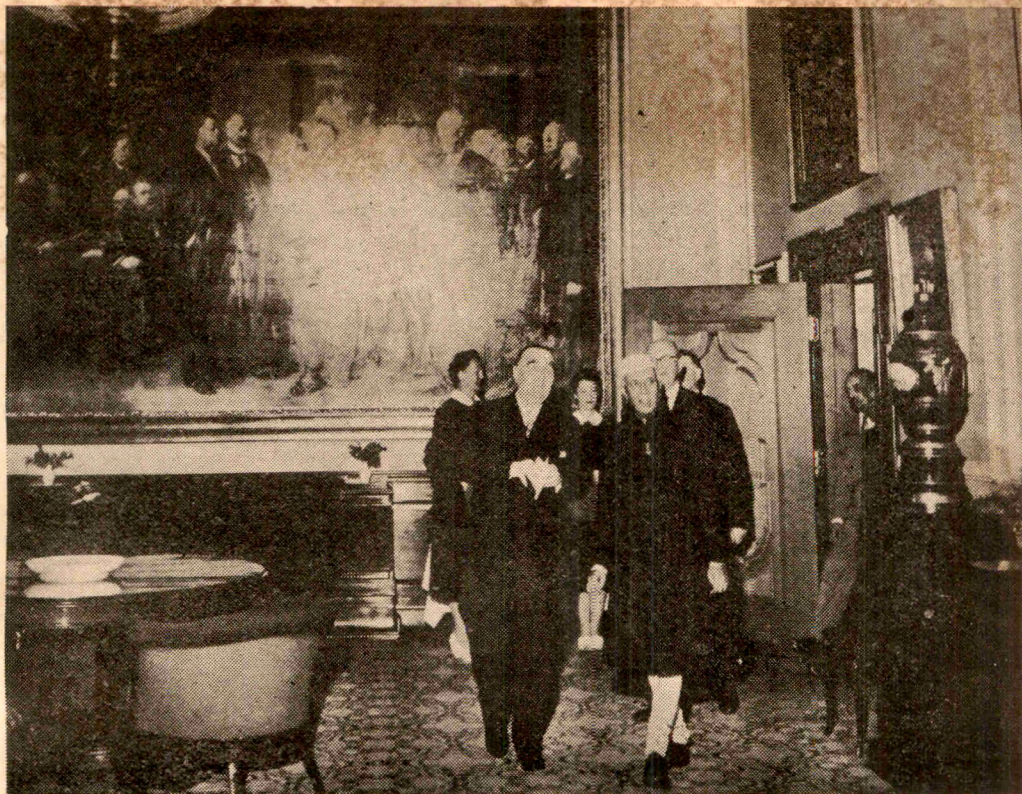
Even in Oudh, says Dr. Sen, the plotting mutineers and rebels "were not champions of freedom, for (?) they had no conception of individual liberty. On the contrary, they would, if they could, revive the old order and perpetuate everything it stood for. The English Government had imperceptibly effected a social revolution. They had removed some of the disabilities of women, they had tried to establish the equality of men in the eye of law, they had attempted to improve the lot of the peasant and the serf. The Mutiny leaders would set the clock back . . . they wanted a counter-revolution." (pp. 412-13).*

Contemporary observers also did not fail to notice the essential military character of the rising of 1857. The *London Times* (July, 1857) was perhaps the first English journal to speak out on the military character of the revolt and predicted the salvation of the British Indian

Empire through the help and fidelity of the civil population of this country. About a year later the *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1858) declared the same sentiment. It had also been noticed by no less a person than Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, the contemporary witness to that terrific scene, in his *Forty-One Years in India*, originally published in 1897. Besides, in that remarkable book entitled *Native Fidelity*, originally published just after the amnesty was announced, the eminent Indian journalist Kristo Das Pal has recorded for posterity plenty of instances "quoting chapter and verse from official gazettes that the civil population never lagged in their fidelity to quell the great insurrection" (Vide the reprint of *Native Fidelity* by the Bangabasi Office, Calcutta, 1905). According to Kristo Das Pal, who was the anonymous writer of that work, the feeling of revolt or disloyalty was not shared in by the masses of the Indian people; on the contrary, they "did not only observe a peaceful neutrality by standing unmoved amidst the tide of insurrectionary feeling which then overflowed Hindoostan proper, but also, at the risk of their property, lives and family-safety, proved such ready and effectual instruments of salvation to many utterly helpless European fugitives, and acted as protectors and conservators of order at so unruly and perilous an occasion. The struggle was a sore trial of the nation's fidelity" (pp. 2-4).

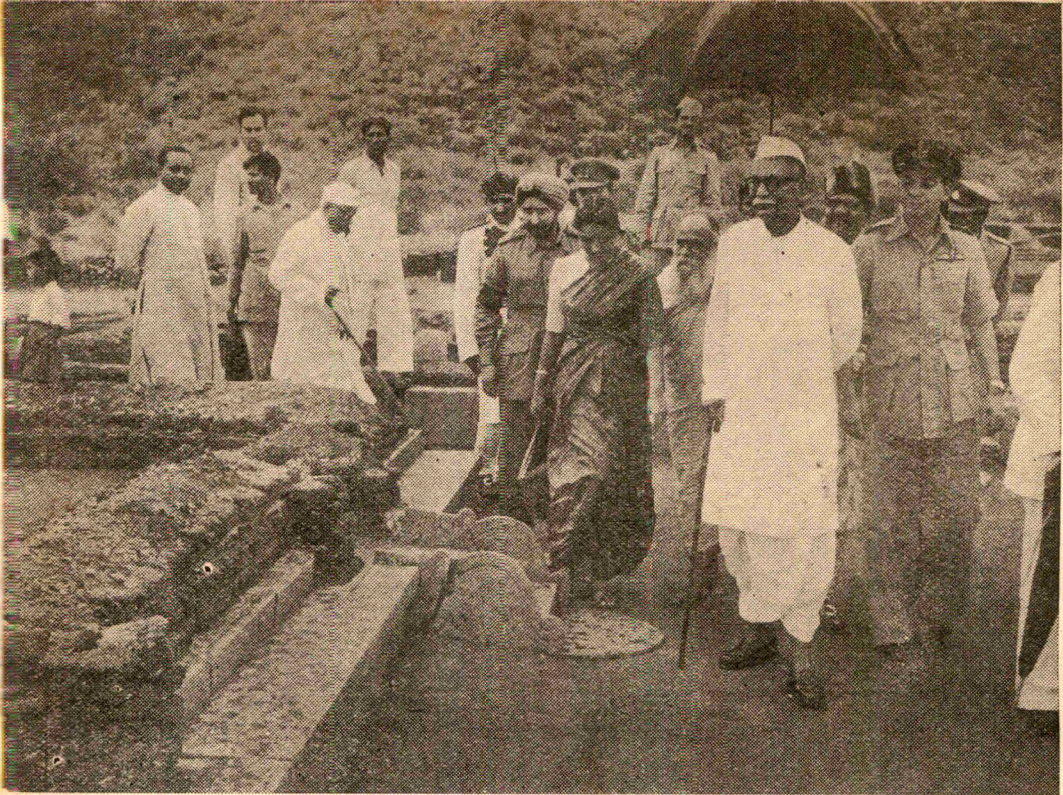
Again, the English-educated classes who were the product of the new regime ranged themselves, generally speaking, on the side of law and order and had nothing but condemnation for the insurrectionary movement, for they considered the rising as directed as much against their own interests as against the ruling authority in the country. Both Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Sen have specially stressed this peculiar aspect of the situation. Bipin Chandra Pal has also recorded in his *My Life and Times* (Vol. II, p. iv) that "the Mutiny did not touch our people at all in Bengal, but the suppression of it and the returning prospect of settled government was hailed with universal delight by them." Besides, Mr. Raikes the contemporary English officer, whom Dr. Majumdar quotes with approval in his work, had also recorded how during the stormy days of the Mutiny the English-educated classes were treated as enemies by the sepoys. "A Bengalee Baboo

* Dr. Sen's statement that the patriots of Oudh "were not champions of freedom, for they had no conception of individual liberty" (p. 412) is not logically a valid proposition. Even without a conception of individual liberty, it is quite possible for a people to be champions of the country's freedom or territorial freedom.



During his recent visit to Denmark, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru paid a visit to the Danish Parliament. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Gustav Pedersen, Chairman of the Danish Parliament, are seen in the conference-room of the Parliament building





President Dr. Rajendra Prasad being shown round the excavation site of Nagarjunakonda (Hyderabad-Deccan), an ancient centre of Buddhist learning and culture



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was recently on a visit to South India, was received at the Secunderabad Railway Station by the Governor of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Chandulal Trivedi, and Chief Minister Shri N. T. Rama Rao

at Furuckabad or Cawnpore," writes Raikes, "was almost in as great peril as a Christian, so long as those cities were in the hands of the rebels. Not that the Baboo had personally a taste for the honours of martyrdom; for, to tell the truth, he was the veriest coward under the sun, but simply because the sepoy instinctively hated the English scholars, as part and parcel of the English community." Excepting the parenthetical clause—"he was the veriest coward under the sun"—the picture drawn by Mr. Raikes correctly reflects the reality of the situation. The tribute which Mr. R. N. Cust, that eminent English civilian who served in the North-Western Province and Punjab, took part in the settlement of the Punjab after the Mutiny (1858) and who had also been during 1864-65 Home Secretary to the Government of India, had paid to the "Fighting Moonsiff"—a Bengalee Baboo—is worth quoting at this point. "In one remarkable instance the native civil judge—a Bengalee Baboo by capacity and valour—brought himself so conspicuously forward, as to be known as the 'Fighting Moonsiff.' He not only held his own defiantly, but he planned attacks, he burnt villages, he wrote English despatches thanking his subordinate, and displayed a capacity for rule and a fertility of resource very remarkable for one of his nation" (Vide: "A District During a Rebellion" in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, September, 1858, p. 69). *The Friend of India* of that time characterised the last two lines of Mr. Cust regarding the character of the common run of the Bengalis as the outcome of a "laughable prejudice" and commented thus:

"We are not slow to scold Bengalees when required, but if in India there is a race to whom God has given capacity, real clearness of brain, it is the Bengalee. Take the most timid, quaking wretch of a Kayast you can find, put him in any district in India with a shadow of authority, and if he does not make Punjabee and Sikh, Marhatta and Hindostanee, work themselves to death for his benefit, and think all the while it is for their own, he is no true Bengalee."—Vide: *Native Fidelity*, p. 252, footnote).

The 'Fighting Moonsiff' of whom much was heard in the Mutiny days was no other than Baboo Pearymohun Banerjee of the Uttarpara

Banerjees, and was the Moonsiff at Allahabad during the Mutiny.

In fine it is relevant to observe that both Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Sen have shown by their laborious researches that whatever be the scope of its operations or the area of its influence, the Mutiny was not a true nationalist movement in its origin and intention, for the spirit of nationalism was not then awakened. The country had not yet been unified and linked up by railway lines, and postal and telegraphic communications had also not yet been extended over the country. English education which was in the near future to give the educated classes all over India a common medium of communication had not as yet proceeded far enough in this country. In these circumstances there could not be any such thing as Indian Nationalism. Even as an aspiration the sentiment did not exist. An analysis of the motives of the different classes participating in the upsurge of 1857 unmistakably reveals that the cult of the common country had not as yet taken possession of the people's mind. The caste, the sect, the community or the province was the highest possible limit of their imagination. The idea of a pan-Indian nationality was first voiced forth in the meetings of the Hindu Mela, the conference of the nationalists, which made its mark during 1867-80. It is, however, not before the summoning of the First National Conference (1883) or even before the foundation of the Indian National Congress (1885) that one can speak with propriety and precision of the birth of Indian Nationalism. And even in 1885 the sentiment of nationalism was more a pious dream than a concrete reality. While welcoming the delegates to the Calcutta Congress of 1886, Dr. Rajendralal Mitter feelingly observed:

"For long, our fathers lived and we have lived as individuals only or as families, but henceforward I hope we shall be living as a nation, united one and all to promote our welfare and the welfare of our mother-country . . . It has been the dream of my life that the scattered units of my race may some day coalesce and come together; that instead of living merely as individuals, we may some day so combine as to be able to live as a nation."

His exhortation reflected a clear shadowing

forth of a nationalist ideal—the cult of the country—which was to develop into a mighty force at the beginning of the 20th century. It was only in that background of awakened national feelings which normally resent foreign encroachment that the cry for *Swaraj* or independence was first raised in the country.

“Our political agitation in the 19th century,” wrote Aurobindo in 1907, “was entirely confined to the smaller and narrower objects. To replace an oppressive land revenue system by the security of a Permanent Settlement, to mitigate executive tyranny by the separation of judicial from executive functions, to diminish the drain on the country naturally resulting from foreign rule by more liberal employment of Indians in the services—to these half-way houses our wise men and political seers directed our steps,—with this limited ideal they confined the rising hopes and imaginations of mighty people re-awakening after a great downfall.”

It is a realistic summing up of the 19th century political agitation of India. It was only with the Boycott and Swadeshi Movement of 1905 that we enter upon a new phase of organised national upsurge against the British in India, characterised by the demand for “unqualified *Swaraj*” for India, as adumbrated by the new school of politics led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghose. The *Jugantar* weekly and the *Bande Mataram* daily sketched the new ideals and gave voice to the national mind with the greatest amount of fidelity. They raised patriotism to the rank of a religion to which everything dear to us, even our life, has to be sacrificed. “The hero, the martyr, the man of iron will and iron heart, the grim fighter whose tough nerves defeat cannot tire out nor danger relax, the born leader in action, the man who cannot sleep or rest while his country is enslaved, the priest of *Kali* who can tear his heart out of his body and offer it as a bleeding sacrifice on the Mother’s altar, the heart of fire and the tongue of flame whose lightest word is an inspiration to self-sacrifice or a spur to action,—for these the time is coming; the call will soon go forth” (*Bande Mataram*, April 23, 1908).

Throughout the 19th century the Indian

belief in the native generosity and liberalism of the English people was a persistent reality. The sense of pangs of foreign slavery had not yet been roused. Redress of particular grievances was certainly sought from time to time, but always within the fundamental framework of British rule in India. Readers will find verification of this contention in Mr. J. K. Mazumdar’s carefully collected *Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule: 1821—1913* (Calcutta, 1937). Even Surendra Nath Banerjea, the Father of Indian Nationalism, could not envisage an ideal of autonomy for India in the 19th century, and when at last at the opening of the present century, he expressed his fidelity to the ideal of *Swaraj*, it was only to stand for Dadabhai Naoroji’s Colonial Self-government and not the Extremist gospel of “unqualified *Swaraj*.” If the Ilbert Bill agitation (1883) offered the first occasion of an organised national outburst in India, the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 represented the first stage in the Indian struggle for independence. The revolutionary change in the mental attitude of Indians came about at that time with such a suddenness as to take the British nation by surprise. Both Sir Alfred Lyall and Valentine Chirol noticed this change and Lord Minto cried out in the Imperial Assembly:

“The Government of India would be blind indeed to shut its eyes to the awakening wave which is sweeping over the Eastern world, overwhelming old traditions, and bearing on its crest a flood of new ideas” (Vide: Minto’s Speech in connection with the “Seditious Meetings Bill,” November 2, 1907).

This revolutionary change in Indian attitude, which was the product of the Swadeshi days, cannot be traced back by any amount of intellectual ingenuity to half-a-century before. As every law-breaker is not a patriot, similarly every war that is fought in history is not a nationalist war or a war of independence. It is a fatal temptation to read modern developments into the past and to write history on a preconceived notion by a careful selection of certain facts and careful elimination of certain others. Such work may become a good piece of propagandist literature and may well serve certain ends for a time; but it is not by any means sober history. A historian may sometimes be under the painful necessity of speaking out unreservedly

the most unpleasant truths. It may injure the vested interests of a class and provoke the frowns of the bureaucracy. Yet this unpleasant task has to be done in the sheer honour of Truth. Dr. Majumdar's statement that the leaders and organisers of the mighty outburst of 1857 hardly deserve the glorified title of patriots and martyrs for the country's cause will perhaps appear shocking to a certain class of mind. The chief argument in favour of his contention is that none of the actors in the drama—Nana Sahib (with his associates, Tantia Topi and Azimulla), the Rani of Jhansi, and Kunwar Singh—were inspired by any motives other than personal grievances. Positive evidences proving their loyalty to an overriding impersonal ideal—the ideal of a free and regenerated India—are still conspicuous by their absence. The foundations of a real nationalist movement with the cult of the common country enshrined before it were first laid by Surendra Nath Banerjea in the late 'seventies of the last century, and not before that. It is only an idealistic misinterpretation of history by a later generation that endowed the events and memories of the year 1857 with the dignity of a national war of independence. Even such idealistic misinterpretation of history has its pragmatic significance in the march of mankind. It is not an uncommon knowledge how misreading of history can often work miracles and can impart an impetus to a political movement. Students of English history are aware how the misreading of the Magna Carta of the 13th century of England immensely aided the constitutional agitation of the 17th century Parliamentarians. "The memory of the Revolt of 1857 distorted but hallowed with sanctity," says Dr. Majumdar, "perhaps, did more damage to the cause of the British rule in India than the Revolt itself." One is, however, at liberty to accept or reject this comparative valuation.

But with due deference to Dr. R. C. Majumdar we beg to differ from him in one particular, that is regarding the concluding statement of his book:

"The outbreak of 1857 would surely go down in history as the first great and direct challenge to the British rule in India on an extensive scale. As such it inspired the genuine

national movement for the freedom of India from British yoke which started half a century later" (p. 278).

There is no disputing the fact that the upsurge of 1857 was an inter-provincial rising, perhaps the greatest and most formidable explosion that the British had to encounter in India after their conquest of this country. This part of Dr. Majumdar's contention nobody perhaps will ever dispute, for it is an accomplished reality. But his proposition that "the genuine national movement for the freedom of India"—the movement which "started half a century later" was "inspired" by the memory of the event of 1857 is not likely to be accepted without a challenge. The truth of this contention has not been objectively verified with reference to concrete facts and as such his contention remains an open question. The "genuine national movement for the freedom of India" to which Dr. Majumdar has made a reference was the outcome of the heated Anti-Partition agitation of the Swadeshi Era (1905-06). It drew its impulse of inspiration not from a mere anti-British feeling but from historical glories and traditions of by-gone days, from the visions of a free India of old, from the martial exploits and the passion for struggle of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Marhattas. Our pride in the past and pain in the present were an inspiring agency promoting the spirit of Indian nationalism. The freedom urge of the Swadeshi Movement was also due to a complete loss of faith in salvation through British generosity and to the rude awakening of the people to the grim reality of foreign exploitation by the powerful preaching and propaganda of a galaxy of talented and patriotic workers. Its spirit was also fed and strengthened by the thrilling stories of the Italian Carbonari, Russian Nihilist and Irish Physical Force Movement of the 19th century. "The defeat of the Italians by the Abyssinians in 1896," writes a competent judge of Indian affairs like Sir Alfred Lyall, "may indeed be noted as the first decisive victory gained by troops that may be reckoned Oriental over a European army in the open field, for at least three centuries. The Japanese war, in which Russia lost battles not only by land, but also at sea, was even a more significant and striking warning that the era of

facile victories had ended; since never before in all history had an Asiatic navy won a great sea-fight against European fleets. That the unquiet spirit, which from these general causes has been spreading over the Eastern Continent, should be particularly manifest in countries under European Governments is not unnatural; it inevitably roused the latent dislike of foreign rule, with which a whole people is never entirely content" (Vide: Valentine Chirol's *Indian Unrest*, London, 1910, pp. ix-x). The Chinese boycott of American goods that was then going on also inspired the struggling people of India at that time. A close study of the facts and phenomena of the Indian Freedom Movement of

the Swadeshi days tends to confirm the conviction that it is not from the memory of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 but from other sources and quarters that the national movement of that time had drawn its real sustenance and vitality. The exact influence of the distorted but sanctified memory of the Mutiny as a feeder of India's Freedom Movement still remains to be factually demonstrated on a quantitative and statistical basis before one can honestly accept Dr. Majumdar's contention to the point as a valid proposition of sober history.*

* The present article forms a section of our newly prepared work entitled *The Swadeshi Movement or India's First Freedom's Battle (1905-1911)*.

THE ALGERIAN PROBLEM

By PROF. GOPI RAMAN RAUT, M.A.

COLONIAL savagery perpetrated by the French Government in Algeria is not only outrageous to humanity, it is also a slur on the progressive French people who have long been known as upholders of liberty and equality. Of course, it is true to some extent that French colonial rule has been of a more advanced type than that of other colonial powers, inasmuch as Algeria possesses certain political and civil rights which the colonies of other powers do not possess. It has the right to send its representatives both in the French National Assembly and the Council of the Republic. Besides, it has its own Legislative Assembly, though with limited jurisdiction over education and justice. Moslems, who constitute about 80 per cent of the population, have their own courts and judges, and may appeal to the higher French courts. They have the same rights of citizenship and State employment as the French settlers. According to Article 80 of the French Constitution colonial peoples are "to enjoy the rights of citizenship on the same basis as persons of French nationality." Equal pay for equal work is guaranteed both to the Moslems and the French since 1936. Many excellent

roads have been built by the French authorities, and scientific cultivation introduced in the fertile Tell (Northern Algeria). But behind this facade looms large the utter suppression of nationalism and the exploitation of men and materials of this country.

CONQUEST AND COLONIAL PLUNDER

For more than a century Algeria has been a part of France. It was in 1830 when, on a fantastic charge of assault on the French Consul with a fly-swatter by the Algerian ruler, Dey Hussein (nominally under Turkish suzerainty) 3 years back, the French Government sent its invading armies to this land. To the outside world it was declared as only a military action to curb the Mediterranean pirates. By the end of the 19th century all the revolts of the Arabs, Berbers and Kabyles were brutally suppressed and the conquest was thus complete.

A century of colonial exploitation has left deep scars on the life of the Algerian people. In Algiers itself side by side the busy European section with parks, hotels, cinemas, bars and modern buildings with neon lights, lies that part of the city where non-Europeans live in appalling housing conditions. Brothels and narcotic

trade are rampant, and unemployment is a regular feature. Diseases like T.B., V.D., trachoma and malaria are prevalent on a large scale. Most of the cultivable lands belong to big owners—French capitalists and also a few rich native lords. The natives, thus turned into landless labourers, are at the mercy of the owning class, especially the “master race,” i.e., the Europeans (of whom about 80 per cent are the French). The state of health services is deplorable and treatment is costly, considering the low income of the indigenous people. According to official French estimates, the average per capita income of the Moslem population is about one-sixth of that of the Europeans. On the other side, the French derive huge profits by the exploitation of its natural resources and from agriculture. They control most of iron mines, and the whole of phosphates obtained here. The Phosphate Company of Constantine, one of the largest concerns of its kind in the world, netted a profit of about 222 million francs in 1954. Similarly, the tobacco plantations and cigarette factories, etc., are French concerns. Even the political rights granted under the French Constitution become nullified due to the system of weighted voting in the elections to the French Parliament and the Algerian Assembly, which is merely an advisory body to the Resident Minister who is responsible to the French Government. Being a country of heterogeneous population—Berbers, Arabs, French, Italian and Spanish immigrants—religious and racial differences are exploited by the colonial masters.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT

As a natural sequence, therefore, mass agitation began for liberation of the country from the yoke of the rapacious French colonialists. After World War II, two major parties for national liberties sprang up. Under their banners the working class and the intelligentsia began to agitate for real democratic liberties and amelioration of their grievances. After the declaration of Libyan independence, the movement gathered momentum, and workers and intellectuals resorted to strikes and demonstrations. Finally, in 1954, the National Liberation Front was formed, which has been leading the people since then in their struggle for throwing

off the shackles of colonial domination. Armed actions against French rule beginning in November, 1954, spread subsequently all over the country. The Front declared the following as its objectives: (1) a sovereign Algerian State, (2) establishment of a Provincial Government, (3) General Elections for a Constituent Assembly and (4) Agrarian Reforms. Very soon about 1½ lakhs of National Liberation armymen, though ill-equipped, were enlisted. The French Government branded the nationalists as “terrorists,” “fanatics and criminals,” and let loose its steam-roller of repression to wipe them out.

With the advent of a Socialist Government in France under Guy Mollet early in 1956, hopes for a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem were aroused. And, in fact, Mollet declared his intention of doing so. The National Liberation Front, too, declared that it was ready for negotiations on the following conditions: (1) French Government to declare recognition of Algerian independence, (2) establishment of an independent Algerian Government to conduct negotiations, and (3) termination of reprisals, release of political prisoners, and permission for those deported to return to their homeland. But surprisingly enough, Mollet turned back on his own words and demanded unconditional surrender of all ‘rebels’ prior to any consideration of their demands. In place of amnesty promised by him, mass arrests were made, and even French progressives, who championed their cause against savage repression of elementary democratic rights, were arrested. Those very votaries of the right of self-determination in the Kashmir issue, resorted to all sorts of violence and vengeance, short of war, in Algeria. Defenceless people have been bombed from the air; whole villages burnt or razed to the ground and their populations deported. “Killings of unarmed Moslems, torture of prisoners under questioning and unnecessary destruction of property in operations against the rebel bands” have been reported by ex-servicemen in French papers. The Foreign Legion stationed in France now numbers about four lakhs, and even NATO reservists are said to be operating in Algeria.

The Algerian problem temporarily went out of picture during the Suez crisis. The French imperialists and their Military Resident in Algeria, Lacoste, thought that if they gave an

object-lesson to Nasser, Algeria would automatically be "pacified." This was why Lacoste said, "Negotiation is capitulation." But after the debacle of the imperialist venture in Egypt, Mollet in mid-December ostentatiously dissolved the municipal and the three departmental councils (Northern Algeria is divided into 3 departments for administrative purposes), which were entirely under French domination; and in their place he appointed special commissions and announced municipal reforms. But this was no reform or concession, rather a farce of it. The colonial officers and high army officers were placed in real command according to this measure. It is a simple truth that mere municipal reforms will not solve the core of the problem.

U.N.O. AND THE FRENCH ATTITUDE

Military operations in Algeria have had assumed alarming proportions, short of war, leading to staggering loss of life and property. Other Arab nations sympathised with the just aspirations of the Algerian nationalists. India and some other nations, too, advocated a peaceful solution of the issue. It would have been a matter of profound satisfaction for all lovers of peace and freedom that this issue raised in the last session of the General Assembly would have been settled under its auspices. But the French Government raised the technical objection of "domestic jurisdiction"—Algeria being an "integral part" of the French territory under the French Constitution—and, thus, the attempt to get it settled under its aegis was foiled. No doubt, the General Assembly passed a resolution recommending adoption of peaceful methods on a democratic and sound basis in accordance with the provisions of the U.N. Charter, but it remained ineffective due to French intransigence. Though it is proposed to be raised again in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, chances for settlement there are remote, viewed in the context of present-day power-politics.

BANDUNG AND ALGERIA

It may be recalled that the Bandung Conference had also discussed the problem of dependent peoples seriously, and it advocated self-determination to all peoples, and speci-

fically mentioned Algeria among others. It also declared that

"Suppression of language and culture in Algeria . . . amount to a denial of fundamental rights of man."

THE JUST SOLUTION

Of course, there are considerations before France. It is natural for it to think that after the slipping out of its former colonies of Indo-China, Morocco and Tunisia, Algeria and the West and Equatorial Africa now constitute the main prop of its colonial empire, and that if it loses control over them the whole edifice would tumble down to pieces. Besides the loss of sources of cheap raw materials and foodstuffs, enormous profits, a convenient market and a source of cheap labour in Algeria, it is also a matter of prestige. But first and foremost France has to avoid the continuous drain of its finances—an average annual of 1,000 million U.S. dollars—and the loss of its armies in the unending Algerian campaign. If the genocide alleged to be perpetrated in Algeria has led to the annihilation of at least 3 lakhs of Algerian civilians, women and children on the most modest estimate, nevertheless the National Liberation Front has rather gained strength and acquired heavy arms from the deserters. It has also the advantage of guerilla tactics. On the other hand, mounting taxes and burdens on the French people for a colonial rule in Algeria have had serious repercussions on the domestic situation in France. France has to learn lessons from history and reconsider its position *vis a vis* Algeria. The twentieth century is the "century of anti-colonialism," and no attempt to give colonialism a further lease of life would be of any avail. France should, therefore, accept "auto-determination" of the Algerians, and let them decide whether they desire to remain as a member of the French Union or as a separate entity, as suggested by the Tunisian Premier Habib Bourguiba. The Algerian national leaders, too, as suggested by Prime Minister Nehru, should guarantee equal citizenship and the rights accruing therefrom to Moslems and Europeans alike without any distinction of race or religion. Therein lies the welfare of all concerned and the prospect of world peace remaining undisturbed.

I. N. A. AND THE INDIAN FREEDOM

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

ON the eve of the Centenary Celebrations of the Indian War of Independence of 1857 and the tenth anniversary of the day of the dawn of Indian Freedom (15-8-1947) it is meet and proper that we should recall with pride and pleasure the activities and achievements of the Indian National Army which was responsible for the early liquidation of the foreign rule on the Indian soil. The formation of the I.N.A., under the leadership of Netaji Sri Subhas Chandra Bose during the Second World War proved to be one of the romances of Indian Nationalism and a queer Constitutional phenomenon. This distinguished son of Bengal and the rising sun of the Indian firmament by being far ahead of his contemporaries justified the dictum of the late Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale who was noted for his moderation and caution that "What Bengal thinks to-day, the rest of India thinks to-morrow."

Sri Subhas Chandra Bose evidently drew his inspiration from similar unsuccessful attempts in the past. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 contrary to its name was no mere revolt of the disgruntled army. The episode of the greased cartridges was simply the spark which exploded the vast powder magazine of popular discontent, that had long been accumulating. The Constitutional significance of it was that it demonstrated to the British people once for all the difficulties in governing India. Emperor Bahadur Shah, the last scion of the Moghul dynasty, became the focal point for the countrywide rebellion. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose soon after his arrival in Burma with the I.N.A., visited the tomb of Bahadur Shah where he pined and passed away as a State prisoner, paid his homage, renovated it and redeemed it from oblivion. The heroic exploits of Nana Saheb, Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh and other heroes were immortalised dramatically by Sri Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in his monumental work on the Indian War of Independence of 1857, which deserves to be read, re-read, and

digested inwardly by every Indian. The National upheaval of 1857 closed the chapter of the leadership of the old Feudal nobility. When Indian Nationalism asserted again in the next generation its leaders were not the dispossessed nobles, but lawyers, teachers and journalists who looked to the future and not to the restoration of the vanished past. The Japanese victory over Russia at the beginning of the present century moved the Indians deeply. Consequently, the Partition of Bengal was sought to be resisted with bomb and pistol by the emotional youth fired by lofty idealism. Khudiram Bose mounted the gallows with a smile on his lips. The imprisonment of the Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of the Punjab, added fuel to the fire. Madame Cama, of sacred memory, unfurled the Tri-coloured National Flag of India for the first time before the Social Democrats in Germany.

During the first World War, Lala Har Dayal tried to organise an army for the liberation of India with the help of the German Kaiser. Shyamji Krishna Varma, Raja Mahendra Pratap, Sailen Ghosh, Prof. Panduranga Khan Khoje, Sri Darsi Chenchayya, Sardar Ajit Singh, Birendra Chattopadhyaya, Moulvi Obeidullah and a host of Indian exiles strove towards the same ideal. Actually Moulvi Barakatullah of the Hindustan Gadr Party of San Francisco* (U.S.A.) became the head of the Indian Provisional Government established in Afghanistan during 1915-16. The Gadr (which means War of Independence) Movement founded in 1913 spread like a forest fire among the four or five thousand Indians of all communities who had settled on the West coast of the United States of America. Its activities became most embarrassing to the British especially because many of its members came from the Punjab, the recruiting ground for the British Indian Army and these members began preaching sedition at home through their relations and friends. The position

changed however in 1917 when the U.S.A. entered the war on the side of Britain. The very next day after the declaration of the War the U.S. Government swooped down on the Gadr Party, its leading members were arrested, and brought to trial.

The Hindu-German conspiracy case lasted for six months and made the nation's headlines. There were over 100 accused, Indians, Germans and Americans and they were charged with conspiracy to violate the neutrality of the U.S.A. Of the 30 (thirty) odd Indians, only 16 (sixteen) took their trial and others including Har Dayal escaped arrest. Dr. Govind Bchari Lall who is now the Science Editor of *The American Weekly* and a Pulitzer prize-winner, Dr. Taraknath Das, now on the staff of the Columbia University, and others were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The Gadr Party was suppressed. But some of its members made their way back to India and carried on their revolutionary activities. The upheaval in Northern India which culminated in the Lahore, Meerut, Benares, Delhi and Cawnpore conspiracy cases, is traced by some to their activities.

A firm believer in the doctrine that Britain's difficulties were India's opportunities, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose after he escaped from India went to Rome and Berlin to organise the Indians living in those areas. During a period of war the subject nations try to break their chains by all means. The enemy of the master naturally appears as a friend, philosopher and guide. In the meantime the Japanese with the slogans of "Asia for Asiatics," quickly and successfully dislodged the Allied Powers from the countries of South-East Asia. The British armies withdrew, leaving the native Indian population numbering two or three million and their Indian comrades in the army to their fate. In order to save them, Captain Mohan Singh opened negotiations with the Japanese. Major Fugivara invited the representatives of the Indian residents and the prisoners of war to discuss the formation of the Indian Independence League. Later, Rash Behari Bose, a revolutionary who had been an exile in Japan since the second decade of this century, convened a conference at Tokyo which was

attended by a number of delegates from Shanghai and other places. It was there decided to start the Indian Independence League. The object of the movement was to secure complete independence for India free from foreign domination and it stipulated that military action against foreigners in India would be taken only by the Indian National Army. The second conference held at Bangkok resolved on a policy in line with the declared aims of the Indian National Congress. The "Quit India" slogan raised by the Congress was equated to the motto of Japan, "Drive away the British." Mahatma Gandhi, being accustomed to think aloud, declared that Britain's presence in India was a standing invitation to the Japanese to invade, and expressed his desire to go to Japan and conclude a peace treaty. But he immediately added that he would not be permitted by the British to go to Japan and the Japanese Government would not be inclined to conclude a peace treaty with him. He also proclaimed that anarchy was better than slavery. The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and the other national leaders in August 1942 gave a fillip to the Indian National Army. This army consisting of 10,000 personnel functioned from September to December, 1942. It had an Army Act of its own. Subsequently the relations with the Japanese became embittered and Captain Mohan Singh was arrested with the result that the army was broken.

At this juncture Sri Subhas Chandra Bose came on the scene. He assumed command, completely overhauled the army and announced his intention to revitalise it. He made a moving appeal for men and money. His personal magnetism worked wonders. Nearly sixty to seventy thousand men joined the Indian National Army. Thus the second I.N.A. began to function regularly from May 1943. The training schools for officers were established at Singapore and Rangoon. A women's unit called the Rani of Jhansi Brigade was started and Captain Lakshmi was made the commandant. Training was given in Hindustani. A spirit of comradeship prevailed in the ranks and caste and communal barriers were set aside. All the needs were met by contributions which ran as high as 20 crores of

rupees and the money was deposited in the Azad Hind Bank.

On 21st October, 1943, India was proclaimed free, and a Provisional Cabinet was formed. The provisional Government was immediately recognised by the then Governments of Germany, Japan, Italy, Thailand, Philippines, Croatia, Manchuria and Burma. This recognition confirmed its Statehood. Then as an independent country it acquired the right to declare war and it declared war on Britain and U.S.A., but not on China or Russia. The fact that the emigre Governments were deprived of their territory removed the old emphasis on a local habitation for a State. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose insisted on credentials being produced before receiving the envoy from Japan.

In the middle of March, 1944, units of the I.N.A. crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation commenced on Indian soil. The I.N.A. units successfully encountered numerically superior and better equipped forces. The Azad Hind Dal consisting of 200 persons was established to administer the territory taken by the I.N.A., from time to time. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands were ceded to this State by Japan; they were renamed as Shahid and Swaraj. An Indian was sent to administer them. Similarly, the estate of Ziawada in Burma with an area of 50 square miles and a population of 15,000 Indians was administered by this State. Later, the Manipur and Vishnupur areas covering 15,000 square miles were administered for four to six months. This Government had a civil and army gazette of its own. "Delhi Chalo" was its slogan and "Jai Hind" was the form of salutation adopted. Special stamps were issued for use in Imphal.

Whenever Indians were arrested or tortured by the Japanese, they were invariably saved through the intervention of the I.N.A. It assisted in protecting Indians in Burma from April, 1945 to 3rd May, 1945, when Rangoon was reoccupied by the British. It also looked after the properties left by the Indians before invasion by Japan. As a matter of fact the Indian population of the countries of South-

East Asia felt secure under the protection of the I.N.A.

The decision of the British Government to try the Members of the I.N.A. was severely criticised by all sections of the public in India. The Congress Working Committee set up a strong defence committee consisting of front rank lawyers led by Sri Bhulabhai Desai of sacred memory.

The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bakshi Tek Chand, Sri P. R. Das, Sri Kailas Nath Katju, Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour and Dr. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy, lent their weight to the Defence Committee. Even Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who had bitterly attacked Sri Subhas Bose earlier for organising the I.N.A. in collaboration with Fascist Japan and declared that he would fight them tooth and nail was moved to the core, came round and put on his barrister's robes and watched the proceedings with sympathetic interest. The first trial began in the historic Red Fort at Delhi on 5-11-1945 before a Court Martial. Of the first batch of the three accused, the first was a Muslim, Mr. Shah Nawaz who fought against his own kith and kin at the front, the Second a Sikh Mr. Dhillon, the third a Hindu Mr. Seghal, son of a High Court Judge. The prosecution witnesses were subjected to searching cross-examination. Mr. Desai put up a very brilliant defence and raised issues of law and of fact and roused public interest. Though they were convicted in the first instance they were subsequently released by the Commander-in-Chief, the confirming officer for these sentences. But they were deprived of their rank and jobs in the army. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, unsuccessfully tried to import communalism into these proceedings by organising a separate defence committee consisting of Muslim lawyers for the Muslim accused. Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy, the leader of the Madras Bar, organised another defence committee consisting of Sri K. Bhashyam, ex-Law Minister in Madras, and Mr. Venkatarajaman, a member of the present Madras Cabinet, to rescue the I.N.A. personnel imprisoned in Malaya. He personally argued the appeal of Captain Burhanuddin (brother of the Mehta of Chitral) before the Federal Court with credit and dis-

tion. But the case for the prosecution presented by Sri N. P. Engineer, the Advocate-General of India, in all these proceedings was insipid and dry and failed to carry conviction. He looked like Salya, the charioteer of Karna in the Mahabharata.

These trials became historical and assumed constitutional importance as intricate questions of International Law were involved. In this connection it is necessary to remember that the Allies spoke of the French, the Czech and the Yugoslav partisans as patriots because they were fighting for the freedom of their countries. Mr. Desai contended that the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Free India could legitimately be compared with the American declaration of independence. Wheatson's International Law declares:

"A war may certainly exist between a State and its suzerain as in the Boer War."

Sir Hari Singh Gour, the great jurist, pointed out that

"The theory of allegiance to the Crown postulates the fulfilment of the Crown's duty towards its subjects of safety and protection both of person and property. When on account of its defeat in war this protection is no longer possible and International Law takes the course of *inter arma lilet leges*, i.e., war suspends the law."

Even the British Government got reconciled to breaches of allegiance not infrequently within the Empire. There are the instances of Ireland, Canada, and the Boer War in which the British subjects taking arms against the Crown were given the status of belligerents. In the revolt of the Spanish American colonies Britain recognised the belligerent rights of the colonies for freedom.

Thus the action of the I.N.A. should be judged by the International standards. As President Grant of America said in his message of June 13, 1870:

"The relations between the parent State and the insurgent State must amount in fact to war in the sense of International Law."

Chief Justice Fuller of the U.S.A. Federal Court, observed:

"Where a Civil War prevails, foreign nations do not presume to judge of the merits of the quarrel. Even if the revolt fails warfare cannot be made the basis of individual liability."

The British Year Book of International Law says:

"What we call belligerent recognition is not so much recognition even temporary and provisional of a new Government as the recognition of the existence of a War."

One need not be apologetic to-day to show that a subject nation may free itself. Legal allegiance cannot be a matter of perpetuity, because if it is so, then no subject race will ever attain freedom. Thus there was the fundamental question of love of freedom which created affection among millions of people for the I.N.A. because, in spite of exceptionally difficult impediments, they fought for the freedom of their country. Hence the contribution of the I.N.A. to the liberation of India is unique and no student of public affairs can afford to ignore it.

It is stated and since confirmed by the report of the majority in the Committee appointed by the Government of India that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was involved in a plane crash and died in a military hospital in Tokyo. Whether he is alive or dead he will be remembered as long as India lives. Sardar Patel collected a considerable amount of money to rehabilitate the I.N.A. personnel. Though temporary relief was given their problem has not been solved satisfactorily. They ought to have been absorbed into the armed forces of India. Unfortunately it is not yet done so. It is the minimum that has to be done for them. It is just and equitable that we should pay our homage to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. on this solemn occasion with folded hands and on bended knees.



ALWAR MUSEUM, RAJASTHAN

By MOHANLAL GUPTA, M.A., Dip-in-Painting,
Curator, Museum, Alwar

THE Museum at Alwar was started on sound lines by Mr. Harvey in November, 1940, by amalgamating three institutions, namely, Pustakshala (Library of MSS.), Chitrashala (Paintings gallery) and Silehkhana (Armoury). The Museum collection is lodged in three big halls of the city palace in the uppermost storey. One of the halls is used for the display

FIRST ROOM

This room contains some of the typical dresses of the rulers of Alwar State like *mandil* (turban), *chugah* (cloak), *sadri* (waist coat), *jargal* (in the form of rain coat), *jama*, *angrakha* and caps. Most of them have embroidery works on them in gold and silver threads on muslin, satin, velvet and silk cloth pieces. Be-



Kangra School



Kishengarh School

of miscellaneous objects of art and culture and the other two are used for the display of MSS. and paintings and also for arms, which are unique both from the point of view of antiquity and also from that of artistic trend. The rooms, when dealt with in detail from the point of view of noteworthy exhibits displayed in them, may be described as follows:

sides this *bidri* work, lacquered and ivory work in the Museum includes both carved, inlaid and overlaid works.

In addition to the above type of work, objects, made of jade crystal, agate, etc., are also on display here. Among the beautiful woodworks may be mentioned exquisite carved book-covers, toilet-cases, etc., from Mysore and

Nagina. The whisk, done in sandalwood, is a beautiful work of Rajasthan. Of the beautiful silver-work displayed in this room, mention must be made of filigree work from Cuttack in Orissa.



Jahangir

Painted at the 11th anniversary of his reign by a court-painter (Mughal School)

Besides the above industrial arts, this section contains a good collection of interesting musical instruments, stuffed animals, clay toys, (depicting some of the cultural traits of India), beautiful brass works and pottery from Jaipur, Multan, Bengal and Alwar, etc.

SECOND ROOM

There are about 7,000 MSS. of Hindi, Sanskrit and Persian, which are housed in this Museum. Of these the most interesting ones are as follows:

(a) *Bhagwat*: An eighty feet long scroll of *Bhagwat* beautifully written in very small letters. It is remarkable from the point of view of both calligraphy and illustrations.

(b) *Geet-Govind*: It contains the paintings of the Alwar sub-school of Rajasthani school of painting.

(c) *Wagayat Babri*: It is the most important manuscript translated in Persian of the time of Humayun from the original in the Turkish language. It bears the seals of the Moghul Emperors from Humayun to Shahjahan. The book contains beautiful illustrations of Indo-Persian school and was purchased for five thousand rupees.

(d) *Quoran*: The unparalleled illuminated Quoran with translation version, written in red letters in Persian beneath the original verses in Arabic, was purchased for three thousand rupees from Suleman Soudagar at the time of the third ruler of Alwar.

(e) *Shahnamah*: This copy of *Shahnamah* was also purchased in the time of Maharajah Vinay Singh. It is illustrated with paintings in big size of the later Moghul times.

(f) *Gulistan*: The copy of *Gulistan* of Sheikh Sadi was prepared for one and a quarter lakhs of rupees in the time of Vinay Singh by



Shahjahan's portrait

Painted by a court-painter of Shahjahan (Mughal School)

the artistic calligraphist of the Alwar State. Every page of the book was written in twelve days and the whole book took 15 years for its completion.

(f) *Naldaman*: A number of Hindu religious books were translated in Persian from Sanskrit in the time of Akbar and the above-named book is also one of such books. Other important manuscripts in the collection are *Sikandar-namah* and *Kissa Badare Munir*, *Yusuf Zulekhan*, *Sadpand*, etc. The letters in *Karima* raised by nail, *Haft Band Kashi*, a book on ivory leaves, *Granth Sahib*, *Quran* and *Bhagwat* in pocket edition are some of the attractions of the Museum at Alwar.

paintings in this gallery bear seals of the Mughal Courts and the names of the artists are also there. There is an abundance of portraits in the Mughal paintings. Some of the paintings are described below:

1. Jahangir shooting an arrow on a globe bearing the seal of the Emperor's Court is a genuine painting of his time. This was painted by Ali Ahmed Dehlavi.

2. An oval portrait of Shahjahan having a stamping seal in his hand is the work of Abul



Jahangir receiving an envoy at the palace
(Mughal School)

PAININGS

Alwar Museum is famous for its collection of Mughal and Rajasthani paintings also. The paintings in the art gallery has been displayed on the latest methods. The paintings are all arranged according to different schools and different periods. Almost all the sub-schools of Rajasthani paintings, such as Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kotah, Bundi and Kishangarh, are represented in the collection. A complete set of *Rag-Ragini* in Bundi School is one of the rare exhibits of the Alwar Museum. Some of the



Radha Krishna

Alwar School (late 18th century)

Hasan, the famous artist of the Court at Delhi.

3. The portrait of Syed Husen Ali Khan was painted by Honhar in the time of Jahangir and the portrait of Tarbiyat Khan in soldier's dress having an arrow in hand was depicted by Dalchand.

4. Another important historical portrait of Humayun having a hawk on hand and putting on a Persian cloak and turban painted in the time of Shah-Tahmas of Persia is worthy of admiration. The paintings depicting Barah-masa, romantic scenes, etc., are all available in the museum. Portraits of rulers are also to be found in abundance in the Muslim Collection.

THIRD ROOM

The third room contains a good collection of arms. Of these historical weapons, the swords of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, Dara Shikoh, Nadir Shah and Alamgir are most noteworthy. These were acquired at the time of the Mutiny of 1857. Some Persian swords bear on them the seals of Shah Abas, Hazarat Ali and Shah Imbia. Of the other arms mention may be made of—

- (a) Two swords in one sheath;
- (b) Lakhi sword. This sword, as its name denotes, was purchased for a fabulous price, say, one lakh of rupees. The view of its steel is clear and purely unstained.
- (c) Armour of rings.



Todi Ragini
Ihundi School (early 18th century)

Mohammad Ghori is reported to have started on his conquest by putting on an armour of rings, each one of which had an inscription "Nasruman Lillah Fatehungarib" (by the help of God victory is near) on it engraved. Such an armour is reported to have been used by Ghori. This is, therefore, said to be the armour of Mohammad Ghori.

The other arms are:

- a. Dagger-cum-pistol.
- b. Khanda: This was used by the late Maharajah Jai Singh, which has the best damascening work on its hilt.
- c. Aradam.
- d. Sword which cuts the stone.
- e. Two daggers in one sheath.
- f. Sword made up of two metals. Its blade is made up in halves—sakela and steel and on the reverse also the same process is repeated.
- g. Sword on the metallic lustre of which inscription 'Allah' 'Allah' has been found. The metallic lustre has been so processed that the above inscription is visible on the blade.
- h. Gun-cum-bow: This was made by a blacksmith for a shooting arrow although shaped like a gun.
- i. Armour of Yashwant Rao Holkar.

The other noteworthy weapons are: Nagphans, Uzbek Maru, Bagh Nakha, Salaba, Tega, Marpech, Dam Tamache, Zafar Taquiya, Sosanpalta, Pesh Qabz, Shahpasand, Khanjar Dao, Arsi and Gurj, etc., which have different purposes to serve.

Thus the Museum of Alwar presents in it a collection which makes it a true museum of socio-military type and its material deserves a careful study on the part of not only students but also of scholars, lovers of art and the general public. Some portion of the collection is 'national' in character and deserves publicity. It is hoped that the museum would attract the public in large numbers and the public would realise the importance of such a valuable art treasure of their country.



THE ART OF GOPESH CHANDRA CHAKRABARTY

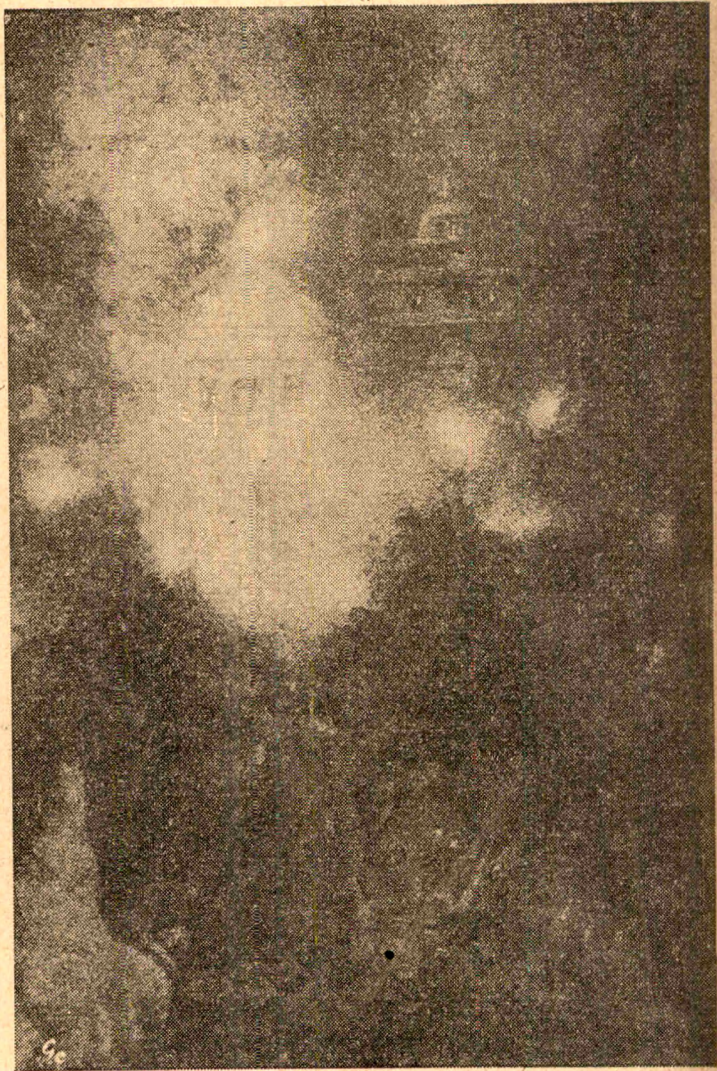
By NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

SRI Gopesh Chandra Chakravarty is an artist of outstanding merit. Unfortunately due to want of publicity he is not widely known amongst the general public and lovers of art. The merit of his artistic productions have, however, been highly appreciated by art-critics and connoisseurs like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Sri Kedarnath Chatterji, Dr. Kalidas Nag, and Sri O. C. Gangoly. As regards originality of conception and neatness of execution he has few equals amongst the modern artists of Bengal. An artist of rare vision Gopesh Chandra belongs to no particular school of painting and his genius has "blossomed spontaneously behind the city lights," in public parks and specially in Wellington Square where in his younger days sometimes he was bound to spend whole nights for want of a shelter in the apparently heartless city. Really, suffering has made Gopesh Chandra what he really is—a sincere artist and a true devotee. His deeply religious nature has found an outlet through his creations. Gopesh Chandra is out and out a mystic. Mrs. Anne Basil, a friend and admirer of Gopesh Chandra's art, has aptly said:

"Mysticism then is the keynote of his art and the painting flows spontaneously from the theme and its inspiration. His metaphysical compositions abound in symbolic philosophy charged with deep meaning which convey little to the uninitiated and can only appeal to true connoisseurs of art but the discerning critic at once understands his aims and ideals."

But the symbolic expression emerging out of Gopesh Chandra's deep metaphysical conception is only one aspect of the art of this versatile

genius, there are other aspects also. His art does not lack in realism. Rather realism and idealism are perfectly blended in unison in some of his paintings which appeal to the discerning



Behind city lights

art-critic and the common man alike; and it has been possible because of his familiarity with the stern realities of life. From his very boyhood he had bitter experiences of life. He knew what suffering was. He felt in the core of his heart that he was "born not to be happy but to suffer" and in his younger days he suffered terribly with calm resignation to the will of Provi-



The beast in man

dence. But poverty and privations did not embitter his attitude towards life.

Gopesh Chandra was born fifty seven years ago in a respectable Brahmin family of Madanpur, a small village of Sylhet, situated at the foot of the Jaintia hills. His father Sri Gurucharan Chakrabarty was the Headmaster of the village Primary School. Gopesh Chandra may rightly be called a born artist. When he was merely a boy of five years of age, he felt an

irresistible desire for painting imaginary pictures. With the advancement of age "he used to rediscover the diverse creations of Nature—from the moth and the butterfly to the hydras and monsters of creation." Paper, ink and pen, these were the equipments of the boy-artist, but the patterns he produced with a few scratches on the paper were so striking that even elderly persons were astonished to see them. When he was thirteen years old his mother Ichhamoyee Devi, whom the artist has immortalised in his



Money and women

most simply lyrical picture "Sweet Memory," expired all on a sudden.

Gopesh Chandra read up to the Matriculation class in a mofussil town, but he failed in the examination. Then he fled to Calcutta with a view to have practical training in painting. With the small resources he had, he somehow or

other managed to get admitted into the Government School of Arts. But owing to extreme poverty his training period in that institution could not continue for more than a year. Owing to unfavourable circumstances he had not only to cut off his connections with the Government Art School but also he had no other alternative



Motion unchecked

than to leave the Art Hostel in Corporation Street where he used to stay. This destitute and penniless artist became homeless at last. In a pensive mood he left the hostel building and stood courageously on the pavement of the city. In the overcrowded city this boy of sixteen felt himself all alone. At last finding no other alternative he took shelter in public parks. In those days of privation and starvation, Wellington Square was his main night-resort. In one of its lonely corners lying on a bench he used to meditate upon the sayings of the saints of Bengal. These immortal sayings had magical effect on his mind and even in that uncongenial environment he could enjoy sound sleep.

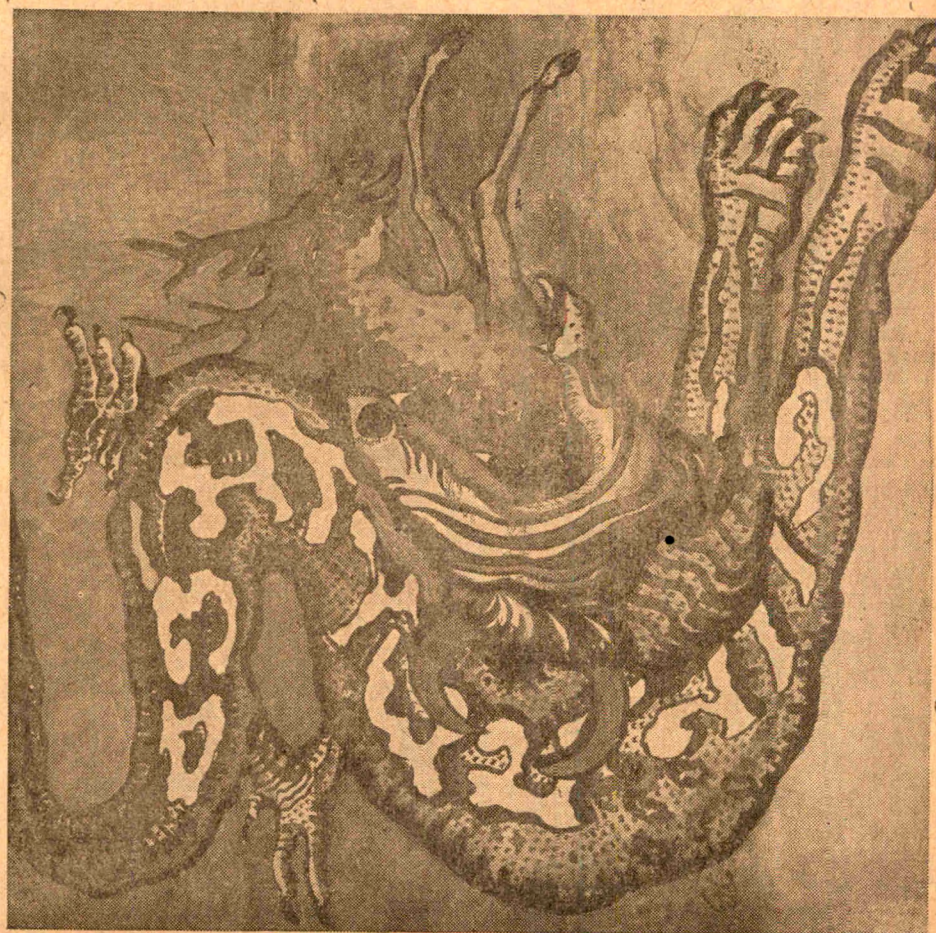
But this vicissitude of fortune came to Gopesh Chandra as a blessing in disguise. It made him fully conscious about the miserable plight of humanity due to present-day social environments. It was as it were a revelation to the artist, before whose dreamy eyes new horizons opened; in short, he found his real self and looked into human life and society from a different angle of vision. In this connection I quote a few lines from Dr Kalidas Nag's foreword included in the small but valuable book *The Art of G. C.* Dr. Nag says:

"... He soon discovered his real studio in the streets and pavements, hearths and hovels of the poor and the forgotten of society. Naturally the sombre shades dominated over the shining colours in his palette."

Gopesh Chandra's deep acquaintance with the dark side of life is evident in some of his



The fairy queen



In the jaws of death



It was your gift

paintings. But this darkness is unreal, *maya* or illusion to him. His hankering is for eternal bliss. He is a *sadhaka* in the truest sense of the term. His fervent prayer is "Light, more light"; and this spiritual quest has made him a mystic. This touch of mysticism in G. C.'s paintings have given it a distinctiveness which is rarely to be found amongst our present-day artists. Sri O. C. Gangoly says:

"His mystic and mysterious compositions are full of profound and symbolic philosophy pregnant with deep meaning and appeal only to the highest intellect and the greatest connoisseurs of art."

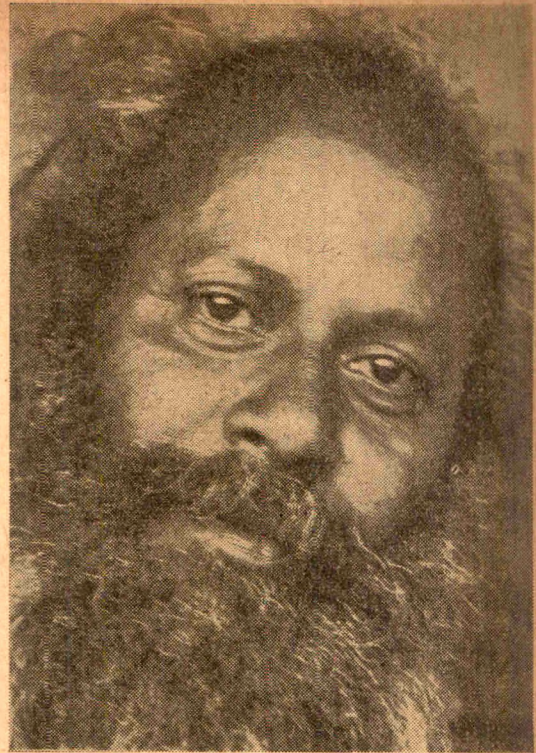
But now Gopesh Chandra has come to

realise that he should paint not only for great connoisseurs, but also for common men. So a new trend is evident in his modern paintings. Now he accepts scenes from everyday life as themes and gives them a realistic touch. Anthony Elenjimitam, the erudite scholar and art-connoisseur, has in a nutshell, interpreted the inner significance of Gopesh Chandra's art clearly and convincingly. He says:

"The immortal soul of India, of the orient, the metaphysics of Vedanta, psychology of *yoga*, the innumerable, fresh living patterns of ordinary life are brought to the heart, brain and conscience of the reader. The paintings are in one colour but the ex-

pression is many as Brahma is the one without a second and yet the source of many. The human touch, pathos, realism and philosophy of life that vibrate in every moment of life are all eloquently portrayed with the brush of the Bengali artist (Gopesh Chandra)."

Now Gopesh Chandra's earnest desire is to make art easily accessible to the common man. Though sufficiently advanced in age still he has made it a mission of his life and he is determined to travel throughout the length and breadth of our vast country, propagating the ideals of art. He has recently finished his tour in every nook and corner of Assam. It is a matter of great credit on his part that common men are taking keen interest in his paintings. This lone tour of an artist for the propagation of Art is a singular instance and Gopesh Chandra is really the founder of a new movement. Now he is staying in Calcutta where an art exhibition is going to be arranged soon. After the exhibition he will start for South India. We wish him success and god-speed.



The artist

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ABANINDRANATH TAGORE An Anniversary Tribute

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

MAY we remind ourselves that the *Janmastami Day* is the birth-day of our great national artist. On the 7th August, 1871 was born in this city Abanindranath Tagore, the nephew of the Poet, the youngest of the three brothers, Gogonendranath, Samarendranath and Abanindranath. He was destined to acquire the fame of the best Indian artist of the century and lived to be recognised as one of the greatest of the painters of the world. This is no patriotic boast, for tributes to his talent as an artist had come from some of the greatest critics and connoisseurs of Europe, from E. B. Havell, from Laurence Binyon, from Professor William Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of art, London, from Nicholas Roerich, from Madame Holveque, a great French critic, from Andree Karpeles, a French artist of repute, and a host of other critics who had greeted his merits with unstinted honours. Europe came first to know of his works in the year 1897, when three of his illustrations from the "Cloud Messenger" of Kalidasa were published in the famous London Art-Journal *Studio*. But he achieved an inter-national fame in August, 1914 when a collection of his water-colour paintings was exhibited at Pavion Marson, Paris, the exhibition being opened by President Poincare and one of his paintings was acquired by the French Republic, a signal honour first conferred on an Indian artist. All the great critics of Europe gathered together at Paris, the great art-centre of Europe and in an united voice lavished high praise on the works of Abanindranath, which gave them the first taste of the characteristic flavours of the language of Indian painting, then hardly known in Europe. That was a red-letter day for India and Indians, as on that day our greatest artist placed India on the map of the world. Eulogistic reviews of his works were published in all the journals of

Paris, the most important reviews appearing in the famous Art journals, *L'Art Decoratif*, *L'Illustrations*, *Arts et Decorations*, *Gazette de Beaux Arts*, and various other French journals and the fame of Abanindranath was echoed and re-echoed in all the art coteries of Europe. The Paris correspondent of *Reuter* telegraphed the news to India and all the Indian daily papers featured the news in large bannered head-lines: *Exhibition of Indian Paintings in Paris. The Triumph of Abanindranath Tagore!* It was, indeed, a triumph not only for Abanindranath but a triumph for modern Indian art, a triumph for Indian culture, and of the value of unique expressions of Indian art, the spiritual soul of India and her great civilization, blazing across the centuries. The credit of this artist was all the more, as when he began to paint, the artists of India under the debilitating and denationalising influences of the British rule, had wholly forgotten that India had a national language of Art, having a brilliant history covering a period of five thousand years. Forgetting their great artistic heritage, Indian artists of the time were vainly imitating the borrowed language of the European studios on the basis of second and third-rate paintings imported from Europe. And Abanindranath had to undertake strenuous searches in collecting old and forgotten masterpieces of Indian painting, of the Mughal and the Rajput schools, which revealed a new technique and an original vocabulary of Indian painting, which had been forgotten for nearly a century. Gathering the threads of the great Indian traditions of pictorial art from a deep study of forgotten old masterpieces, Abanindranath recovered the basic alphabet of Indian painting and began to invent a language suitable for modern times in the changed social and psychological atmosphere of a new and rejuvenated India. When about the year 1896, Tagore started to make new experiments in Indian painting, his pioneer works were designed to stand as an organised and powerful protest against the prevailing orgies of foreign imitations and as a passionate plea for artistic expression through the indigenous art of India as the medium of a truly National Art.

Many people wrongly believe that Tagore was a revivalist, repeating the formulas of ancient schools of painting. This is absolutely

wrong. His genius consisted of an uncanny power of assimilating methods and manners from all countries and schools. He had freely adapted secrets of pictorial art from East Asiatic as well as from European masters in a liberal spirit of eclecticism and in his experimental creations he had used and utilized both Eastern and Western points of view in a mysterious fusion of a happy and well-assimilated harmony. In the new language of modern Indian painting that he invented, the best phases of Eastern and Western pictorial art are happily reflected and interpreted.

The leading traits of his wonderful miniatures are an intensely romantic and lyrical quality and a dreamy and mystic treatment of his subjects which lift them on a far higher level than the plane of merely literal naturalism. Yet he has rarely dabbled in mystical or symbolical themes except in some of his famous masterpieces. And even in the subjects borrowed from the old Hindu Pauranic sagas, he had an intensely poetic manner of rendering a theme which lightens the burden and heaviness of the transcendental mysticism of the Indian Puranas. As the quality of his draughtsmanship reveals, his inclination has been towards the tiny miniature quality and the educated and mannered refinement of the Mughal *Qalam*. The subtle grace and the "one-hair" minuteness of his lines sometimes far surpass the accomplished brushes of the Mughal masters. Yet the range of his vision and the breadth of his palette was not confined or restricted by the narrow outlook of the Mughal school. The extremely wide range of his vision, theme, and technique makes it very difficult to group his works under any leading characteristics or dominating tendencies and it is impossible to put any "label" on the general character of his works, or to characterize the leading phases of his creative brush. It is almost impossible to ascribe to the same artist, his "Illustrations to the Meghadutam" and his "Illustrations of Omar Khayyam," his "Bondslave" (*Das-Khat*) and his "Aurangzib," his "Ganesa-Janani" and his "Last Journey," so divergent are they in vision, technique, in local colour and atmosphere. He has been very much misrepresented, and, therefore, inevitably misunderstood in cheap tri-colour reproductions, which vainly attempt and miserably fail to

convey the subtle grace of his fine lines and the mystic and the volatile flavour of his colour-schemes. It is a matter of utter despair to offer any analogies or parallels to Abanindranath's paintings. At the risk of being grotesque, one is inclined to characterize his works as a curious amalgam of Burne-Jones, Bihzad and Ogata Korin. Yet he was nothing but himself, a wizard of form and a magician of colour.

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K. M. J.

By BHANUSHANKAR B. VYAS, M.A., LL.B.

THESE three letters K.M.J. denote Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, who has been known to the readers of *The Modern Review* as the learned reviewer of Gujarati books for about last 50 years.

Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was born on 30th December, 1868, about eleven years after the first war of independence. He breathed his last at night on the 15th of June, 1957 in the 89th year of his existence. It may be said that Father Time was indeed kind to him and he reciprocated that kindness by utilizing every moment of his existence for some good and substantial work.

Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri began his early education in the city of Broach on the bank of the Narmada in a very small school. Those were the days when a teacher never spared his rod and the pupils did attend to the household work of the teacher. He got his high school education partly at Broach and Surat and partly at Bhavnagar where his elder brother Motilal happened to be a teacher in the High School. Bhavnagar could also supply facilities for higher education, as it had established a college known as Shamaldas College. Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri passed his B.A. Examination from Shamaldas College with First Class and was declared the winner of Percival Scholarship and Gourishankar Gold Medal. He had already acquired a high standard of scholarship in Persian and was appointed a Dakshina Fellow in the Elphinstone College at Bombay and was also entrusted with the work of teaching Persian to college classes.

With the passing of Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri, three generations of service to society and education came to an end. It is indeed a bright record of service extended over a century and a quarter of years. His grand-father



Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri

Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai was a pioneer in the field of modern education in Gujarat and Saurashtra. Those were the days when new education had just begun and schools were being established. The family of Diwan Bahadur

Jhaveri was one of those few families which took to education in the very beginning of the New Era in Gujarat.

The tradition begun and founded by Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai was continued and nourished by his two sons Mohanlal, the father of Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri and Manmohandas, the uncle of Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri. Manmohandas was a poet of high merits and Narmad, the father of Modern Gujarati poetry, has referred to him as such. Mohanlal was one of the authors of the series of Readers which were prepared for schools. He also established a number of schools in Surat District as Deputy Educational Inspector and carried on the noble work started by his father Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai. Thus Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was born in the family which had already established an illustrious record of service for two generations. This also explains why Diwan Bahadur, though a legal luminary and a renowned Judge, was a great scholar and an educationist all his life.

He was indeed lucky that his elder brother was serving as a teacher in Bhavnagar. Because going to Bhavnagar from Broach was not an easy job in those days. His description of that journey is indeed very interesting. First, one had to go to Surat from Broach by train. Then, one had to proceed to Port Hajira by a bullock-cart, from Hajira to Gogha by a boat and from Gogha to Bhavnagar by a vehicle drawn by horses. There were many disturbances and difficulties in between. These were indeed very early days.

In the Elphinstone College at Bombay, Principal Wordsworth, the grandson of the renowned poet, was the Professor of English at whose feet Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri had the good fortune to study for his M.A. Degree. His Professor for Persian was the renowned scholar of those days Prof. Mirza Hayrat, who was also well-versed in Turkish, French and Arabic. He never used a text-book in his class because he had a prolific memory and it was said about him that if the whole of Persian literature were lost by any mishap, Prof. Hayrat could reproduce the same from his memory with chapters, verses and lines. Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri's book, viz., *Persian Prosody and Figures of Speech* has been used as a

Text-book in colleges for the last many years and it is noteworthy that there has been no second effort in that direction as yet. The results of his profound study of Hafez and Saadi have also been published and show to us the high standard of scholarship that Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri had achieved in this direction.

With all this background Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri took to law. He passed his LL.B. and started practising law on the Appellate side of the Bombay High Court in the year 1893. To supplement his meagre income in the beginning Diwan Bahadur contributed articles to Gujarati journals and wrote books for school children.

It is indeed strange that the Court of Small Causes, where Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was destined to pass the best years of his life on the Bench, was not found by him to be a proper field for his legal activities. The reason is obvious. Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri had a peaceful and quiet temperament and the work of the Court of Small Causes in those days was marked with haste and speed on all sides. During these days of legal practice Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri came into close touch and established life-long relations with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Lallubhai Asharam, Shri Govardhanram Tripathi and others.

In the year 1905 Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was appointed as one of the Judges of the Court of Small Causes and by his patience and sound commonsense made his mark as a judge in that Court, which he himself has described as "Poor Man's Court."

In the year 1918 Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was elevated to the post of the Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes. This appointment created an uproar in the field of law in Bombay. Because only a Barrister or an Advocate (O.S.) could be appointed a Chief Judge and Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was neither a Barrister nor an Advocate (O.S.) Though his appointment as an acting Chief Judge was made as far back as 1914, it was in the year 1918 that the appointment was confirmed with the sound help and guidance from the late Shri Vithalbhai Patel who was then a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and who was a keen and strong fighter for the rights of man.

The life of a Judge is generally quiet and even rules of service do not permit him to come out as a public servant. The work of the Court also keeps him fully engaged and when heavy commercial cases are hotly contested, a Judge has to spare some time at home also. Therefore during these years, Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri could associate himself with only such work, social and educational, which would not in any way interfere with his work and create a clash. By nature also he was a peace-loving man and did not at all like running about here and there in search of honour. In the year 1927, Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was appointed on the Bench of the Bombay High Court for a short period only and he ultimately retired as a Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes in the year 1928.

Really speaking, it is from this year 1928 A.D., the year of his retirement from service that Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri's public life grows and grows immensely. After his retirement, he never spared energy or time, whenever there was an occasion to render public service howsoever small the occasion may be. And this continued till he breathed his last. Even a school teacher or a junior lecturer was never disappointed, when he went to request Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri to preside over or to attend a function in his school or college. He never disappointed even young children who approached him for his blessings for one function or the other.

In the same year, he was appointed a fellow of the Bombay University to which he has rendered various services in various capacities. For years, he was a member of the Faculty of Arts and Dean of the Faculty of Law. Boards of studies in Gujarati, Persian, Hindi, Law, etc., also made a demand on his services and he never grudged them. For years, he worked on the Academic Council and the Syndicate of the Bombay University. As a Chairman of the Library Committee, he has contributed in placing the Bombay University Library on a sound and perfect basis.

During his association with the Bombay University from 1928 to 1957, he has always taken keen interest in all the problems of the University and the punctuality and preparation with which he attended to his work were in-

deed unique. Not only did he never miss a meeting unless nature made it impossible for him to attend a meeting but also he was never late for a meeting. His diary was always clean and never invited a clash as his own personal life.

Along with the University of Bombay, S.N.D.T. University for women also occupied a warm corner in the heart of Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri. For years, he guided the working of the S.N.D.T. University and was its Vice-Chancellor at the time of his death. He has been greatly instrumental in all the advancement and progress that the S.N.D.T. University has achieved during the last two decades. He was in fact a friend, philosopher and guide for the S.N.D.T. University which is bound to fill a gap for a long time to come, though there are many more other institutions to share the same feeling.

In the year 1929 the title of Diwan Bahadur was conferred on Shri Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri and since that time he has been publicly known as Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri. He was also appointed on the Riots Inquiry Committee in the same year by the Government of Bombay. Immediately after he retired Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was requested to preside over the highest Appellate Court in the State of Palanpur and he attended to this work till Palanpur was merged into the State of Bombay in 1948. The Nawab of Palanpur and his family had a great respect for Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri.

In spite of his retirement, Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri could not completely give up law. At the instance of Mahatma Gandhi he had to act as an Umpire in the dispute between Labour and Mill-owners of Ahmedabad in 1929 and he spared no pains in examining all the problems thoroughly and his award is a landmark in the history of the cordial and happy relations between Labour and Capital in Ahmedabad. His award in the dispute in Colaba Mills also is equally eminent and furnishes to us a bright record of the honesty, impartiality and judiciousness of his findings. Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was called upon to work on the Boundary Commission appointed to settle the dispute of boundaries between Morvi State and Kutch.

In Gujarat Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri has been known as the Grand Old Man of Literature. His contribution to Gujarati is varied and valuable. His contact with Gujarati Sahitya Parishad dates back to the year 1905 when it was founded and lasted for all the years that he lived. He presided over the Parishad in the year 1934 and took keen interest in the progress of the Parishad.

One side of Diwan Bahadur's literary activities is represented by his sound and thorough knowledge of Persian. He has translated the Imperial Firmans (1577 to 1805 A.D.) and published them with notes. His introduction to *Anwar-e-Sohaili* is a learned piece of criticism. His *Dayaram and Hafez* shows us the deep study that he had made of Persian literature and the underlying spirit of it. His translation of 50 odes from *Divan-e-Hafez* and his observations on the life of Hafez have always been a great help and a source of inspiration to the students of Persian language and literature. He has also translated the Gazals of Hafez, Tayyabat of Saadi and the moral sayings of Mohsini. But his four volumes of the translation of *Mirza Ahmadi* are monument to his devotion to history and literature and research scholars in Gujarati shall for ever remain indebted to him for this great service that he has so capably rendered to Gujarat.

Another side of his literary activities is represented by his deep study of Bengali language and literature. Gujarat and Bengal though separated geographically have always been very near to each other mentally and psychologically. Dr. Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Dwijendralal Roy and Sarat Babu have all been greatly popular in Gujarat and have been loved by the people. Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri's contributions in this direction are studied translations of *Krishna Charitra* and *Rajsinha*, both written by Bankim Babu. He has also translated the life-sketch of Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj.

Gujarat shall always remember Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri as the writer who gave to Gujarat the history of literature for the first

time. His two volumes of *Milestones and Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature* reveal the diligence of a keen student and the critical faculty of a distinguished scholar. For the last 30 years, both these volumes have been a boon to the students of Gujarati literature and these volumes have opened the doors of the temple of Gujarati literature for all the persons not knowing Gujarati. His many articles have also been compiled in a book form. His review of books in the pages of *The Modern Review* have also been compiled and published and the students of literature have always blessed him for these compilations. His reviews of books show that he had evolved for himself a style which could say very much in only a few words. Verbosity was unknown to him. He hardly indulged in rhetorics for its own sake. He had a clear mind and a clear pen. Being a man of law and having acted as a Judge for a very great part of his life he could never become irrelevant himself and also never tolerate irrelevancy in others. He always says what he has to say in clear and unambiguous terms. "The style is the man" has always been true in the case of Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri.

Diwan Bahadur Jhaveri was associated with about 60 institutions in one capacity or another. As a trustee, he was fully trustworthy. As a Chairman, he did not permit any waste of time, energy and money. All money in his hands were safe and well invested. All these institutions are bound to feel the loss caused by his death. His colleagues will always miss the sound advice and proper guidance that they used to get from him. He was a link unifying three generations and alas, that link is now no more!

But above all, Diwan Bahadur will always be remembered as a piece of human architecture. Above all, he was human and intensely human. His deep love for religion, his study of *Bhagwadgeeta* and his spirit of service had carved out a *Karma-Yogi* out of him and may his *Karma Yoga* extended over a period of seven to eight decades inspire us and guide us. Amen!

TAGORE, THE POET OF HUMAN VALUE

By JOGES C. BOSE

II

KESHTA of Rabindranath's story-poem *Puratan Bhritya* (The Old Servant) is unkempt and looks haggard like a ghost. He gets more canes than coins in return for the service he renders, but it is of little moment to him.

"Whenever anything seems missing in the house," the master narrates the story, "my wife invariably pounces upon him the accusation that he must have stolen it." As I listen to this and many other charges of omission and commission, I shout out for Keshta in abusive terms. Each time he comes post-haste and stands all-attention with not a speck of cloud to mar the placid content of his face. I feel chagrined and, what is worse, I am terribly in a fix—what possibly am I to do short of dismissing the man, who has served us for such a long time?

"One day, my wife, driven to desperation gives me the ultimatum long overdue—the house has no room for both; either Keshta or she shall have to clear out. This is more than I can stand and I summarily turn him out. Silently he leaves the house and with stern silence I watch him go out. But habit is habit and as the day breaks, I call out for Keshta. Lo and behold, he is at the selfsame door-post with *hookah* (hubble-bubble) with its entire outfit—ready for me.

"That year I earned an extra sum in brokerage and left for pilgrimage to Brindaban. My wife pressed hard to accompany me. But as it was an expensive affair, I just explained to her that she might not, since as a good wife she shared all the spiritual benefits accruing to her husband; she desisted. On her insistence, however, that as Keshta was more of a drag and a drone, I agreed to take the other servant Nibaran with me.

"The train stopped at Burdwan. Just fancy my surprise, it was Keshta in front of my compartment with *hookah* duly prepared. I was taken aback with his obduracy, but, I must confess, I was inwardly pleased that my old servant was with me.

"At Brindaban, I lay prostrate with an attack of small-pox. The friends, who had gathered round me in those days, vanished as dreams do into thin air. But my old servant stood by me day and night. He gave me drink, rubbed my aching forehead and covered me with all ardent questions as to what in particular ailed me and the like. In fact, I felt that he had not a moment's thought for his food and sleep—so absorbed was he in me. 'My master,' he said so many times, 'you would ere long recover and return home to my mother-mistress'."

Keshta was denied by the conditions of his life any opportunity to cultivate a fine sensibility. Over and above, he was not treated by the mistress of the house with any consideration, far less propriety. But his solicitude for her, there was no mistaking the fact, welled out from the depth of his heart and had the print of filial emotionalism. What, obviously, preyed on his mind was that the alternative to his master's recovery was a life of standing negation to her. It is precisely this, which heightens the pathos of the story reaching the climax as the master winds up:

"I fully recovered but he a victim to fever fell; as though, he had on his person invited what was likely to prove fatal for me. For two days at a stretch, he had no senses left and when the pulse ceased to beat. So, at long last, he, whom I tried so many times to turn out, parted company for good."

Dui Bigha Jami (Two-Bigha Land): Upen, the hero of the other poem *Dui Bigha Jami* is much better off with a few paternal acres. But as fate would have it in the gradually stiffening economic conditions of the country, he sells out all his lands save the two-bigha homestead. To this residue he clings with a fanatic devotion. A perverse coincidence would not leave him at that even. His neighbour, the local zamindar, offers to purchase the land, for otherwise his newly-planned garden suffers in

Indian struggle for freedom. The English version of the above lines might be like this:

Mother Bengal, my lovely homeland, I do thee obeisance. The cool, balmy breeze of thy Ganges tones up the tired and the fagged. The eyes reposefully feast on thy vast fields, arched over by the sky kissing the dust of thy feet end to end; on sweetly-shady villages, gleaming out like care-free abodes; on thickly-entwined mango-groves, in and around which cowboys play their simple games. In their vignette, is the village tank full to the brim with water, many fathoms deep and of limpid black—it is unruffled and soothing like midnight langour. There repair my Bengal's female folk, heaving with the tender emotions of their breast; As they wend back home carrying water, my inmost being screams out to accost them as mothers.

Walter Scott's 'Sweet Caledonia, stern and wild' visualises Scotland in her rugged grandeur. But the exquisiteness of the above few lines of Tagore, in their over-all appeal of one prismatic flash, steadying down into a feeling of blood, scratches away amid all things ephemeral the eternalness of that attachment, which subsists between the mother and child.

In sixteen years there has been a complete change but, nonetheless, Upen spots out his two-bigha land. His first reaction is one of unmitigated revulsion against mother Earth, symbolised by his one-time homestead, having as pliantly adjusted herself to the proud arrangements of the zamindar. He, however, breathes a sigh of satisfaction as he sees that an old mango tree of his has been left intact and, therefore, to the extent he has not been blotted out. Weary and footsore, he sits down underneath the tree. Vision of childhood fleets by waking up fond sighs—how many a night, he marked time with bated breath for the day to break out, when he would run for mangoes dropped overnight. In the midst of such a reverie, two mangoes actually drop and Upen picks them up. Is it, he wonders, a gift of mother Earth as a token of atonement! The zamindar's *mali*—the menial tending the garden—breaks in upon the scene and seizes Upen. As though caught in the very act of theft Upen blurts out:

Namo namo namo sundari mama
 jananee Bangabhumi,
 Gangar teer snigdha shameer
 jeeban jurat-e tumi,
 Abarita math, gagan lalat
 chum-e taba pada-dhuli.
 Chhaya-shumibeer santir neer
 chhota chhota gram guli,
 Pallaba-ghana amra kanan
 rakhaler khela-geha,
 Stabdha atal dighi kalo jal
 neeshitha-shital sneha,
 Buk-bhara madhu banger badhu
 jal loye jai ghare,
 Ma balite pran kare anchan
 chokhe ashe jal bhore.

These are the lines, where the pen meets the pencil, charged with the sensitiveness of a camera. They do not, frankly speaking, admit of any translation. I should be quite happy if I could convey a tithe of its inwardness and the fluency of impulse. These lines again foreshadow Rabindrasath's "*Amar sonar Bangla, ami tomai bhalobashi,*" My golden Bengal, how devoutly I love thee, depicting the unplumbed depth of those days in the first decade of this country, when Bengal breathed a new life into the pages of history, as she gave shape and colour to the

Urvashi to Patita is a far cry. Were we,

however, to look at a tangent from one belonging to heaven to the other, a fallen woman of the earth as the heroine of the poem of the name, we have the selfsame acknowledgment of the benign potentials of womanhood. This thought-pattern constitutes a landmark making Rabindranath unique in the galaxy of great artists—Homer to Hemingway, Valmiki to Kalidas and down to our days.

Patita: A woman of easy virtue, naturally of some celebrity and a few others of the profession have been engaged by wily statecraft to waylay Rishi Rishyasringa and bring him down to the capital for reasons of state. The story, as set forth by Rabindranath, is a departure from that as told in the Ramayana and is a tale of easy transition from a life of self-violation to one of self-realisation. I would piece together some leading lines and they build the theme:

"As the eastern sky," she says, "brightened with the crystal beams of dawn, the young hermit came to the river for his morning-bath. The women, lying in wait, oared their boat and in harmony with lapping water sang their enchanting song. And he not unlike a fawn surprised and charmed hung on their music dear. All at once, they flung themselves into water and encircled him arm to arm in dancing lure. Taken aback with what he had never seen before, he greeted them, as though some strange deities they were, in hymns not for women uttered before. But, veritable demons as they were, they broke into giggles. As I looked at the eyes, that with joy and innocence gleamed, and read him, fascinated as he was with what a woman in one lucid flash can, my heart beat with paens of glory in tune with the heritage, which is mine; for, after all, I am but a woman born. I, therefore, could no longer hold myself in check and forsook my people to render unto him the homage due. The milk of human kindness, a woman is heir to—a mother's affection, a sister's dutiful devotion, the reticent love of a maiden harped in unison on the strings of my heart vibrating tremulously. The young hermit looked agape and said, 'What god has heralded this day for me! How sweet is thy touch and what celestial light is in thine eyes!'"

As she reveals the inspiration of an abrupt change, which stole over her when she was addressed in this novel strain, she has her doubts how the minister, rich in the devastating wisdom that rules the kingdom, would take it. Be that as it may, she must speak out for what it is worth:

"Sir, many a hilarious night, men in the grip of my charms have this body hailed as the heaven of joy and covered me with flattery unbounded. But no one ever breathed a thought so noble; none ever sought the god that in me resides. Rather, they drove him away to the wilderness in their mad race for the satisfaction of flesh. There, however, came this hermit over an untrodden path to the selfsame god lying asleep on the beach of my life and offered him this first flower of worship."

We close where the poem starts and the fallen woman has just begun telling the king's minister the tale of their aforesaid discomfiture in the following strain:

"I am so beholden to thee, oh king's minister, that to thy lotus-feet I bow down. Do take back—here they are—the gold coins and the many rewards I was given in advance."

Evidently she is in possession of that compared to which all earthly possessions pale into insignificance.

Literature, possibly of all countries, abounds with stories of spiritual translation—men and women turning all too suddenly a new leaf of life. In fact, it is a time-honoured convention to extol the conquest of carnal desires. What, however, classifies Rabindranath is that he is miles off the beaten track. He indulges in not a word that smacks of the pulpit, not a word of denunciation conjuring up a frightful end for what is admittedly a sin from the standpoint of social protocols. One human touch and the fallen woman casts away the traditional filthiness. What, again, is an appeal of pragmatic value is the poet's faith in some inalienable attributes, which are essentially the woman's. They do not forsake her, even if she might have deadened them for the exigencies for bread.

U.S.A'S INTEREST IN RABINDRANATH

By BENOYENDRA SEN GUPTA

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(To be continued)



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TRANSFORMATION OF SIKHISM: By Sir Gokul Chand Narang with foreword by Sir Jogendra Singh. New Book Society of India, New Delhi. Fourth edition. 1956. Pp. 260. Price Rs. 10.

This is the revised and enlarged edition of a well-known work which originally appeared in 1912. The author sketches the whole history of Sikhism from its beginning down to very recent times. Among the topics touched by him are the distinctive features of Guru Nanak's teachings, the organising work of the later Gurus leading to the foundation of Sikh theocracy by Guru Arjun and culminating in the creation of the Panth by the tenth and the last Guru Govind Singh, the conquests of the Sikhs under Banda and their temporary suppression, their gradual rise as a sovereign power under the administration of the Misals, the peak of their greatness under Ranjit Singh, the British conquest of the Punjab, and the recent history of the Sikhs gathering round their agitation for a separate Sikh State and the counter-agitation of the Hindus with the present uneasy equipoise in the shape of the formulation of the regional formula by the Punjab Government and the rally of the moderate Sikh leaders around the Congress. The significance of this last period extending from August, 1947, to the close of 1956 is well brought out by the epithet applied by the author, viz., "the Akali Yug in the history of the Punjab" (p. 198). Three appendices entitled *The Sikh Scriptures*, *Is Sikhism a Mixture (of Hinduism and Islam)*, and *The Distinguishing Features of Sikhism*, as well as a bibliography of 45 printed books and MSS. in English, Persian, Urdu and Gurumukhi bring this useful work to a close. Throughout the work the author gives us excellent analyses of the causes and processes of historical movements and makes use of a lucid

and forceful style. The book will remain, what it was before, a standard work on the subject.

We propose to make a few remarks. The author strikes his keynote in the very opening lines (p. 17) where after discounting the current idea of transformation of a sect of peaceful devotees into a band of fanatical warriors under the last of the Gurus, he observes, "The sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was undoubtedly forged by Govind, but the steel had been provided by Nanak who had obtained it by smelting the Hindu ore and burning out the dross and superstition of the masses and the hypocrisy and the pharisaism of the priests." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile this excellent dictum with the title of the work. We may further complain that some portions of the history such as that covering the century or so intervening between the British conquest of the Punjab and India's attainment of independence are treated in a too summary fashion. The author again is not quite accurate when he speaks of the adoption of the doctrine of incarnation and of the worship of the images by the Hindus from Jainism (pp. 19, 243). In the last chapter entitled *The Future of the Sikhs* the first part of which was written in 1946 is deliberately left by the author as it was, while the second part brings down the history to 1956. The work is disfigured by a number of misprints which have not been corrected by the author. Its usefulness would have been further enhanced by the addition of a few maps.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE: *Sahitya Akademi*, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2-8.

Our knowledge of the life and literature of our neighbours is very meagre and imperfect. Sporadic attempts have been made from time to time to acquaint the people with the literatures of the different parts of the country

through sumptuous scholarly volumes as well as popular booklets giving historical and critical accounts of particular literatures and also through translations of selected works. The enterprises of the Oxford University Press and the Indian P.E.N. deserve special mention in this connection. The former brought out a series of small books dealing with different regional literatures. The P.E.N. also published such a series in fifteen volumes. To it also goes the credit of bringing together scholars of different parts of India and inducing them to present brief accounts of the literatures of the respective parts from which they came. These accounts appeared in the form of a book entitled *Indian Literatures of To-day* published by the P.E.N.—All-India Centre. It is a matter of delight that the Sahitya Akademi is carrying forward the work of popularising regional literatures modestly initiated by non-official organisations. One of the first fruits of its long programme of work is the publication of the book under review which contains fifteen papers written by fifteen writers on the literatures produced in the fourteen recognised major languages of India as well as in English which 'is used by many Indian writers as a medium of expression.' The writers give brief but interesting accounts of the literatures concerned, with special reference to the modern trends. Of course more stress is laid on *belles lettres* than on other types of literature which require systematic treatment for the benefit of scholars. These may, it is hoped, be included in the *Bibliography of Indian Writers* which is stated to be under preparation. Meanwhile, Government has published another book which will also be helpful in forming an idea about the growth and development of literatures in different parts of the country. Persons interested in the literature and culture of India will accord a hearty welcome to these undertakings of the Akademi and the Government and will specially appreciate the comparatively modest price of the publications at a time when purchase of books owing to their high prices has almost become a luxury which very few people can afford to enjoy.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE UNITED NATIONS AND POWER POLITICS: *By Krishan Prasad. Published by Seal Publication Centre, Om Niwas, Rajamari, Agra. Pp. 186. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The League of Nations was formed after the First World War (1914-18) to end war but

it failed because powerful nations flouted the very principles and ideals on which the League was founded. The foundation of the United Nations is the second attempt by the nations of the world "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and to bring about by peaceful means settlement of international disputes." Its aim is "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" and "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic character and in promoting respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and to harmonize the action of all nations in the attainment of those common ends."

On April 25, 1945, while the Second World War was still going on, representatives of 50 nations met at San Francisco and after deliberations, adopted a constitution for the United Nations on June 26. U.N. officially came into existence on October 24, 1945. India is one of the original members of the U.N. This world body functions through five organs—(1) the General Assembly, consisting of all member-nations, now 81, (2) the Security Council, consisting of five permanent members, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., France and China with veto powers and six other members elected for two-year term, half of whom retire every year, (3) the Economic and Social Council, consisting of 16 members elected by the General Assembly, (4) the Trusteeship Council and, (5) the Secretariat. U.N. has also the International Court of Justice within its orbit. Besides U.N. functions through 'specialized agencies' whose works are co-ordinated by the Social and Economic Council. The International Labour Organization (I.L.O.), the Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.), the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O.), International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.), International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.), World Health Organization (W.H.O.), Universal Postal Union (U.P.U.), International Telecommunication Union (I.T.U.), and World Meteorological Organization (W.M.O.) are all specialized agencies working in different fields. Two other specialized bodies, viz., Inter-Governmental

Maritime Consultative Organization (I.M.C.O.), and International Trade Organization (I.T.O.), will come into being when necessary conditions are fulfilled. Besides these there are regional committees—one for Europe—Economic Commission for Europe E.C.E., one for Asia and Far East E.C.A.F.E., one for Latin America E.C.L.A. Special bodies, such as, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (U.N.I.C.E.F.) which is now a permanent organisation is doing excellent work for the good of the children of different countries.

The author has divided his book into three parts. Part I gives the introductory remarks and description of the different organs of U.N. and the U.N. Charter. Part II is devoted to U.N. in action and an assessment has been attempted of the U.N. measures in International disputes and tensions. Problems of disarmament and atomic control and activities of economic and social nature have been separately dealt with. The author does not paint a hopeful picture of U.N. particularly in the matter of maintaining world peace. The world has been divided into two antagonistic camps and the present cold war is the result. The role of India in this world drama is laudable but the ultimate result is dependent on U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. World opinion must have its effect upon the people of these great and powerful nations. In Part III, the author speculates about the future of U.N. and offers certain suggestions. The Charter was framed and adopted before the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Since that inhuman action and outrage on humanity, world has changed not for the better but for the worse and the world today is facing annihilation and destruction of civilization. A new approach and a new and better understanding can only save the nations of the world from dire consequences. Nobody can foretell what will happen in future. But the great scientists and philosophers are unanimous that the genius of mankind should be applied to constructive work, not to destructive weapons.

We would commend this book to students of political science. The book is quite a good study for the lay man who desires to know something about U.N. and its activities.

A. B. DUTTA

FUNDAMENTALS OF STATISTICS: By D. N. Elhance, Reader, Allahabad University. Kitab Mahal, 56-A, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 1016. Price Rs. 15.

Modern age is the age of statistics, and it is said that the extent of the economic development of a country can best be known by finding out the extent to which statistical organisation has developed there.

The book is an attempt to give in an easy, non-mathematical text a knowledge of the statistical methods used in modern times for analysing, evaluating and appreciating a given set of data. It is written primarily for the use of M.A., M.Com., and B.Com. students; and they are sure to profit by it. We wish more examples were given and worked out to help them. The treatment is lucid and clear. The value of the book has been enhanced by the inclusion of several mathematical tables at the end. We regret, however, there are many misprints.

J. M. DATTA

LEADING LIGHTS: By Sukhalata Rao. Published by Mahendranath Datta, 32, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 2.

As a writer of children's short stories in Bengali, Mrs. Rao is widely known. That she could write such graceful verses in English too, was unknown to us.

"These poems set forth the experiences of what most people call an ordinary life. But what gives value to them is the extraordinary sensitivity of the person who went through these experiences," writes Sri P. S. Sunderam in his introduction to this book.

This "extraordinary sensitivity" is manifest in almost all the poems, many of which are laden with old memories, "sweet though in sadness."

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

NAYE NAGAR KI KAHANI: By Ravi. Rajpal Prakashan, Agra. Pp. 237. Price Re. 1-4.

HARIJAN: By Amrit Dhar Nalle. Anril Book Company, New Delhi. Pp. 90. Price Re. 1-12.

JHAPAKIYAN: By Omkar Sharad. Ramprasad and Sons, Agra. Pp. 135. Price Re. 1-8.

LADKHADATE KADAM: By Mahendra Bhatnagar. Swarup Brothers, Indore. Pp. 78. Price Re. 1.

Shri Ravi is a rising star in the firmament of Hindi fiction. His short stories have already earned him a high place among present-day writers of short stories. *Naye Nagar Ki Kahani* is, however, a full-length novel. It is a blueprint of the new city of to-morrow, the outlines

of which are irresistibly suggested by the trends of things today. It deepens one's faith in the inexhaustible capacity of man to make and remaze himself anew and afresh in the image of his ever-enlarging ideal. *Harijan* is also a novel, describing the disabilities of the scheduled classes and the efforts of Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar for their betterment. *Jhapakiyan* and *Ladkhadate* *Ka-am* are collections of short stories in which the many facets of the daily tragi-comic drama of life are depicted by young authors, who bid fair to come to the front rank.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) *LIFE OF MANILAL NABHUBHAI DWIVEDI*: By Ambalal B. Purani. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 2.

(2) *KAMAJANYA DARDO*: By Prof. Dr. H. J. Jhala. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 42. Price As. 8.

(3) *VARSHIK VYAKHYANO*, (1929-1933): Printed at the Mahendra Press, Ahmedabad. Published by Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1950-1951. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 2.

(4) The late Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi has left a name in Gujarati literature, which stands

by itself. A biography of his was badly wanted and Shri Ambalal Purani, a devout pupil of the late Shri Aurobinda Ghose, and living at his *ashram* in Pondicherry and therefore a stranger to Gujarat and his native place, Broach, has written it. It gives a full picture of his unhappy domestic life, his chronic bad health and his triumph over all these drawbacks, by leaving a rich and valuable heritage to Gujarati literature, as a poet, a prose-writer, a philosopher and an able magazine editor and critic. (2) Syphilis, gonorrhoea, chancroid and two other similar diseases born of sexual excesses are treated by Dr. Jhala with a view to point out how to cure them and what should be done to prevent them. It is a good guide. (3) Eight addresses delivered at the annual general meetings of the Gujarat Vernacular Society—the old name of Gujarat Vidya Sabha—are reprinted in this collection. Eminent scholars like the late Dr. Jamshedji Jivanji Modi, Lady Vidyagavri Nilkanth, Prof. R. V. Pathak, Hon'ble Shri Ganesh Vasudev Mavlanekar, Dr. Iran J. Taraporevala, Prof. V. B. Divatia, the late Prof. B. K. Thakore and Prof. V. J. Vaidya, figure there.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Education in Ancient India

T. V. Satyanarayanan observes in the *Educational Digest*:

"Education is the real eye of man, and Truth is the highest penance," says the Mahabharata.

The paramount importance of education for the achievement of a harmonious development of the physical, intellectual and spiritual faculties of man, was fully realized by the Indians from time immemorial. The ancient concept of education was that it was an unfailing light and a perpetual source of illumination. Education was considered as a means to secure progress and prosperity in this material world and peace and salvation in the spiritual world.

Education in ancient India was inseparable from religion and teachers were generally priests. It was a sacred duty of a Brahmana to teach; it was a religious obligation of the parents to provide their children with the necessary education; and it was equally a religious duty of the students to learn and to revere their teacher. The primary aim of education was to inculcate in the mind of a young student the spirit of religious piety and a sense of the true values of life. The fact that education and religion were dovetailed did not mean that the former inculcated a spirit of renunciation in the minds of the students; on the contrary, it was believed that it was the aim of education to modify and ennoble the character of man, to develop his personality by giving him self-confidence and dignity, to cultivate in his mind a sense of social obligations and to infuse in him the idea that the rich national heritage must be zealously preserved and propagated.

A remarkable idea that was prevalent in ancient India was that it was incumbent on the rich and the poor parents alike to educate their children, both male and female. The Upanayana ritual signified the beginning of education for Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and as a result every Aryan received at least elementary education. The monopoly of education that Brahmanas enjoyed, was essentially a later development.

As Dr. Altekar has pointed out, the development of the systems of education in ancient India may be studied under three heads:

1. The pre-historic times when the family itself was an educational institution.

2. The Vedic age and the advent of professional teachers.

3. The age of Buddhism and the rise of Buddhist Universities and Temple-colleges.

THE PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

Before 1000 B.C., when teaching as a separate profession was non-existent, the family played a dominant role in the education of the young. Every father was a teacher and every home a school. There are ample references to this system of education in the Vedas and the reference to Prajapati as a teacher of his sons, Devas, Asuras and Men, is an example. Even after the coming of private teachers, the father alone was considered the legitimate person to begin the education of his son by teaching him the sacred Gayatri Mahamantra.

PROFESSIONAL TEACHERS AND THE GURUKUL SYSTEM

With the development and progress of different branches of education there arose a professional class of teachers who dedicated their lives in a spirit of self-sacrifice, considering it as a sacred duty, to the cause of the education of the young. These teachers, who were Brahmanas, were experts in different branches of learning and they imparted education to the rich and the poor students alike and received the honorarium given by the students at the end of their course.

An interesting aspect of the ancient system of education was the relation between the teacher and the taught. It was filial love and impartial treatment that were expected of a teacher in his relationship with his student. His responsibilities for the upbringing of his pupil were great indeed. The students also had several obligations to fulfil in return. They had to look upon their teacher with great reverence and admiration and consider him as an ideal man of noble character. According to the Upanishads, a teacher must be respected as a god. Manu's book of laws also recommended

the same. It was the sacred duty and the great privilege of the students to serve their teacher to the best of their ability and receive his blessings.

It is not difficult for us to understand why the teacher in ancient India commanded great respect and reverence. Those were the days when paper and printing were unknown and Vedic lore was taught from generation to generation orally. Much importance was attached to the pronunciation in the recitation of the Vedas and it could be learnt properly only from the lips of an erudite teacher. Moreover, as we have noted, the teachers were all dedicated spirits, who had chosen the profession of teaching in a missionary spirit of zeal and self-sacrifice.

Strict rules of discipline were imposed on young students. It was believed that marriage and studentship went ill together and hence it was stipulated that the students had to lead a life of celibacy—Brahmacharya—and they were allowed to marry only after the completion of their course of study. In order to bring education within the reach of all and to inculcate in the mind of the young students a sense of modesty and humility necessary for proper training, the ancients glorified begging—*Bhiksha*—as one of the noblest and highest duties that students had to fulfil.

The scriptures prohibited a student from paying any fees to his teacher before the completion of the course and they also prohibited a teacher from realizing any fixed amount of fees from his students. Of course, there was no law to prevent a teacher from accepting the honorarium—*Dakshina*—or voluntary gifts given by the students according to their ability. In fact the scriptures encouraged the payment of the *Dakshina* to a teacher at the end of the course and it was a popular belief that a man would reap the fruits of his learning only if he gave the *Dakshina*, however humble it might be, to the teacher. Many Sanskrit works have immortalized the eagerness of young students and the hardships they had to undergo to pay the *Guru-Dakshina*. There was *Ekalavya*, who after completing his course in archery, was prepared to give his thumb, an essential requisite for an archer, as *Dakshina* to his *Guru*. Again, in the *Raghuvamsha*, there is the interesting story of a disciple, *Koutsa*, who went and begged of King *Raghu* for gold so that he might be able to pay the *Dakshina* to his teacher *Varadandu*.

ANCIENT GURUKULA SYSTEM

According to this system, which was quite common in ancient India for higher education, the student had to leave his home and stay with the teacher till his education was completed. Though the *Smritis* demanded that the students had to dwell in their teacher's residence immediately after the *Upanayana* ritual, evidences show that the students used to stay with their teacher only when they were old enough to look after themselves. This system of education was resorted to only by some and among them were also many rich people.

The Gurukula system was indeed an ideal system of education that was prevalent in ancient India. There was uninterrupted contact between the teacher and the taught and the student was always under direct and personal supervision of the teacher. Free from worries of family life at home, the students could concentrate on their studies and they could develop a sterner sense of discipline and a keener sense of duties.

THE ADVENT OF BUDDHIST UNIVERSITIES AND TEMPLE-COLLEGES

Separate institutions for education were unknown in the early history of India and education was a monopoly of private teachers. Many learned Brahmins used to flock in the famous capitals of kingdoms and in holy places and consequently there arose many centres of learning such as Taxila, Mithila, Pataliputra, Benares, Tanjore and Kalyani. These centres of learning achieved much fame and attracted many students from all over India in the 7th and 6th centuries before the Christian era. The famous teachers of these places were usually experts in the three Vedas, philosophy, grammar and the eighteen "sippas."

The credit for establishing organised universities in India must be given to the Buddhist monasteries. The Buddhist tenets demanded that novices should have a good knowledge of religious literature and as a result each monastery became a seat of learning. Though at first these centres were meant only for monks and nuns, later on they also admitted lay population.

One of the greatly renowned Buddhist monasteries-cum-educational institutions was the University of Nalanda. From the recent excavations and from the encomium showered by Fa Hien, Yuan Chuang and Itsing we get the idea that the university had immense build-

ings and adequate boarding facilities and that the scholars of Nalanda were respected throughout the country. Above all it was an international centre of education with a wide and all-embracing curriculum, attracting students from near and far-off countries such as China, Tibet and Korea. Dr. Altekar has quoted a passage from Watters giving a list of famous Nalanda scholars who thrived in the first half of the 7th century:

"Dharmapala and Chandrapala, who gave fragrance to the Buddha's teachings, Gunamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation among contemporaries, Prabhramitra of clear argument, Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jainamitra of model character and perspicacious intellect and Silabhadra whose perfect eloquence was buried in obscurity."

Equally great but later in origin was the Buddhist University of Vikramasila founded in the 8th century by King Dharmapala. Though the curriculum was not as wide as that of the one at Nalanda, this international university flourished for more than four centuries and produced great scholars.

The admission to this institution was strict and eminent scholars were gate-keepers—Dvara-Panditas—in the literal and the figurative sense of the word. The students who intended to join this university were examined thoroughly by these Dvara-Panditas and only eligible students were admitted. This university which was composed of six colleges and a Central Hall had a well-equipped library.

According to Yuan Chuang, there were also many other Buddhist monasteries that were great educational centres. Among them were Jallander monastery in the Punjab, Jayendra monastery in Kashmir and Amraoti monastery in the country of Andhras.

From the 10th century onwards there arose many Hindu-Temple-colleges as counterparts to the Buddhist universities and colleges. The famous among those temples which became great seats of learning were at Salogi, Tirumukudal, Ennayiram and Tiruvorriyar.

According to Dr. Altekar, though these Temple-colleges were all situated in South-India, it was quite probable—though we cannot ascertain because of lack of details owing to the destruction of temples and their records by the Muslims—that the temples of the North also acted as centres of learning; and it is evident from the fact that one of the reasons for the demolition of the Hindu temples by Aurangzeb

was that they were used for educational purposes. The destruction of temples, the poverty of the Hindu society, the neglect of native education by many Muslim kings and pedantry and vain pride exhibited by the scholars themselves were some of the major impediments to the progress of education in later times.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the history of education in ancient India reflects the high civilization and culture achieved by Indians. Though paper and printing were unknown and libraries non-existent, great importance was attached to the education of the young. Students were taught orally and sacred lore was hoarded in the memory of the people. It did not mean that cramming was the criterion of the learned; emphasis was laid on assimilation and the proper moulding of character for making a man a useful and promising member of society. The ancient culture of India remains as a source of inspiration to us even now. Though great changes have taken place in the system of education in modern times, the missionary spirit of the ancient teachers to teach, the zeal of the students of those days to learn and the filial relationship that

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existed between the teacher and the taught, must be revived in order to accelerate our efforts to achieve progress and prosperity through the education of the young in modern India.

Silent Revolution in Tunisia

Reginald Reynolds, a friend of Gandhiji and a staunch advocate of Indian freedom in the pre-independence years, gives in an article in *The Aryan Path* a hopeful report on the progress of Tunisia in its first year of freedom:

I was invited by the Tunisian Government to attend the celebrations in March 1957, marking the first anniversary of independence.

For me the official celebrations, though interesting, were not the chief objects of interest. Independence, as India discovered, is not an end but a beginning. Here I can only record bare impressions, but I find some of them interesting and even startling.

The population of Tunisia is only about 3,783,000, the vast majority of them Moslems. The largest minority consists of about a quarter of a million Europeans. About two-thirds of Europeans are French, and of the remainder the Italians make the biggest group. About 55,000 Tunisian Jews, whose ancestors lived peacefully in the country when Jews were persecuted throughout Europe, still live at peace with their Moslem neighbours. There is no deep, inherent conflict between Jews and Moslems: the two religions bear marked similarities, the code of Islam following closely that of Moses. Racially the original Arabs, like the Jews, were Semites. Many, if not most, Jews living in Arab countries would be correctly described (and many, in fact, describe themselves) as "Arabs of the Jewish faith." Their culture and their language are Arabic—and the distinctive marks of the Arabs are culture and language, not race (for they are mixed) and not religion, for the Arab world has at no time been exclusively Moslem.

It is only in the countries politically or emotionally affected by the political aims of Zionism and its Western sponsors that Arab-Jewish conflict has broken out periodically, since the end of the First World War, or that the terms "Arab" and "Jew" are even regarded as mutually exclusive. Here, in Tunisia, I found complete concord. To emphasize the integration of the new state—a secular state, like India—the small Jewish minority, though less than one and a half per cent of the total

population, is represented in the Tunisian cabinet.

The Government ministers must surely average a record triumph for youth. Bechir Ben Yahmed, the Minister of Information (a man of exceptional energy and ability), is only 28 and many of his colleagues are in their early thirties. The mental outlook of the Neo-Destour leaders is progressive. This is a loose term and can easily be misunderstood, but it would be even more misleading if I described it as "Western" or "European," though many ideas which generated in Europe have their place in the plans which Habib Bourguiba and his colleagues are making for the future of Tunisia.

Most startling, to me, was their attitude to women. I had seen, in India, the rapid evolution of women's rights and of women themselves in the struggle for freedom. Gandhiji, with his unerring capacity for linking up two wrongs and two rights, had always urged sex equality as the logical aim of all who sought freedom from foreign oppression; and he had seen also that the emancipation of Indian women would more than double the force of Indian nationalism.

Already in Tunisia a large number of Moslem women have discarded the veil. The lead, as in Egypt, has come from the educated women. By two bold strokes the new secular state has broken away from centuries of tradition. It has declared all future polygamous marriages illegal; and it has established its Constitution on the basis of universal adult suffrage, regardless of sex.

I find the enthusiasm of the Tunisian leaders for universal education another cause for great

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hope. Once more I see two forces of progress marching in step—the political rights which will make women a power in the land and the educational programme which will help them to use that power with greater knowledge and understanding.

For a government of men experienced in resistance, but not in administration, I found the plans and achievements of the Neo-Destour leaders in the first year of independence very impressive. Already long-term policies of afforestation—so necessary in a country of long droughts and short torrents—were being carried out. New dams are to be built to pre-

serve the water, of which Tunisia never has enough. For this purpose a new force of voluntary labour has come into existence— young men who give “national service” with picks and shovels. It is a young country and its young leaders take a special interest in the rising generation. But the greatest of their achievements, the silent revolution which may swiftly transform the whole country, was accomplished by two strokes of the pen which took Tunisia through 1300 years from the feudal, male-dominated structure of the Arab conquest to the twentieth-century conception of a living democracy.

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The International Geophysical Year

Mahesh Kumar Moondhra writes in *The Indian Review*:

The advancement of the studies of geophysics in its many different aspects requires international co-operation more than most branches of science. In 1882-83 the nations of the world held what was known as an International Polar Year, in which meteorological and geomagnetic observations were made at a number of stations grouped, with a few exceptions, in the north polar regions.

50 years later, in 1932-33 a second International Polar Year was arranged, in which in addition to meteorological and geomagnetic observations, there were included ionospheric observations. These latter broke new grounds and made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the ionosphere and its variations.

Since 1933 many new methods of investigation have been developed and a large number of problems in geophysics require their solutions. A wide-spread feeling developed among scientists that a third year, devoted to concerted study of these problems, would be of great value.

In 1950 and 1951 a proposal to this effect was brought before the three international scientific unions chiefly concerned and was endorsed by them. The International Council of Scientific Unions approved the proposals; widened its scope to include observations in all latitudes and designated this enterprise as International Geophysical Year. An international committee was appointed to supervise the plans, and national committees were formed by the participating countries, which now number nearly 55. The world Meteorological Organisation is also participating.

It was decided by the Special Committee for the International Geophysical year (known as C.S.A.G.I., Comité Spécial de l'Année Géophysique Internationale) that the "Year" shall extend from July 1957 to December 1958. It follows the second Polar Year after an interval of 25 years.

The features to be studied during this period are: (1) Meteorology, including normal surface observations, as well as temperature, humidity, and wind in the upper air, measurement of ozone, solar and atmospheric radiation; (2) Geomagnetism; (3) Aurora and Air-

glow; (4) the Ionosphere, including its absorbing power, atmospheric noise and drift over the earth's surface by the winds; (5) Solar activity; (6) Cosmic rays; (7) Longitudes; and Latitudes; small variations affecting the accuracy of time signals; (8) Glaciology; measurements of rate of accumulation and movement; (9) Seismology; measurements of short period vertical movements of the earth's surface and of medium or long period horizontal movements; (10) Gravity measurements; (11) Oceanography.

The International Geophysical Year is the biggest scientific investigation ever launched by man. The world-wide programme of the 18-month period will occupy several thousand people. At the middle of the 20th century the manifold activities of this scientifically exciting enterprise will bring together the research workers in a common project.

For a scheme of this magnitude and this scope, preparations began far in advance of zero hour. Many of the instruments to be used were specially constructed, and some of them, as well as the teams to work them, had to be conveyed to, and installed in, the remotest parts of the globe.

In Antarctica the study will be on a scale hitherto unknown. The preparations for the main polar programme in that frozen continent was started even earlier than for the others.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have announced that during the IGY some man-made satellities of the Earth will be launched in the sky. They will be the "laboratories in space." The satellities will be spherical in shape. Their orbits will be a few hundred miles up.

A journal named "The Annals of the International Geophysical Year" will be published and in it all IGY documents will be reproduced. The first volume will deal in general with the IGY programme and trace its derivation from the first and second Polar Years. The text will be in French and English.

The success of the International Geophysical Year will be based on the co-operation of all the countries of the world. We are sure that it will add much to the knowledge and understanding of geophysical phenomena and will prove of great benefit to mankind.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The International Geophysical Year

Gerald Wendt explains the nature of the International Geophysical Year (as reproduced below) in the *Unesco Chronicle*, March 1957:

Present knowledge of the earth is inadequate and not sufficiently exact for many modern purposes such as forecasting the weather, broadcasting in radio and television, high-altitude aeroplane flights, the use of long-range rockets, predicting changes in the temperature, the level of the oceans and the location of fish populations, controlling rainfall and arid conditions, or predicting earthquakes and other movements.

For these and other more scientific purposes, knowing the inhabited surface of the earth is not enough. It is important to explore the ocean deeps, the earth's interior, and the frozen continent of Antarctica which is almost as large as South America and nearly twice as large as Europe. Even more important is the exploration of the upper atmosphere.

All these explorations require exact measurements which can be made with the instruments and methods of modern physics. This is why a world campaign—known as the International Geophysical Year—is now being prepared with some fifty nations scheduled to participate in it. Strictly speaking, it is not really a 'year' but eighteen months, because the campaign will run from 1 July, 1957 to 31 December, 1958.

EXPLORERS IN THE ARCTIC AND ANTARCTIC

The programme is so immense that even the preparations for it have already included large exploring expeditions to the Antarctic by the British and the Americans. This mass of rock and ice will be the scene in a few months time of concentrated studies by eleven nations: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Britain, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. At least twenty and possibly fifty observation stations will be set up on the vast continent and on the islands near it. A number of expeditions to prepare base camps have already been made. An American party of 7 ships, 14 aircraft and 1,800 men spent 104 days from December

1955 through March 1956, on the edge of the ice, and established two permanent camps. A thousand tons of supplies were unloaded there to build two more camps, one inland among the mountains of Marie Byrd Land, the other at the South Pole itself. These four major American stations are about 500 miles distant from each other. Four other bases will also be built during the next season. For inland transport giant tractors and cargo planes will be used. At the South Pole station the planes will have to land on the ice plateau at an elevation of 10,000 feet, but 500 tons of cargo will be dropped by parachute. When all is prepared, the scientists will arrive for their studies.

Both in the Antarctic and at the North Pole scientific measurements will include the depth and temperature of the sea, analyses of snow, ice and air, measurements of the temperature, pressure and winds of the atmosphere, and a study of magnetic and electrical conditions and of the intense cosmic rays. These areas are of vital importance both because the earth's magnetism is concentrated about the poles and because the enormous ice mass has a decisive yet almost unknown effect on the earth's climate and weather.

The Arctic and the Antarctic expeditions are, however, only a small part of the entire programme for the International Geophysical Year. The project is so large, with the participation of 54 nations and at an estimated cost of more than \$200,000,000, that it must be organized by a central authority. This is a special committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions, which has its secretariat in London and operates partly under a subvention from Unesco in Paris. The Council is composed of representatives of a score of international unions, in particular those concerned with physics, astronomy, geography, geophysics, meteorology and radio. The Secretariat of the International Geophysical Year thus draws upon the resources of the entire scientific world. There are also national committees in the individual countries that can draw on national funds for support, and Unesco is offering aid as well.

The studies of the upper atmosphere, of electrical conditions and of the sun's radiations are probably the most important part of the project. They involve the earth as a whole, as a small planet rotating round the sun. The essential requirement in this field is that observations be made at the same time at widely separated points on the earth. For this reason a detailed calendar of the 18-month 'year' has been prepared which sets certain regular periods and a number of special ones during which observing stations all over the world will take their measurements. There will be at least three regular 'world days' each month, two at the new moon and one near the quarter-moon. An additional 'world day' will later be set in some months to include periods of greatest meteoric activity. In addition, there will be special 'world intervals,' averaging four days each month when magnetic and auroral displays can be expected. The many national observation posts will be alerted and co-ordinated by three powerful radio transmitters in the U.S.A., France and Japan. Finally there will be six 'world meteorological intervals,' each lasting ten consecutive days for such specialized observations as the annular eclipse of the sun on 19 April, 1958, and two total eclipses of the sun on 23 October, 1957, and 12 October, 1958, both of them visible only in the southern hemisphere.

OF ROCKETS AND 'ROCKOONS'

The most spectacular experiment of the 'year' will be the launching by the U.S.A. and by the U.S.S.R. of small rockets which will establish themselves in orbits from 200 to 1,000 miles above the earth's surface and will swing round the earth, like moons, once in every 90 minutes. They will be only temporary satellites, lasting for several weeks before they slow down through friction with the air and descend at great speed to burn away like ordinary meteorites. Meanwhile they will serve as automatic observation posts, high above the atmosphere, and will constantly measure the sun's radiation, cosmic rays and magnetic conditions, reporting their measurements by radio signals.

But this will not be the only use of rockets. The U.S.A. plans to send aloft about 100 'Rockoons,' which are small rockets launched from balloons at an altitude of about 90,000 feet that can then carry some 7 pounds of scientific instruments to a height of 60 miles. In addition, the U.S.A. will

launch about 36 'Aerobee' rockets and France about 12 'Veroniques,' both of which can carry from 20 to 35 pounds of equipment to altitudes of several hundred miles. Great Britain and the Soviet Union will also probably join in this programme.

The information obtained from all these measurements will be the basis of study for many years to come. The data on winds, large air currents, temperatures and humidity of the air at various levels and in the tropic and southern regions are needed for more accurate forecasting of weather. They will also greatly assist air navigation and the planning of airline routes and schedules. During the past century the climate has been getting steadily warmer, and future studies of the melting of the polar ice-caps and of glaciers will probably explain the rise in level of the sea by about four inches over the last hundred years. Similarly, the currents, temperatures and saltiness of the oceans and the long waves that affect shipping and cause coastal flooding need study. For example, the rise in the temperature of Arctic waters has already had important effects in the fisheries industry.

Data on magnetic storms will also be invaluable. At present, these storms are unpredictable; they are often violent and interfere with the use of magnetic instruments, such as the compass in ordinary navigation, to say nothing of radio broadcasting and radio telephoning across the sea. Finally, other observations will permit more accurate measurements of the distances between the continents and even the exact location of various islands which may now be inaccurately mapped by as much as a mile.

The International Geophysical Year is therefore one of the largest and most important scientific projects ever conceived. It will bring into use a wide variety of new instruments undreamed of before the electronic and the atomic age. It will involve a degree of co-operation between nations that was not possible before the organization of the international scientific unions and their co-ordination by the International Council of Scientific Unions, which is supported by Unesco.

Successful Development of Trade between India and Yugoslavia

The new Trade Agreement between India and Yugoslavia signed towards the end of March 1956 offered a very satisfactory basis for a dynamic development of trade relations.

The exports from Yugoslavia to India in 1956 rose by 15 times as compared with 1955.

The diverse and comprehensive task of investment in India's Second Five-Year Plan offer a lasting prospect for Yugoslavia's basic industry, which after World War II and in terms of capacity, sometimes exceeds the maximum needs of the country.

As was to be expected, the great distances, specific Indian and British standard measures have influenced the development of trade between the two countries.

In 1956 the largest volume of exports consisted of products manufactured to technical standards—including concrete reinforcement bars, seamless tubing, rails, welded tubing, steel sheets, nonferrous metal products, cement, heavy chemicals and chains.

The imports from India included hard fibres and yarn, raw cotton, mica, shellac, spices, while the principal item was iron ore. The value of exports and imports were out of balance and this is a shortcoming which represents one of the salient characteristics of trade during the last year.

However, during the current year other favourable factors will play an important role in trade with India. The efforts to increase the imports from India are beginning to yield good results so that in 1957 the value of imports may be expected to rise to one million pounds for India.

The orders definitely placed and the sales contracts now in progress of negotiation represent a very large volume of exports from Yugoslavia.

An order was placed for a 12,540 t. dw cargo vessel amounting to 1,041,000 pounds sterling to be delivered by January 1959. Recently an order was received for two patrol boats costing about 150,000 pounds. The accumulated orders for several years ahead do not permit the shipyards to accept additional orders from India.

The first quantity of 20 bridges is now in production and will be delivered by September of this year. The next group of 35 bridges, despite the subsequent changes of dimensions will also be delivered satisfactorily and under favourable delivery terms. An order has been secured for the 250-foot long Gandak River bridge weighing 2,800 tons. The "Litostroj" Enterprise has received an order for five cranes some with a capacity of over 100 tons.

Several Yugoslav bridge construction

enterprises have been registered as suppliers of Indian railways and orders are pending for production of bridge girders within the limits of their capacities. In this connection delivery of over 20,000 tons of girders and accessories can be expected soon.

All the technical specifications and commercial terms for the production and delivery of rails for the Indian Railways to Indian standards have been agreed upon. This covers the delivery of 75,000 tons of rails and 2,500 tons fishplates to be completed by 1959.

This year new orders amounting to about 30,000 tons of steel products may be expected. Agreement has been reached for the delivery of cables, various hardware and other products of metal and chemical industries.

The Industrial Exhibition to be organised in Bombay towards the end of this year by the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade will enable still better contacts to be established between businessmen of the two countries and offer an opportunity of acquiring better knowledge of the possibilities of increased exports from both countries.—*News from Yugoslavia*, July, 1957.

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—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

What the World Translated in 1955

New Edition of Unesco's *Index Translationum*

The 1957 and eighth annual edition of *Index Translationum* published by Unesco presents a comprehensive record of the translated works published during 1955 in 55 countries.

It offers, not only an authoritative reference work for all concerned with the book and publishing trade but the far wider circle of those who are interested in the spread of books, whether from the literary, sociological or educational point of view, or merely from the general interest in what "foreign" books people round the world read most.

Of literary authors, Tolstoy heads the list as being the most translated of any writer, with translation of his works published in 23 countries. Next come Shakespeare and Hans Christian Andersen, followed by Maxim Gorky, Anton Chekov, Honore de Balzac and Jack London.

The figures for translations of individual authors in various countries show that Jules Verne was the most translated writer during 1955 in Czechoslova-

kia, Italy and Yugoslavia and the top non-Russian author in the USSR. The Bible was the most translated work in Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States. The highest total of translations throughout the world for any one writer is for the works of Lenin—371 titles—of which 328 translations were published in the USSR and 43 in other countries.

Partly because of the numerous translations published in the many languages of the USSR, that country heads the list for the number of translations published with a total of 4,282 titles. Next comes Germany (2,056), Czechoslovakia (1,478), France (1,424), Japan (1,203), Italy (1,118), Netherlands (1,104).

As to the kind of books translated, Japan leads in the publication of philosophical works, the United States in religious publications, and Poland in works in the exact sciences.

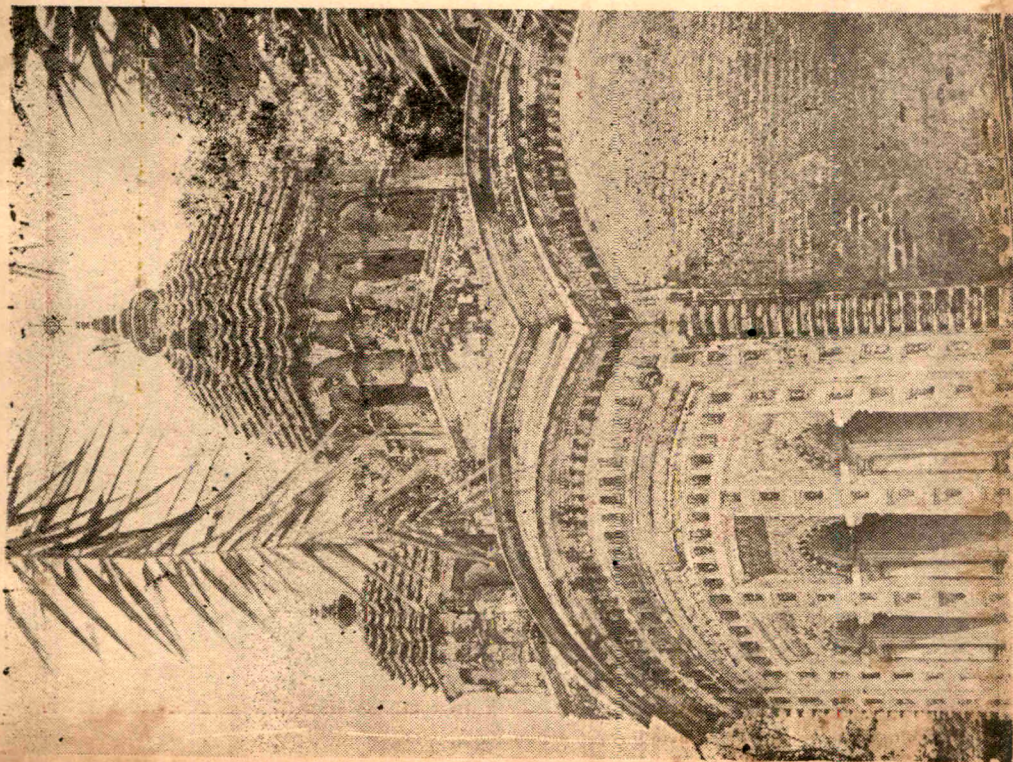
Detective fiction figures prominently in the total of translations with Agatha Christie, with the highest number. The most translated woman writer in 1955 was Pearl Buck.

Index Translationum lists more than 24,000 titles.—Unesco.

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OCTOBER



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NOTES

The Great Illusion

A Calcutta weekly, that specializes in reviewing economic and political affairs, has recently remarked in one of its special issues, that the only visible effects of the completion of the First Five-Year Plan were soaring prices and a rising spiral of unemployment. Although the logic and accuracy in the data put forward in support might both be questioned, there can be no question about the above statement, where the conviction of the common man is concerned.

It has been remarked by no less a person than Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, who so very ably edited the premier economic weekly of India, *The Capital*, from 1932 to 1952, that there has been an abrupt change of opinion about the Plan in India. In an article, written in the *Geographical Magazine* of London, he writes:

"Recently, for the first time, doubts have begun to be heard about India's ability to carry through her Second Five-Year Plan; more significantly the doubts are heard loudest of all in India itself. This is a complete change of mood; a year ago a few senior civil servants and businessmen might have had their mental reservations which they mostly kept to themselves, but it would have been the grossest heresy for a politician of any party to question the feasibility of the Plan. What has happened to cause this abrupt change of front?"

Mr. Tyson may well ask the question, although the answer has either evaded him or else he is reluctant to put it bluntly.

The real answer is the loss of faith of the people. By loss of faith we mean the faith of the people in the Congress and in the Congress Government.

The nation is getting demoralised, through ruthless neglect and disregard. All that they have got in these past ten years are pious hopes and promises, which have been progressively deferred, of relief and betterment. There has been talk, in season and out of season, of a Welfare State. What the Man in the Street observes today is a State and a Nation that is solely and ruthlessly exploited for the betterment of a small group of politicians, their myrmidons of office and of a small group of profiteers. All of them are far better off than ever before, particularly the group of politicians. And the burden of the tax-payer, the householder and the honest workman, has increased five-fold, where the cost of living is concerned. The standard of living of the middle-class, who are the backbone of any democracy, is lower today than it has been since the beginning of this century.

This is the reason why the morale of the people has gone down, and they have no faith in the capacity—in some cases even of the integrity—of most of the persons who are in high office and in positions of trust. And that is why they are protesting against the increase in taxation, direct and indirect.

The Plans are doomed to failure unless organised labour can be persuaded to observe some social laws. West Bengal has already become a plague-spot where industry is concerned and the latest disruptive movement, the Bank strike, is affecting the trade also to a very serious extent. Organised labour is also following the path of exploitation, the forcible imposition of terms on a vast majority for the illusory benefit of a very few.

Communalism Stalks the South

The whole of the country received a great shock from the communal riots in a district of Madras in which Hindus belonging to one caste mercilessly murdered their co-religionist of a different caste. The tragedy arose out of the murder of a Christian Harijan, in an obscure village in the Mridukalathur Taluka in the district of Ramnathapuram in the State of Madras. Immediately riot broke out between the Harijans and the Marabars (Thebars). The conflagration soon spread out to the neighbouring Talukas and even to the nearby district of Madurai and cost nearly fifty precious lives.

The rioters resorted to all the well-known tactics of goondaism, arson, looting and murder. They fought one another with firearms. The riots have been a blot to India's fair name and a proper investigation into its origin is immediately called for. It is a moot question whether the loss of life of one individual could lead to such a widespread and violent riot. The initial leniency of the police in dealing with the situation would also seem to invite comments.

India had to pay a very great price for the vice of communalism. One should have thought that the lessons of the tragic events leading to the dismemberment of the country and of the subsequent happenings both in India and her sister-country Pakistan had conclusively demonstrated the utter ineffectiveness of communal strife as a political weapon. The starving peasants of Eastern Pakistan, the refugees dying in the Sealdah platform and the itinerant Punjabi are a constant reminder of what communalism ends in. The homeless orphan of Ramnathapuram would, it is hoped, drive home this lesson to the people in the South, who, having been largely unaffected by earlier communal strifes might have missed it.

Why Efficiency Suffers?

Efficiency is on the decline almost in every sphere of life in India—particularly in the government departments. Trains are normally late, posts are usually uncertain, corruption is not unusual—in short, inefficiency reigns almost supreme. The causes are many; but one of the most important is the absence of any spirit of service among those occupying the higher echelons of the official bureaucracy. The follow-

ing news-item appearing in the *Statesman* September 13, illustrates the point:

"Another instance of a train running 75 minutes late because of the insistence of a senior official to have his way has come to light. As a result of the detention, the train missed connexion with an important train at Asansol.

"A Third Class bogie of the Moghalsarai Passenger train was found damaged after it had reached Bhadreswar on the Eastern Railway from Howrah on Wednesday night. The removal of the damaged bogie required detachment of a saloon. Reattachment of the saloon would have disturbed the arrangement of the remaining bogies, involving considerable delay.

"The railway staff at Bhadreswar approached Mr. S. P. Chatterjee, Divisional Superintendent, Transportation, Dhanbad, who was in the saloon, and requested him to travel for the rest of his journey in a First Class compartment of the train. Mr. Chatterjee, who was on his way to Dhanbad, insisted that he must travel in the saloon.

"The staff had to reattach the saloon to the train according to the set pattern, after removing the damaged bogie. The operation took over an hour as the shunting facilities at a small station, like Bhadreswar, are extremely limited.

"The Asansol-Bareilly Passenger had left Asansol when the Moghalsarai Passenger reached the station. A large number of people travelling in the Moghalsarai Passenger who were to have caught the other train at Asansol were stranded there. They included Mr. Chatterjee."

Being a railwayman himself it was natural to expect of the officer Shri Chatterjee that he would be instructing the staff not to cause any delay in an effort to reattach his saloon. What happened was however completely to the contrary. It would be interesting to know what steps, if any, the railway authorities have taken against this officer, who, if the report be true, deserves severe correction. Similarly a report appeared in the newspapers of Calcutta about a Minister of the Central Government, who insisted that his saloon be attached to a mail train, thereby displacing a whole bogey of third class passengers, during the rush period of the Puja holidays. Who is this wonderful specimen?

The Way of the Bureaucrats

Professor C. Northcote Parkinson of the University of Malaya has formulated a law on the growth of bureaucracy. According to him, "bureaucracy expands on the basis of the fact that work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion." For example, an elderly lady of leisure might take a whole day in writing a letter which would require no more than a few minutes for a busy executive.

Professor Parkinson proceeds on two assumptions which, he says in an article in the fortnightly *Reporter* of New York, are almost axiomatic truths. These assumptions are: (1) "An official wants to multiply subordinates, not rivals" and (2) "Officials make work for each other." From these he concludes that "there need be little or no relationship between the work to be done and the size of the staff to which it may be assigned. A lack of real activity does not, of necessity, result in leisure. A lack of occupation is not necessarily revealed by a manifest idleness. The thing to be done swells in importance and complexity in direct ratio with the time to be spent."

The validity of Parkinson's analysis is at once obvious as one looks at the working of the government departments in India. The various departments are inflating in numbers, yet no marked improvement in efficiency is visible. But for that matter the officers, at least generally, do not have much free time.

Reportedly the Government of India's attention has also been drawn to this aspect of the growth of bureaucracy in India and Pandit Nehru is understood to have asked one of Professor Parkinson's articles to be circulated among the various departments.

Postal Caprices

The capriciousness of the Postal Department has reached almost an intolerable proportion. Delays and lapses in the delivery have become almost a routine affair. One has to thank one's stars if he receives articles addressed to him through post. We have received complaints from our subscribers and other friends about such irregularities. A contemporary, the weekly *Jugabani*, has also editorially drawn attention to the great inconvenience caused by the mismanagement in the Postal Department. But matters do not seem to have improved for all that. The peons and the postal authorities

take advantage of the fact that no one can conclusively prove non-delivery of unregistered packets and parcels. But the efficiency of the department can be measured only by the extent to which such complaints are made. Is it really too much to hope that the authorities would take public complaints a bit more seriously and try to enforce a greater degree of discipline over the staff? The indiscipline among the postal employees is due, we know, also partly to the irresponsible trade union leadership. It is, therefore, time that our trade union leaders also realized the need for a change of their organizational and political tactics. This policy of intransigence is hitting West Bengal vitally, in particular, making it a plague-spot for trade and industry.

Annual Report of the Reserve Bank

"The Indian economy exhibited signs of the growing strain imposed by a high rate of investment which was partly deficit-financed. Evidence of this strain was reflected in the continued rise of commodity prices and costs of living, in monetary stringency and a rapid decline in foreign exchange reserves. A wide range of corrective measures, which included additional taxation, a restrictive import policy except as regards foodgrains, and general as well as selective credit controls was adopted by Government and the Reserve Bank to deal with the situation." Thus observes the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India in its Report for the accounting year ended June 1957. The report contains, as usual, a survey of the major economic developments during the year and a detailed account of the measures taken in the fields of credit policy, banking development and legislation, and supervision of banks.

Agricultural production in 1955-56 was slightly lower than in 1954-55 due mainly to a fall in foodgrains output, but in 1956-57 the production of foodgrains is estimated to have risen by 3.6 million tons or 5.5 per cent and the total agricultural output also rose by about 6 per cent. The rising trend of industrial production was well maintained during the year; the average index of industrial production for 1956 (base: 1951=100) recorded a rise of about 9 per cent over 1955 and the average index for January-April 1957 at

141.9, was also about 9 per cent higher than in the same period of 1956. The price situation continued to cause concern, with the general index of wholesale prices (base: 1952-53=100) rising further by 8.3 per cent between June 1956 and June 1957 on top of a rise of 13.8 per cent in 1955-56. The rise in prices, the Report observes, was attributable to the rising impact on demand of the incomes generated by heavy investment under the Plan and the relative shortfall in agricultural production, particularly of coarse grains in 1955-56, accompanied by increased tendency to hold foodgrains partly with the help of bank credit. The short-term measures which Government took to curb the rise in prices included arrangements for imports of wheat and rice. Credit restriction measures were also employed by the Reserve Bank to deal with the situation. The only long-term solution to the problem, the Report states, is increase in output, accompanied by appropriate fiscal and monetary policies.

The expansionary forces in the economy were operative in the monetary and banking spheres. In 1956-57, there was a substantial increase in money supply with the public, though the magnitude of increase (Rs. 153) was smaller than in the previous year (Rs. 212 crores). The larger deficit in the balance of payments considerably neutralised the expansionist effect of a larger volume of deficit financing by Government and of bank credit. Scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 164 crores as compared to Rs. 142 crores in the preceding year. The substantial rise in imports was undoubtedly an important factor in the sharp rise in bank credit. The rise in the deposit resources of the scheduled banks at Rs. 178 crores, was, however, much larger than in 1955-56, the increase being largely connected with the import of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480. Though the expansion of deposits was as large as the rise in bank credit, in view of the already over-extended position of banks at the beginning of the year, the pressure on the liquidity of banks and monetary stringency in general were intensified. The gap in liquid resources was filled mainly by borrowings from the Reserve Bank, the outstandings of which touched a peak of Rs. 103 crores at the end of March 1957. The average of the outstanding borrowings from the Reserve

Bank was Rs. 68 crores during 1956-57 or more than twice the figure for 1955-56.

The rising tempo of outlay under the Second Plan, which is estimated to have risen from a little over Rs. 600 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 761 crores in 1956-57 and to over Rs. 900 crores in 1957-58, is reflected in the increasing overall budgetary deficits of the Central and State Governments. The 1956-57 deficit of the Centre and States together at about Rs. 250 crores was about Rs. 100 crores higher than in 1955-56. The deficit for 1957-58 of the Centre alone is estimated at Rs. 280 crores, after taking into account the new tax proposals, while the States have also budgeted for deficits totalling Rs. 86 crores on revenue account. Net borrowings of the Centre and States amounted to Rs. 141 crores during 1956-57, as compared with that of Rs. 82 crores in 1955-56, but the actual absorption of Government securities in 1956-57 by the public was much smaller, if account is taken of the purchases made by the Reserve Bank and the State Governments during the year.

The high and continuing deficit in balance of payments was the most conspicuous feature of the economy during the year, the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank declining by Rs. 227 crores to Rs. 457 crores in spite of a credit of Rs. 95 crores from the IMF. The deficit was largely the result of an unprecedentedly high level of imports in both the public and the private sectors, resulting from the accelerated rate of development activity and the high level of industrial production, together with the need to import large quantities of foodgrains. The Report refers to the various measures that have been taken to halt the drain on foreign exchange reserves for instance, the ban on the incurring of new foreign exchange commitments on any uncommitted project, reduction of import quotas, withdrawal of the basic allowance of foreign exchange for purposes of travel abroad for pleasure, etc. The Report emphasises the importance of export promotion; in this the Report says that with a large economic plan austerity is called for on a wild front and the promotion of exports at some sacrifice of domestic consumption is one way of implementing it.

During the year 1956-57, the Bank's monetary and credit policies continued to be adapted

in the changing economic context. The Bank's policy was one of controlled expansion. In the prevailing situation, with considerable inflationary potential, the direction of credit policy should be of general restraint without a jeopardy to the functioning and progress of essential productive sectors of the economy. Financial stringency, the Report emphasises, is a common characteristic of a phase of economic boom, reflecting essentially a sharp rise in the demand for credit rather than a decrease in the supply of money or credit. In fact, money supply and bank credit in India have expanded at an unprecedented rate during the last three years or so. The Reserve Bank sought to achieve the objective of controlled expansion on the one hand, through some raising of the cost of credit together with selective credit controls, and on the other, through temporary liberalisation of the bill market scheme and revision of the open market operations policy. Since November 1956, the net purchases by the Bank of Government securities by the year-end amounted to Rs. 30 crores.

In regard to measures of credit restraint, the Reserve Bank used both general and selective controls, the latter for the first time on a systematic and significant scale. During the first half of the year, credit policy was mainly one of flexible selective control chiefly directed against the use of credit for assisting speculative activity in certain commodities, but in the second half, this policy was reinforced by the application of a measure of general control through a rise in the Bank's lending rates including the Bank rate which was raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 4 per cent, effective May 16, 1957. The manner in which the increase in the lending rate pattern was brought about—partly through a rise in the basic rate and partly through enhancement of the stamp duty—was designed primarily to minimise disturbances to the money and gilt-edged markets. The use of selective credit controls through directives to commercial banks with regard to advances against commodities was throughout characterised by flexibility in keeping with the changing conditions. The commodities covered by these directives included foodgrains, cotton textiles and sugar. Towards the close of June 1957, the Governor of the Reserve Bank also addressed a letter to scheduled

banks seeking their co-operation in achieving a positive reduction in the level of bank credit without diminishing assistance to the essential sectors. The banks were also asked to take steps to reduce their systematic and continued reliance on the Reserve Bank, as a situation might arise calling for a review of the present arrangements regarding assistance from the Reserve Bank. The letter has been interpreted in banking circles as marking a transition from a policy of cautious lending to one of positive and constructive restraint.

As regards the prospect, the Report observes, monetary and credit policies have to be directed to ensuring that the expansion of money and credit does not take place at a rate disproportionate to the capacity of the community to mobilise real resources for development. The problem of resources is two-fold: that of domestic resources and foreign resources required for the foreign exchange content of development. The Report observes that the Second Five-Year Plan, as it was originally formulated, involved heavy reliance on external assistance, and development in the initial period of the Plan point clearly to the need for even more of such assistance. As against this, the outlook on the availability of such finance is yet not clear. It is therefore clearly desirable to keep investment in the economy in the immediate future within the limits of domestic and external resources in sight. It would also be necessary to exercise some restraint on the growth of consumption. Every effort must be made to get the maximum results from the actual investments undertaken. And, the Plan targets for both the public and private sectors need to be rigorously and urgently reviewed. It is these adjustments in programmes, public and private, and the detailed formulation of fiscal, monetary and credit policies directed to maximise the resources available for investment that constitute the immediate tasks ahead, concludes the Report.

The Report commends a reduction in domestic consumption with a view to increasing our exports. The idea is good no doubt, but the consequence may not be good in all cases. Just to cite the example of sugar. In 1957 the sugar production in this country reached a record figure of 20.29 lakh tons. India is now

exporting sugar to foreign countries and as a result the sugar price is soaring. The excise duty to a certain extent is also responsible for the higher price of sugar. But the shortage resulting from the export is being fully utilised by the dealers and the hoarders so as to reap high profits on the existing stock. In other words, the short supply of a commodity will cause its price to go up and the dealers will be benefited by profiteering. The overall result will be the rise in the price level, a rise in the cost of living and a rise in the cost of production.

The Political Storm Centre

Hardly a day passes without bringing a news of disturbance from the Middle East. Even since the dawn of civilisation the Middle East has been the storm centre of history. From the days of early Greek colonisation and the expedition of Agamemnon and Alexander the Great, the Middle East has provided the battlegrounds where empires were ruined and empires were rebuilt. It is here where the two continents meet and where also meet diverse people, diverse language and culture and customs. Religion, rather than political unity, is still the most formidable force that has been the cradle of political swings. Political events have been changing in rapid strides and galaxy of personalities are coming in and going out of the political arena—Xerxes, and the Crusades and the Arab League and the Suez Canal developments are just milestones in the march of events. Here not only Caesar and Antony won their laurels, many crowns went into the ruins of history. The modern time has its thrills and upheavals in the Pan-Arabism, the Baghdad Pact, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, the rise of Nasser. Here meet the violent racial forces like the Greeks, the Turks, Arabs, Jews, Egyptians, Persians and the like. It is an area rich in natural resources and raw materials and it provides a vital route between the East and the West. This area was the victim of colonialism and imperialism from the very ancient time down to the recent past. At present a new form of imperialism threatens to engulf this area in the shape of Eisenhower Doctrine and the Baghdad Pact on the one hand and the penetration of Soviet Russia on the other. This is the area where Great

Powers and personalities have played and still play the political game of battledore and shuttlecock. Here ethnical and religious alignment still predominate over the concept of political nationhood; the people are divided within their national boundaries—the Sunnis fight against the Shias, the Arab against the Jew, the Egyptian against the Jew, the Egyptian against all the neighbours of Egypt, the Arab against the Kurd in Iraq, the Hashemite in Iraq or Jordan against Saudi, the Maronite against the Moslem in Lebanon.

Saudi Arabia has an area of 1.6 million square kilometres and a population of 6 million; Egypt has an area of one million square kilometres and a population of 20.70 million; Israel has an area of 20,678 square kilometres and a population of 1.76 million; Lebanon has an area of 10,400 square kilometres and a population of 1.38 million; Iraq has a population of 5 million; Syria 3.30 million, and Jordan 1.40 million. The Middle East is rich in oil resources and as much as 66 per cent of oil reserves of the world are in the Middle East. The Middle East oil resources are given in the following table:

| | Annual Production (million tons) | Proved reserves (in millions of metric tons at end of 1956) |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Bahrain | .. 1.5 | 30 |
| Egypt | .. 1.8 | 25 |
| Iran | .. 16.0 | 4,000 |
| Iraq | .. 33.2 | 3,000 |
| Kuwait | .. 54.0 | 7,000 |
| Kuwait Neutral Zone | .. 1.4 | 100 |
| Qatar | .. 5.3 | 200 |
| Saudi Arabia | .. 46.8 | 5,400 |
| Total | 160.0 | 19,755 |

According to the estimates made by the OEEC Commission for Energy, the OEEC countries imported 117 million tons of oil in 1955 and it will go up to 175 million tons in 1960 and 415 million tons in 1975. In 1955, of the total oil imports by Western Europe, 80 per cent came from the Middle East as against 19 per cent in 1938 and 69 per cent in 1951. Of the Middle East total oil exports, 63 per cent went

to Western Europe. In 1955, the destination of Middle East oil exports were as follows: (in million tons): Western Europe 92, Asia (Far East) 36, North America 14, and Latin America 4. The total exports thus come to 146 million tons. The approximate annual oil revenues of the Middle Eastern countries are stated below in million Sterling Pound:

| | 1954 | 1955 |
|--------------|-------|------|
| Bahrain | .. 4 | 3 |
| Iran | .. — | 32 |
| Iraq | .. 68 | 73.8 |
| Kuwait | .. 70 | 100 |
| Qatar | .. 8 | 12 |
| Saudi Arabia | .. 56 | 100 |

Although the current rate of production of oil in the Middle East is 160 million tons, that is, 21 per cent of the world production, its potential reserves attract the countries of the world. The Middle East is not a homogeneous area. It would be rather correct to state that there are Arab-speaking peoples in the Middle East than Arab States. Egypt as the dominating member of the Arab League does not claim it to be Arab by race, although it is an Arabic-speaking nation. Most of the countries of the Middle East have large desert areas and their size is no indication of their strength. Jordan with an area of 35,000 square miles is more than twice the area of Austria; but only 5 per cent of its land is cultivable. Of the total land area in Iraq, only 5 per cent is cultivable and Egypt has only 2 per cent of cultivable land; Syria has 15 per cent, Israel 19 per cent and Lebanon has only 20 per cent cultivable land.

Race and religion provide much closer bonds of union among the people of the Middle East than the concept of nationality. Both the Arabs and the Jews are Semitic people, but the Jews are outside the tide of Arab nationalism. The Arabic-speaking peoples are mostly Moslem, but there are many Christian Arabs of different sects, as for example, in Lebanon. Moslem Arabs are divided between Sunni and Shia and provides a basis for separation in politics, as it is in Iraq. In Egypt, there are about 1.40 million Coptic Christians and 3 lakh other Christians. The Moslems of Saudi Arabia are practically all Sunnis, largely of the puritanical Wahhabi sect. There are no Jews at all. Iraq has 150,000

Christians. Of the Moslem community, nearly half are Shia. All Jews have gone to Israel. Of the 3.30 million population of Syria, 5 lakh are Christians; 2.30 million Sunnis and 5 lakh Shias. Israel has 1.70 million Jews in a population of 1.90 million. Of the 2 lakh non-Jewish population, 1.40 lakh are Sunni-Moslem Arabs, 40 thousand Christian Arabs and 20,000 are Druze. Jordan has one lakh Christian population and the rest are all Sunni Moslems. There are no Jews in Jordan. Of all the States in the Middle East, Lebanon has the most complex population structure. Of its 13 lakh of population, 7 lakh are Christian and the rest are Moslem or Druze. The Jewish inhabitants have migrated to Israel. Of the 6 lakh non-Christian population, 2.70 lakh are Sunni Moslems, 2.40 lakh are Shiah Moslems and 80,000 are Druze. Among the Christian inhabitants, 3.70 are Maronites, 1.30 lakh Greek Orthodox and the remaining one lakh belong to seven other Christian sects. The per capita income in 1949 in U.S. dollars were as follows: Israel 389, Lebanon 125, Egypt 100, Syria 100, Iraq 85 and Saudi Arabia 40.

Up to the end of the first world war, there was practically no Middle East problem of the magnitude and type that have emerged today. With the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish suzerainty over these smaller States of the area ceased. There developed in the immediate post-war years what was known as Pan-Arabism. The supporters of this doctrine "believed that the Arabs, because they spoke Arabic, a language different from Turkish, were *ipso facto* entitled to secede from the Ottoman Empire and to form a State where everybody who spoke Arabic would be included." But the "Arab nation . . . like all other nations, is not an entity delimited by ethnographical data, nor the fortuitous result of geographical or historical association, but the function of an act of will."

Originally, the Pan-Arabism aimed at securing a dislodgement of the French from Syria and the Lebanon and the suppression of Zionist activities in Palestine and subsequently the formation of a unitary or a federal Arab State including the Fertile Crescent. During the periods of the second world war, that is, between 1943 to 1945, a different concept of Pan-Arabism

took its birth. In the new scheme, there was no idea for the amalgamation or federation of States; it aimed at securing an alliance of sovereign States of the region. In the subsequent development, Egypt unexpectedly figured as the leader. The former King Farouk's father, King Fouad had the ambition of becoming the Muslim Caliph in succession to the dethroned Ottomans. King Farouk made several attempts to succeed to the Caliphate but without much success. The Wafdist Party under the leadership of Nahas Pasha supported the Pan-Arabism under Egyptian leadership. But the concept of Pan-Arabism drifted away on account of the inner contradictions of the States of the Middle East. The dynastic feuds and rivalries among the States in this region is greatly responsible for the failure of the Pan-Arabic movement.

There is a dynastic tie between Iraq and Jordan whose present rulers are second cousins, both being the great-grandsons of the late Sherif Hussein of Mecca. They cherish hatred against the wealthy Saudi Arabia because in 1925 the late King Ibn Saud took Mecca by force of arms from Sherif Hussein. The post-war years have witnessed a cleavage in the Middle East alliance and Arabism has virtually come to an end. The Baghdad Pact and the Middle East Defence Organization have divided the countries of this area. Iraq is a member of the Baghdad Pact and as such she is linked thereby with Turkey, Persia and Pakistan under the overall alliance of the United Kingdom. Jordan, so long under the Egyptian influence, has now practically broken away from that country and is now under the influence of the U.S.A. Until very recent times, Jordan was a sphere of influence of the British Power, but with the dismissal of Glubb Pasha the British influence has waned and the star of the USA has risen in the political horizon of Jordan. Since the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, Egypt has been bidding to be the leader of the Middle Eastern countries. Egypt is bitterly hostile to Iraq because Iraq is an ally of Britain. There is moreover an age-long rivalry between these two countries for the domination of the area—this is struggle for power between the Empire of the Nile and the Empire of the Euphrates. Egypt today is an ally of Soviet Russia. Syria is bitterly anti-French and

anti-British, but many army leaders are pro-Russian. Syria and Saudi Arabia recently have joined hands with Egypt in many issues of the Middle East, although peculiarly enough Saudi Arabia is now under the sphere of influence of the U.S.A. The oil fields of Saudi Arabia are being exploited by oil companies of the USA and the oil royalties are the main sources of income of Saudi Arabia. Israel fully belongs to the Anglo-American alliance and Lebanon, half of whose population are Christian, is afraid of Syria.

Today the countries of the Middle East are faced with national and group rivalries and palace and army conspiracies and cliques. Stability is to be maintained by constant struggle and vigilance and balance of power is more lost than maintained by alignment and re-alignment of the countries. Even the USA and the UK have their rivalries and the recent event in the deserts of Oman indicated that. The Eisenhower doctrine is an attempt to fill up the vacuum created by the liquidation of the British influence from most of the countries of the Middle East. To oppose Russian infiltration, the USA has devised the Eisenhower Doctrine. The Middle East will not only be the main battleground of the future war, it will influence the scale of war. The Power that will control the oil-fields of the Middle East will considerably control the destiny of the war to come. In 1918 Britain replaced the Turkish suzerainty over the Middle East. Then there was no power to rival her claim. The USA was indifferent to the happenings in the Middle East and Russia was busy with her own internal upheavals. But now Britain had to yield to the growing influence and power of the USA. Britain today is no match for the Soviet Russia whether in the battle of diplomacy or in the might of arms to cope with the growing influence of the Soviet Russia in this region. The USA has to step in in order to keep the Russians at bay at the same time to oust British oil monopolies from the area. That is why the situation in the Middle East is so very fluid and so very difficult to control. As against Soviet Russia, the USA and the U.K. will join hands; but between USA and the UK difference is daily growing and the influence of Britain is gradually waning. The countries of

the Middle East are being utilised just as pawns by these three big Powers to subserve their purpose. They push one country against another in order to maintain their power and such movement of the pawns give them enough scope for further inroads in the affairs of the nations of the Middle East.

The Problem of Algeria

News has just arrived of the fall of three-month-old Government of M. Bourges Maunoury on a vote of confidence in the French National Assembly on the Government's Algerian Reforms Bill. The news has not been quite unexpected in view of the all-round hostility to the Government proposed reforms in Algeria which were not satisfactory to either the Conservative or the Left. The Reforms were rejected by the Algerian Liberation Front on September 22 which meant that it would have been difficult to implement the measures, even with the approval of the French Parliament. The defeat of the French Government no doubt hinged on other issues than Algeria but in a way it also demonstrated the basic unsoundness of the French attitude to the solution of the problem of the independence of Algeria; it indicated the failure on the part of the French Government to realise that no solution could be effective without the active and voluntary co-operation on the part of the Algerians themselves.

Two of the leaders of the Algerian Liberation Front, Dr. Lemine Debaghine and M. Cheriff Guellal, who recently visited Calcutta, made it clear that after the abduction of the six Algerian leaders by France, it was difficult for the Algerians to place much reliance upon French motives. The Algerians, they pointed out, had enthusiastically received the resolution of the 1956 session of the U.N. General Assembly calling upon the parties to reach a peaceful settlement in Algeria. In the name of accepting the resolution France had however let loose a reign of terror. The two Algerian leaders pointed to the fact that there were now 800,000 French troops in Algeria equipped with arms and ammunition supplied to France under the North Atlantic Treaty. There were also a few NATO divisions there. The French troops had killed more than five lakhs of Algerians and French

terror compelled another five lakhs to seek refuge in Morocco and Tunisia.

Dr. Debaghine and M. Guellal further said that given three conditions the Algerian Liberation Front would agree to an immediate General Election for the country. The conditions were: Recognition of Algerian Independence, cease-fire and the establishment of a Provisional Government. France had conquered Algeria by force of arms and could not therefore claim any legitimate right there. Referring to the substantial European minority in Algeria they said that it presented no peculiar problem at all and an independent Algeria would provide them comparable opportunities as were given in the neighbouring Morocco and Tunisia.

The UN Resolution on Hungary

The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution on September 14 condemning the Soviet Union for her part in crushing the Hungarian revolution in October-November, 1956. The vote on the resolution, which was brought before the Assembly on September 10 by thirty-six members, was sixty in favour, ten against with ten abstentions. One member—the Union of South Africa—was absent. The resolution also endorsed the report of the five-nation United Nations Committee on Hungary. The report of the Committee published on last June held the Soviet Union responsible for putting down a spontaneous national uprising in Hungary. The members of the Committee were: Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay. Earlier a Burmese suggestion to substitute the word "deplore" for "condemn" in the text of the resolution was rejected. The Irish suggestion for a U.N.-supervised reciprocal withdrawal of American and Soviet troops in Europe as a possible way of liberating the captive nations of Eastern Europe, which was backed by India, was also likewise rejected during the debates. Burma and Eire both however voted in favour of the 36-nation resolution. Yugoslavia, the U.S.S.R. and eight other eastern European countries voted against. Afghanistan, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen abstained from voting.

Not unnaturally both the U.S.S.R. and

the present government in Hungary vigorously opposed the approval of the resolution. Refuting their charges Mr. Alsing Andersen of Denmark who was chairman of the five-nation committee said:

"I want to stress the importance of the fact that the report of the Special Committee was unanimous. This is, to my mind, a highly noteworthy fact, when you take into consideration that the five members came from five different parts of the world and from countries with very different economic and social conditions and very different cultural and political traditions."

Mr. Andersen stressed these five points:

1. It had, "for good reasons," not been denied that the Soviet Union used its military force to crush the Hungarian national uprising.

2. It could not be denied that but for this military action it would not have been possible for Mr. Kadar to establish his present regime.

3. It had been alleged that the Soviet Union acted on the invitation of the Hungarian Government but there was no information on who invited them.

4. It had not been denied that it was General Serov, head of the Soviet Political Police, who personally, in the midst of negotiating on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, arrested the Hungarian delegation.

5. It was an established fact that a great number of Hungarians had been deported.

In accordance with the terms of the resolution Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand would go to the U.S.S.R. and Hungary to seek an end to oppression in Hungary.

The resolution says among other things that the General Assembly of the United Nations—

"4. Finds that the conclusions reached by the Special Committee on the basis of its examination of all available evidence confirm that (a) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the U.N. Charter, has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights; (b) the present Hungarian regime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; (c) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has carried out mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics; (d) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has violated its obligations under the Geneva Conventions of 1949; and (e) the present authorities in Hungary have violated the human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary;

"5. Condemns these acts and the continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly;

"6. Reiterates its concern with the continuing plight of the Hungarian people;

"7. Considers that further efforts must be made to achieve the objectives of the U.N. in regard to Hungary in accordance with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter and the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly;

"8. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary, in view of evidence contained in the report, to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people, to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian peoples' enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms, and to ensure the return to Hungary of those Hungarian citizens who have been deported to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

While exception may be taken to wordings in parts of the resolution there cannot be two opinions about its basic soundness. The mere fact that no country outside of Eastern Europe came out to oppose the resolution as such is sufficient proof of that. Though the U.N. cannot do anything to get its resolution implemented the moral lesson of this vote cannot be wholly lost. The Western lapses do not entitle the U.S.S.R. to practise such violation of human and State rights as it did in Hungary and, to a lesser extent in Poland last year. This we are obliged to say despite our wish for better relations with the Soviet Union.

South Africa's Apartheid

It is an indication of the degree of progress in the outlook of the white rulers of South Africa that while the Government of the United States of America has embarked upon a determined, even if gradual, policy of desegregation in all spheres of American life, the white Govern-

ment of the Union of South Africa has been proceeding to introduce segregation in as many spheres of South African life as possible. The South African Government has already to its credit among other segregation measures, the Group Areas Act which compelled the non-white people to live in specified areas and the Bantu Education Act which introduced segregation in the field of primary and secondary education. Now the Government has introduced the separate University Education Bill proposing first to exclude non-white students from the white Universities which at present admits them to mixed classes (Cape Town and Witwatersrand, Johannesburg), and secondly, to place the University colleges for non-white persons (which would then be the only institutions where non-whites can receive higher education) under a rigid and detailed governmental control whereby the white authorities would be able to direct every aspect of teaching and administration of the non-whites in the country.

The policy is admittedly one of perpetuating the white domination of South Africa and its peoples. The policy of apartheid in the field of education is sought to be justified on the plea that it would offer equality of races on a separated basis—a theory already discredited in its practice in the U.S.A. In the Union of South Africa also the reality can be ascertained only with reference to the practice of the South African Government. And in practice the theory of segregation in South Africa is, as the *Science and Freedom* editorially points out, “the doctrine of *baasskap* or mastership of the white race in the South African community which is the iron hand inside the velvet glove of apartheid intellectual theory. It is this doctrine and not any desire for equal development of all races which led Dr. Verwoerd, the present Minister for Native Affairs, to proclaim that “there is no place in the European community for Africans beyond the level of certain types of labour and that education must be restricted accordingly. It is a doctrine which only one government in the world would have wholeheartedly approved; but the leader of that government died in the air-raid shelter in Berlin in 1945.”

It is, however, heartening to find leading South African white University teachers in the

forefront of the struggle against the renewed efforts of educational segregation in South Africa. An international conference is proposed to be held in London in early November to express support for the South African Universities in their struggle against compulsory race segregation and government control of higher education for non-whites. The conference would be presided over by Dr. J. W. Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the Exeter University and would be addressed among others by the Rev. Michael Scott and is being supported by the Association of University Teachers, London. The conference, it is to be hoped, would be able to rouse the interest of the world to the struggle of the African peoples against their white masters.

The West German Election

Dr. Konrad Adenaur's Christian Democratic Party has been returned to power with an increased majority in the West German Elections of September 15. The Party would now have an absolute majority of 43 in the Bundestag (Low House), compared with the majority of 13 in the outgoing House.

In the third General Elections since the founding of the Republic in 1949 fifteen parties took part in the contest. The main opposition was, however, offered by the Social Democratic Party which was critical of Dr. Adenaur's political and economic policies. The results of the elections simplified German parliamentary life as all but four parties were virtually wiped out. The party position in the new House was as follows (figures in brackets indicate strength in the old House):

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Christian Democrats | 270 (240) |
| Social Democrats | 169 (153) |
| Free Democrats | 41 (36) |
| German Party (Right wing) | 17 (33) |

About 90 per cent of the total of 35,500,000 votes were polled in the elections. According to *Reuter*, each man and woman over 21 had two votes, the first as constituency vote counted only in their own constituency, which have an average of about 140,000 eligible voters. The candidate receiving the most votes in each of 247 constituencies is elected to Parliament.

Vote two is the list vote in which the voter chooses a party. List votes cast all over the

country are totalled and a further 247 seats will be decided by the distribution of the list votes among the parties.

The working of the complicated electoral law may make the total number of seats rather more than the theoretical 494.

Among the voters were soldiers of the new Bundeswehr—the first soldiers to have voted in a German Parliamentary Election. Before 1945, German soldiers had no vote. At the last elections the Bundeswehr had not yet been formed.

While the Social Democrats have failed in their challenge to oust the Christian Democrats from power they have secured enough seats to be able to block any constitutional amendment not to their taste.

Dr. Adenaur's victory has been sought to be put forward as having been due to his close association with the West, while the Communists have likened it with Hitler's. The position is, perhaps, best described in the words of Herr Cillenbauer, the West German Social Democratic leader, who said: "The Bundestag elections of 1957 are over. The struggle for the unity, peace and freedom of the German people continues."

China After Eight Years

China has made claims for remarkable progress during the eight years since the regaining of her independence in 1949. Her First Five-Year Plan is said to have been a success. The total value of industrial production in China was 223.4 per cent of that in 1952 or an average annual increase of 17.4 per cent—and the value of her agricultural production was 126.4 per cent of that in 1952 representing an annual increase of 4.8 per cent. The rates of growth of industrial and agricultural production would be impressive indeed, if only the figures had been concrete integers instead of relative percentages.

In an official review of the progress made under the First Five-Year Plan, it is said that one of the early mistakes, which was corrected later on, was "insufficient consideration of China's specific conditions. There was overstress on size and modernity in some projects and there was insufficient attention to co-ordinating big, middle and small projects and making full

use of the existing facilities, thus causing some waste."

This wrong tendency was soon corrected and a policy was adopted instead of "making full use of the potentialities of the existing enterprises to hasten the construction of new enterprises" so that the final figures presented a good picture of the achievements.

Are not "overstress on size and modernity" and "insufficient attention to co-ordinating big, middle and small projects and making full use of the existing facilities" also some of the major ills of the official policy in India? But is there any equivalent recognition of these defects on the part of the Government as there has been in China?

The real trouble, in all these Plans, is of course lack of technical knowledge and experience on the part of those who are at the head of the governmental organisations. And the enthusiasm of the Planners is in the inverse ratio. Hence, all these extraordinary lacunae are responsible for the mess.

China and the United Nations

The People's Republic of China, the largest State of Asia, has been kept out of the world organization of States for over eight years now. India's latest proposal to get China admitted into the United Nations has been rejected by the U.N. and the question has been shelved for another year.

India's proposal was opposed by the Steering Committee of the U.N. General Assembly. The proposal of the Committee was in two parts: the first part recommended for the rejection of India's proposal; and the second part proposed to postpone any decision on the admission of China or the unseating of Formosa. (which now occupies the seat in the Security Council in the name of China). The voting on the first part of the resolution of the Steering Committee was 46-28 (with seven abstentions); on the second part 47-27 (with seven abstentions). When the resolution of the Steering Committee was put to vote as a whole, it was approved by 47-27 votes with seven abstentions. The states voting against the resolutions of the Steering Committee, that is voting in favour of China's immediate admission into the UN, were: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Ceylon,

Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland; Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Rumania; Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukraine, Soviet Union; and Yugoslavia. Cambodia, Israel, Laos, Pakistan, Portugal, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia abstained from voting. South Africa was absent.

The discussion on India's proposal disclosed a confusion of thoughts among the States on the grounds on which China could not be admitted into the world body. Some states objected on the ground that China was a new state and her stability was yet to be tested. Malaya put forward the existence of her civil war as a ground for her objection. However, as Krishna Menon made it clear, none of the justifications held good.

If a host of States—Pakistan, Sudan, Tunis, Morocco, Ghana and Malaya to cite a few—could become members of the United Nations almost simultaneously with their emergence as new states, one failed to understand how China, even after eight years of vigorous existence, could not be regarded as a "State." Malaya's civil war antedated both the States of Malaya and People's China; it was a product of British colonialism. It was therefore not clear how Malaya could hold it out as a real justification for her opposition to China.

It was quite clear that some of the States could not give vent to their real feeling on the matter because of the influence of the United States. None of the states of the world was now in conflict with the Republic of China. The anomaly in the attitude of states was borne out by the fact that while the United Kingdom recognized China in trade, she voted against China in the U.N.

The basic aims of the United Nations were world peace and fraternity of nations. The achievement of the aims would be facilitated as more and more states could be associated with the ideals and workings of the organization. In practice, however, the organization, under the influence of a group of states, was following a policy of illogical and deliberate exclusion against China. This policy naturally has led to the warning of the authority of the organization as exemplified in its helplessness in dealing with momentous questions of world peace as unification of Germany and the solution of the com-

plexities in Indo-China, Kashmir, Korea and Algeria.

Among the Asian states opposing China's admission were Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaya. Of these the opposition of the first three was not perhaps unexpected in view of their military and political commitments and association with the West, and the United States in particular. Certainly Malaya's opposition comes as a great surprise. Apart from the indirect contribution of the Chinese revolution to the independence of Malaya, China all along supported Malaya's claims for independence and she was one of the first countries to recognise the new State Federation of Malaya. No doubt, Malaya's internal politics was complicated by the presence of a large number of non-Malayans there, among them a substantial number of Chinese. But China's contribution, if any, towards the creation of such a situation was certainly much less than the British Government's. It would however be disastrous for the future of the young state if Malaya should embark upon a policy of gradually ousting the non-Malayan inhabitants from the country. The reference to Malaya's internal political differences as a justification for her opposition to China, as has been done by the Malayan delegate Dr. Ismail bin Dage Abdul Rahman, hardly evinces political wisdom on the part of her new rulers.

Albania

There is a forgotten bit of Europe, which very seldom figures in the news of the day. This predominantly Mahomedan tract, named Albania, is like an island in a sea of Christianity. It has come into the ken of the *New York Times*—from which the extracts below have been taken—due to its peculiar political condition. The details given by the *New York Times* is very graphic:

It would be easy—and not inaccurate—simply to write that Albania is a fragment of Stalinist Russia that anachronistically has managed to survive in the post-Stalin world.

But that is only one side of the coin.

A traveller to this remote Moslem land beside the Adriatic Sea quickly discovers that Albania is a country the West has forgotten.

Bitterly poor, harshly wounded by World War II, racked by "cold war" hostilities, Albania is struggling by such means as are available to try to improve the plight of her harassed people, whose history has known little but tragedy.

The country's lot today is not a pleasant one. Its standard of living is the lowest or close to the lowest in Europe. Only in distant areas of Siberia or Central Asia is one likely to see so many ragged, destitute persons.

Yet it must be stressed that Albania's economic and cultural well-being incontestably has been improved by the Communist regime, albeit by means that the West abhors. And visits by this correspondent and by a trickle of tourists from Britain and France seem to indicate at least a grudging emergence from hostile isolation from the Western world.

Premier Mehmet Shehu insists that Albania wants to normalize her contacts with the West. There is reason to believe that Moscow had to prod Albania to take this step, but at least it represents an advance over conditions of a year or two ago.

If much in Albania's plight is the fault of the country and its leaders, it is also true that not a few of Albania's maladies stem directly from Western neglect, Western disdain and Western hostility toward a small, proud people.

Albania, the smallest of the Balkan states, is a rugged mountain fastness on the Adriatic Sea.

It fell into the Communist orbit at the end of World War II and has since given the Soviet Union an outpost in the Mediterranean, of which the Adriatic is an arm.

Bounded by Montenegro in the north and Greece in the south, Albania's mountains are set back from the coast and send several, powerful streams through marsh and lowland to the sea. For the most part, the people live in the narrow vales in the hinterland.

They were given the name Albanians by the ancient Byzantines. But they call themselves Shqipetars, the eagle's brood.

They till the soil of the fertile basins in an obstinate combination of pastoral and agricultural life. They are almost entirely dependent on it. And only 10.9 per cent of the surface of the land is arable.

Their history has proved them just as obstinate in the defense of their rights. They are courageous and loyal to their chiefs. They also have a passionate regard for themselves as one people, because they have one territory, one language and one tradition.

It is generally believed that when the Thracians were driven from their seats in antiquity they migrated westward and moved in with the Illyrians in the barely accessible Albanian Alps. Eventually a few Goths and some Serbo-Croats came, too. The fusing of these elements produced the intractable Albanian.

The Shkumbi River divides Albania between the Ghegs of the north and the Tosks of the south. The dialects of the two differ widely, but mutual comprehension is possible. The Albanian language is made up of diverse elements: Latin, Greek, Turkish, Rumanian. Only a few words are taken to be of ancient Illyrian origin.

In social matters the Albanians are like other mountain folk. In some groups, particularly among the Ghegs, society is still in the tribal stage of development.

The blood feud, or vendetta, has been a scourge among the Ghegs. In many places even the accidental death of a kinsman can be evened only by the murder of the guilty person or one of his relatives.

The Ghegs are renowned for their independent spirit and warlike temper. They furnished Albania's national hero, Skanderbeg, who united the chieftains in a brief resistance against the Turks in the fifteenth century.

Among the Ghegs there are Moslems and many Roman Catholics. The Tosks in the south are mostly Moslem; others are Greek Orthodox. Altogether the Moslems make up 80 per cent of Albania's 1,300,000 people.

For five centuries the Albanians were under slack Turkish rule. Now and then an army from Constantinople would rush over them. But the Albanians were restless under control and made trouble when not left to their own devices.

The revolutionary Young Turks used a military expedition to bring Albania into their constitutional regime. They succeeded only in arousing the northern clans into resistance.

The authorities in Constantinople were forced to abandon their plan. The tribes in northern Albania obtained their demands. Almost equal concessions were made in the south, and Albania came closer to a united and sovereign independence than ever before.

In 1921, the big powers confirmed Albania's frontiers and proclaimed that her integrity was vital to Italy's security.

Ahmet Zogu, who had become Prime Minister, was forced into exile in 1924. A year later, he returned with Yugoslav troops and proclaimed himself at first President and then King Zog in 1928.

Zog had made his country virtually an Italian protectorate and millions of lire poured into Albania. The pace slackened with the world economic crisis.

In 1939, Mussolini invaded Albania. Zog fled to Greece and Albania ceased to exist as an independent state.

During World War II an Albanian Communist party was organized with help from Yugoslavia. When the Germans withdrew in 1944, Communist partisans installed Enver Hoxha as Premier of the new Albania.

But Hoxha apparently feels no gratitude for the support that the Yugoslavs gave his party in its infancy. With the Soviet-Yugoslav split in 1948, Hoxha liquidated his secret police head, Koci Xoxe, on the charge of having prepared a revolt in Albania with Yugoslav help.

And ever since that time, Hoxha has reviled the "comrades" across the border. Even after 1955, when Yugoslavia was being wooed by the Soviet, Albania lagged behind. While other East European Communists were racing to withdraw their earlier abuse of Marshal Tito, Hoxha continued to insist that Koci Xoxe was an "imperialist criminal."

Tunisia

As is known today, Tunisia is being dragged, despite all efforts to the contrary, into the genocidal campaign of France in Algeria. The incidents leading to this unfortunate situation, as given below, appeared in a special to the *New York Times*:

Paris, Sept. 9—Habib Bourguiba, President

of Tunisia, declared tonight that a "state of emergency" existed in five areas along the border between Tunisia and Algeria. Tunisian authorities said the action had been taken because of repeated border violations by French troops in Algeria. The proclamation reported here in dispatches of the French News Agency, said the state of emergency would continue for three months.

The proclamation affects the provinces of Souk-el-Arab, Le Kef, Sbeitla, Gafsa and Tozeur.

The proclamation authorized the local Governors in the five areas to dispose of civil and military forces to assure the "integrity of the territory of the republic." To this end the Governors were authorized to "take all military and security measures required by the circumstances."

The Tunisian authorities explained the proclamation as falling under Tunisia's "right of legitimate defense."

It appeared to be Tunisia's answer to the recent declaration by Andre Morice, French Defense Minister, that French troops would exercise the "right of hot pursuit" in coping with Algerian nationalist guerrilla forays along the Tunisian and Moroccan borders. Tunisia borders Algeria on the east and Morocco on the west.

President Bourguiba's proclamation further demonstrated the hot-to-cold nature of relations between France and Tunisia. A little more than three weeks ago, while warning Algerian rebels against using Tunisia as a base for attacks on the French in Algeria, the President expressed his conviction that the possibility of further friction between the two countries no longer existed.

Since then has come the French policy of "hot pursuit" and two border incidents involving the exercise of that policy.

French troops killed six Tunisian soldiers on September 1, while pursuing Algerian guerrillas into Tunisia.

The second incident took place last Friday and produced contradictory reports. The Tunisian Government said the French had crossed the border and killed two Tunisian civilians. The French maintained there had been no border violation and that a "spy" had been shot out of a tree 500 yards inside Algeria.

Portugal Vs. India

Portugal has laid plaint against the Union of India at the International Court at Hague. The preliminary statements, etc., as given below are news worthy of record:

The Hague, Sept. 24.—India's contention that Portugal's declaration purporting to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice as wholly invalid was submitted in detail today by Prof. C. H. M. Waldock of Oxford University.

This is the second day of the oral hearings at The Hague of the application brought by Portugal for right of passage—for officials and armed forces—across Indian territory to her Goan possession on the west coast—Daman, which she governs, and two tiny inland enclaves, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, of which she has lost control.

The president of the Court, Mr. Green H. Hackworth (the U.S.A.), sits with 17 judges gathered from all over the world, two of them ad hoc judges so that India and Portugal may be represented on the bench. The Indian judge is Mr. Chagla, Chief Justice of Bombay.

Prof. Waldock said Portugal's manner of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court made nonsense of the optional clause in the statute. The Portuguese declaration purporting to accept it was vitiated completely by a third condition inserted in it. This condition reserved the right for the Portuguese Government to exclude from the scope of the declaration, at any time, any given category or categories of disputes by notifying the U.N. Secretary-General and with effect from the moment of such notification.

India considered the condition objectionable. It might be interpreted to apply even to a dispute in respect of which proceedings had already been instituted before the Court.

She had smuggled a veto into her acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction.

No one would deny that the operation of the optional clause system allowed each State a large measure of flexibility. But this did not mean there was no limit. This limit was reached when a State retained the right to change the scope of its acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction at its own sweet will, moment by moment.

The unlimited power to vary its obligation, claimed by Portugal, meant that other States were left in a condition of complete uncertainty as to the obligation they were supposed to have accepted with Portugal.

Judge Guerrero, in the recent Norwegian loans case, said that it was never the intention of the authors of the statute that reservations should serve to enable a State to evade undertakings involved. He added that such a reservation must be regarded as "devoid of legality."

India asked the Court to hold that the Portuguese condition was also "devoid of legality."

Professor Waldock called the Portuguese declaration "double-faced."

It was explained today that the sixth and last objection put forward by India yesterday was based on India's declaration of February 28, 1940, accepting *ipso facto* the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

In this declaration India said that disputes dating from before 1930 were excluded by reason of an earlier declaration by India on February 5, 1930 to that effect.

The Indian submission now is that if the Portuguese did raise any questions which would otherwise lie within the jurisdiction of the Court, those questions related to situations or facts which arose long before February 5, 1930.

The application was merely a part of the Indo-Portuguese dispute, a non-justiciable dispute with an extensive political background.

India had exercised great restraint. It came as a shock to some people that the initiative in this case had been taken not by India, the aggrieved party, but by Portugal. Did Portugal wish to get from the court an endorsement of the continued occupation of her colonies in India?

Portugal had alleged that the Indian Government was responsible for the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954. These allegations, presumably an attempt to prejudice the court against India, were entirely untrue and slanderous. Portugal had tried to give a legal appearance to issues that were really political, and put India on the defensive.

The Portuguese in their legal arguments invoked a treaty of 1779 with the Marathas, which did not mention Dadra and Nagar Haveli or concede sovereignty.

Until the application, India had also not heard of the 1779 treaty. They organized research in Marathi documents in the ancient Modi script which few could read tied in thousands of cloth bundles. But there was no treaty on right of passage between Daman and the enclaves, either under the Marathas or the British.

The application was ineffective also because, before filing it, the Portuguese Government had not exhausted the possibilities of diplomatic negotiation as it was required to do before having recourse to the court.

The fifth objection was that the questions raised by the application fell, by international law, within the domestic jurisdiction of India. The court therefore had no jurisdiction.

The sixth and final objection would be based on the reservation *ratione temporis*. India submitted that, if the Portuguese declaration did raise any questions which would otherwise lie within the jurisdiction of the court, they related the situations or facts which arose long before February 5, 1930.

The questions thus raised were excluded from the scope of India's declaration.

The Latest Railway Racket

Dishonesty and racketeering is the order of the day. The complacent nit-wits who are playing ducks and drakes with the physical and moral resources of India seem to be quite indifferent about the consequences. Perhaps it is to their advantage, the latest bid to rob the long-suffering common citizen is given below. It is from the *Statesman*:

Something of a racket is believed to have started in the reservation of railway upper class berths at Howrah and Calcutta booking offices. The demand for berths on the eve of the Puja holidays is very heavy, and certain people are stated to be trying improperly to control the availability of such accommodation.

The reservation of upper class accommodation for travel on September 28, when the Puja holidays begin, was opened on Wednesday. Many

had been waiting outside booking offices since the previous night and when the counters opened there was brisk booking of accommodation. Some in the queues were said to have represented travel agents. The reservation of the entire upper class accommodation on a mail train was stated to have been sold to a single individual.

There is no limit on the booking of reservation by an individual or a travel agent. Frantic efforts by individuals, including some railway officers, to secure reservation in the past two days have met with little success. "Berths on all trains are booked . . . you can try through travel agents . . . come and meet us"—were what most reservation clerks at Howrah or in the City offices replied to individual applications. Some travel agents were more helpful to those in difficulty.

The New Import Policy

We reproduce below a report taken from the *Statesman*. This shows the mentality of the persons in charge of our economic future. The policy regarding the import of "some more essential consumer goods" is to be noted carefully. We wonder whether the exceedingly small quantities of milk foods, etc., would have any margin left after the needs of the children of the ministers, their sycophants and entourage and those of the racketeers.

We are also assured that there is no rise in prices *although we and our friends and acquaintances* are already being mulcted. Perhaps officials and ministers are allowed a special rebate.

New Delhi, Sept. 30.—The dominant feature of the import policy for the next six months, announced today, is that the continued suspension of the O.G.L. is accompanied by a limited restoration of the established importer.

But simultaneously the import of more than 150 items has been totally banned. These include razor blades, tobacco manufactures, woollen fabrics, watches, cycles, fountain pens, crockery, glassware, cutlery, perfumes, toilet goods and musical instruments.

Also on the prohibited list are beer, ale, cider, and other fermented liquors. There is

no ban yet on the import of whisky, brandy, gin and wines, although the Red Book ominously states against these items. "Policy to be announced later."

Some "more essential consumer goods" including milk foods for children, spices and betelnuts will be allowed to be imported in exceedingly small quantities. The tempo of industrial production will be kept up by allowing the imports of essential raw materials, replacements and spare parts, though here again quotas have been greatly reduced.

It is because of these that the partial restoration of the established importer has been possible. Besides, the actual users in the industry have been assured of licences to meet their requirements.

Official sources are reluctant to commit themselves to a precise estimate of the "substantial saving" of foreign exchange expected from the drastic import policy. But it is reasonable to assume that from October to March next, the country may spend on her imports Rs. 100 crores less than it did during the first six months of 1957.

A comparison with the last three months, during which import by established importers remained wholly suspended, will not be normal, for this was a transitional period when the basis of the import policy changed from the calendar to the financial year. The change-over is directed towards a closer correlation between the import policy and foreign exchange control.

According to Mr. S. Ranganathan, Secretary of the Union Commerce and Industry Ministry, the restrictions on imports have not so far pushed up prices of indigenous goods, nor have there been complaints of decline in quality. He hopes that this creditable performance by the Indian industry and trade would continue.

However, the new import policy does include a number of steps to safeguard the interests of the consumer. Licences for electric motors for agricultural purposes, electro-medical apparatus and unexposed cinematographic films will be given only on condition that these goods are sold according to the directions of the specified Governmental agencies.

A certain amount of flexibility has been pro-

vided to make the imports more economic. For instance, drugs and medicines can be imported "in bulk"; smaller packages can be made locally. To save on shipping freight the import of essential raw materials will be licensed on the basis of 12 months' requirements.

The new import policy has been formulated in the context of a further decline in the country's foreign exchange resources which stood at Rs. 361 crores on September 20. On July 5, the figure was Rs. 451 crores.

This presumably explains the severity of the import cuts. The import of raw films is likely to be reduced by one-third and that of exposed films by half.

About books and periodicals, official spokesmen assert that there has been no difficulty in issuing licences in the past nor would there be any in future.

It is learnt that since March this year, the private sector has made arrangements for the import, on deferred payment, of capital goods worth Rs. 45 crores. Among the countries with which these arrangements have been made are the U.K., West Germany, the U.S.A., France, East Germany, Italy and Japan.

There is already sufficient indication of the changing pattern of the country's imports. The imports of plant and machinery were Rs. 100 crores in 1955; Rs. 141 crores in 1956 and Rs. 66 crores in the first four months of this year. The corresponding figures for the import of industrial raw materials were Rs. 373 crores; Rs. 480 crores and Rs. 200 crores.

Against these rising figures, the import of consumer goods declined from Rs. 200 crores in 1955 to Rs. 194 crores in 1956 and to Rs. 58 crores in the first four months of 1957.

"No Rise in Prices"

Many years back a French crank, by the name of Dr. Coue, gave a slogan for suffering humanity. It went thus; "Everyday, in every way, I am getting better and better." The following news is the Krishnamachari-cum-Desai equivalent:

New Delhi, Sept. 30.—The response to the recent appeal made by the Union Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, not to raise

the price of imported as well as indigenous goods because of the restrictive import policy has been "quite good," an official spokesman told Pressmen here today.

In fact, he added, Indian manufacturers had voluntarily agreed not to increase for the present the prices of certain articles, although they felt there was a case for slightly increasing prices.

Asked whether there had been any deterioration in the quality of the goods supplied, the spokesman said that his Ministry (Commerce and Industry) had not so far received any such complaints.

He said that compared to Rs. 275 crores for which licences were issued for imports in the first half of the current calendar year, the licences for only Rs. 95 crores were issued during the period July to September 7.

Even this figure of Rs. 95 crores included imports of capital goods for Rs. 20 crores and iron and steel Rs. 13 crores. In the next six months—October to March next—the imports would be substantially less than those in the first of the current calendar year.

** * ** Suicides in Uttar Pradesh

The *Statesman* gave the following news. Although a detailed analysis is lacking, it is evident that the majority of those unfortunates were young. It is a harrowing report:

"Lucknow, Sept. 14.—Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi, Home Minister, disclosed in the State Vidhan Sabha that over 4,000 persons committed suicide in the State during the last two years and four months. The main reasons for suicides were prolonged illness, failure in love affairs, domestic quarrels, and disappointing results in examinations.

"The Home Minister, who was replying to a question by Sri Ganga Prasad Singh, said that it was not possible to give percentage of different types of suicides. Replying to a supplementary by Sri Narain Dutt Tewari, the Minister said that unemployment might be also one of the reasons for suicides.

"Giving the number of suicides year-wise, the Home Minister said that 1,588 persons committed suicide in 1955, 1,815 in 1956 and 639 in 1957 till April 30."

The Call of Gramdan

In the third week of September a two-day conference, organised by the Sarva Seva Sangh under Vinobaji's guidance, on *gramdan*, was held at Yelwal near Mysore. The conference was attended by a number of Central and State Ministers and by the representatives of the three leading political parties of the land—the Congress, the P.S.P. and the C.P.I. The conference gave full support to the *gramdan* movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Central and State Ministers also expressed full appreciation of the merits of the movement and their desire to help it. However, they pointed out at the same time that the governments concerned would have to proceed with their land reform schemes, which were based on the abolition of all intermediate interests in land, limitation of holdings, and promotion of co-operatives in all its phases, with the consent of the people. The conference also stressed the desirability of the closest co-operation between the Community development projects and *gramdan*.

Referring to this last point about the desirability of the closest co-operation between the Community development projects and *gramdan*, the weekly *Vigil* writes:

"In a very general way, that is, where both want to promote co-operative methods, the two can be said to have a common objective. But there is a basic difference between the government's approach which is based on private property in land and the ideology of *gramdan* which seeks to do away with the sense of such property. A vigorous propagation of the ideology of *bhoodan* or *gramdan* can, of course, loosen the roots of certain types of vested interests but it is doubtful whether the same climate of opinion can be equally propitious for the simultaneous prosecution of the *gramdan* movement and the kind of land reforms aimed at by the Government's policy."

"Admittedly," the *Vigil* adds, "where the Community projects have failed most is in the crucial sphere of rousing popular initiative and the spirit of self-help. Not that there have not been any material benefits conferred but the main objective, that of making the people self-reliant and self-active, has eluded the project-makers. Another grave problem which is defying solution has been that whatever material benefits the projects have yielded have been appropriated by the better-placed sections of the

community to the practical exclusion of those whose need for such benefits is the greatest. The machinery of execution largely under bureaucratic control has failed to activate the springs of action in those sections of the people whose upliftment is needed most."

It would not be easy to correct these drawbacks by merely associating the Community projects with *gramdan*. Village reconstruction according to the *gramdan* ideology cannot again be successful unless it is fitted with the overall rational planning. Then "is reconstruction as envisaged by Vinobaji possible in the context of the Governments' all-out effort in the pursuit of a plan like the Second Five-Year Plan?" the *Vigil* asks.

Gandhiji's Jayanti

On the occasion of the celebration of Gandhiji's Jayanti it is but natural to recall what and how far has been done in bringing his message home to the people. It would then appear that while much has been said about the need for the study and the propagation of the master's ideas not much has concretely been done to achieve this aim. In this respect, however, some commendable work has been done in the United States, the volume *Gandhiji's Reflections on Democracy*, published by the U. S. National Council on Asian Affairs being such an example. Similar efforts, made in India, would certainly go a long way toward popularising Gandhiji's ideas among the Indian people.

Progress of Indian Films

While India has long been one of the world's leading producers of films the standard of her films did not attain much height until recently. That the Indian film industry is capable of making films that indicate a remarkable progress has been highlighted, among others, by the recent award by the jury of the Venice Film Festival of the Golden Lion of Saint Mark—the highest prize—to the Bengali film *Aparajito* directed by Shri Satyajit Ray. Shri Ray entered the film world only recently and *Aparajito* is his second picture. His first picture, *Pather Panchali* was also an outstanding success both

nationally and internationally. The Venice award is therefore also a great personal triumph for the young director—all the more so because the judges there are very fastidious in their taste and refused to make the award to any film last year.

Here we are reminded of an interesting thing. While *Aparajito* has been able to obtain the world's highest prize it failed to be considered worthy of even a mention by the committee for State Film Awards in India! What an indictment of the committee's capacity to judge, this is.

While on the subject of films one cannot but refer to another regrettable fact of the side-tracking of the real maker—the director—of the film at the time awards are made in India. Thus while the Bengali film *Pather Panchali* won the highest State award—the President's Gold Medal—there was no mention of the director Satyajit Ray. Another conspicuous instance is the omission of any reference to the director—Sambhu Mitra—when the dual language film *Jagte Raho* won an international prize. In both these instances all the praise was showered upon the producers but none for the directors to whom all the credit was due.

The Chinese Films

The citizens of Calcutta has got an opportunity to see the Chinese films through the initiative of the local branch of the India-China Friendship Association. Though China is one of our neighbours, our knowledge of the land is very limited. Films being a very important medium of communication peoples can know each other better through the films. In this regard the recent Indian film festival in China and the current Chinese film festival in India are to be welcome. The Chinese film shown here are mostly documentaries portraying progress and problems in the different fields.

Most of the other films dealt with a particular theme with the object of imparting a lesson to the audience. The standard is good and some of the colour photographs were really beautiful.

VICE-PRESIDENCY UNDER A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

BY PROF. B. B. JENA, M.A.

ARTICLE 63 of the Constitution creates the office of a Vice-President for India. The Constitution intends that he should be a sort of stand-by to fill up the gap whenever a vacancy, temporary or permanent, occurs in the office of the President (Art. 65); and meanwhile he is the ex-Officio Chairman of the Council of States (Article 64). This provision was obviously borrowed from the United States of America, but there is a great deal of difference between the two officers. The decision to have a Vice-President was taken by the Union Constitution Committee and their Report contains a provision to that effect in clause 6 of chapter I of Part IV. Though this office is almost unknown to any other Constitution in the world except the United States of America, our fathers of the Constitution, surprisingly enough, took it for granted that it was so very essential and normal that no one discussed its necessity in a Constitution based on the parliamentary executive, where the President himself is considered to be an ornamental head.

In the U.S.A., the President happens to be the real executive officer and the first citizen of the country, and the administration cannot get on even for a day without him. It is not only necessary that, in the event of a vacancy, there should be a ready-made stand-by, but he should also be chosen by the people, because the Vice-President becomes the President in the event of a vacancy. But even in the U.S.A., in the beginning, it was considered as an unnecessary office—he was called by some as 'His Superfluous Highness'—and so the fathers of the Constitution made him the ex-Officio Chairman of the Senate.¹

Two questions arise now. Is it necessary that in a parliamentary executive we should have a Vice-President? Is it desirable that he should be the ex-Officio Chairman of the Council of States?

Times without number the makers of our Constitution went on emphasising that our President is only an ornamental head and that even in 'emergencies,' he is to be guided by the advice of the Ministers. So the real power is

with the Prime Minister who has a majority in the Lower House. Is it necessary under these circumstances that we should have an elected stand-by as in the U.S.A.? We have noted a difference above that the President is the real executive in U.S.A. but there is another difference equally important. In the U.S.A. there is nothing like a temporary vacancy. Once the Vice-President assumes the office he *becomes* the President for the rest of the four-year term. In India, the Vice-President can never *become* the President. If it is a temporary vacancy, "when the President is unable to discharge his functions owing to absence, illness, or any other cause, the Vice-President shall discharge his functions" until the President resumes his duties; and in the case of a permanent vacancy "by reason of his death, resignation or removal or otherwise, the Vice-President shall act until the date on which a President elected in accordance with the provisions of this chapter to fill such vacancy enters upon his office" (Art. 65); but this period cannot be longer than six months [Art. 62 (2)].² It is on this ground that a different procedure for the election of the Vice-President is supported by Dr. Ambedkar.³ So for such a short period as six months, maximum period allowed, is it necessary that we should maintain another high dignitary ready at hand? For the last one hundred and eighty years there were only seven instances when a Vice-President became the President of America under this provision. Due to the difference in the nature of the provision here, there may be more occasion when the President may be 'absent' and the Vice-President may be called upon to perform his duties; but even then it is unlikely that the need for a permanent stand-by of this

1. W. B. Munro, *The Vice-President in the U.S.A.*, p. 167, 5th Edition.

2. In the Constituent Assembly during a discussion on this article one or two good suggestions were given, which Dr. Ambedkar refused to accept. Thus, it was suggested that 'time' would be more appropriate than 'date' and illness, etc., were vague and should be made more definite. Who will declare the President's illness? Obviously the President shall have to do it himself. There is one contingency under which a Vice-President can act for a long period, that is when the President is ill and refuses to resign. Such a contingency may arise when the President and Vice-President belong to the same party and the party in power is not sure if its nominee would be chosen in a re-election.

3. C.A.D., Vol. VII, No. 28, p. 1101.

sort will be felt. And it is exactly for this reason as in America, the Constitution makes him the ex-Officio Chairman of the Council of States.

The importance of the provision may be examined in the negative way—what is the harm in this provision? To me the provision looks undesirable for two reasons; in the first place, it is not quite correct to say that the President will be only ornamental; even the 'makers of the Constitution' admitted that he will have tremendous influence. Others like myself, say that under some circumstances the President will have power even 'to influence' the complexion and composition of the ministry. He has got the power to dissolve the House, to declare an emergency, to refuse assent to bills, and so on and nothing prevents him from exercising these powers in his discretion. Is the country, I ask, to be governed even for a day by an officer who has no claim to be there, and occupying as he is an insignificant post all the time and suddenly assuming a gigantic shape. Taking into consideration the vital role even a temporary President could play, we feel firstly that either a more representative man as in the U.S. is required, or somebody who is likely to be impartial and non-partisan like the Chief Justice of India. Secondly, it is undesirable that the erstwhile presiding officer of a house of legislature should become the nominal head in a system of parliamentary executive. The principle on which the British type of parliamentary executive works is that the Executive Head can do anything unless controlled by the Parliament. Or that there are two sovereigns, the executive head and the Parliament and they are connected and co-ordinated through the buckle of the ministry. From whatever angle we see, the essential principle is that the Parliament as a body should be separate from and independent of the Executive Head so as to be an effective check, and in this case one branch of the Parliament itself (the Council of States) is controlled by the Vice-President in the sense that he cannot be removed by it. But one point which reduces the weight of this argument is that the Vice-President ceases to be the Chairman of the Council while acting as the President.

4. In Eire and in Burma, a Commission performs these functions.

We come to the most vital part of the provisions. The Vice-President is made the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of the States, following the American model, and for the same reasons so that in reality "his normal functions are mainly to preside over the Council of States."⁵ Our makers must have thought on the same lines as their American counterparts in the 18th century that the man must be given some job because Dr. Ambedkar explained, "It is only on a rare occasion, and that too only a temporary period, that he may be called to assume the duties of a President."⁶ So far it is all right. But the makers have forgotten one important difference that ours is a Parliamentary executive and theirs is the Presidential. In the former the role of the Parliament is different from that of the Congress. In a Parliamentary democracy, the executive is constantly under the review of the Legislature and the fate of the ministry is decided on the floor of the House. It is highly undemocratic and undesirable that the Council should have a presiding officer who is neither chosen by it nor whom it can remove by itself. Surprisingly enough this aspect of the matter was never discussed in the Assembly.

The question to ask is: what is our idea in having this combined post? Is he mainly to be the Vice-President and then act as the Chairman of the Council or the other way? My point is that different representative capacities are required for these two posts and we cannot combine them. If he is to act for the President he has to be chosen on a wider basis and if he has to preside over the Council, he has to be chosen by the House and be removable by it—the fact that in the Senate and the Lords, the irremovable officers preside is no good analogy.

OTHER PROVISIONS

The Vice-President shall hold office for five years, from the date on which he enters upon his office. A vacancy occurs in the office by his death, or by the end of the normal period of time or by resignation or by his removal by the Parliament. In the case of resignation, he has to address a letter to that effect under his hand to the President. There is no question of acceptance or non-acceptance and probably he

5. C.A.D., Vol. VII, p. 1110.

6. *Ibid.*

will cease to be the Vice-President from the moment the President receives his letter. The procedure for his removal is different from, and much more easy than that in the case of the President. The initiative must come from the Council and it can simply start the proceedings without apparently showing any cause, it can simply express want of confidence. All that is required is that fourteen days' notice should be given and the resolution should be passed "by a majority of the then members of the Council," and then it should be "agreed to" by the House of the People. Here are one or two lacunae in the wording which were presumably left because psychologically the makers thought that the post was of minor importance and so it did not require detailed provisions or accurate wording. First, the meaning of "then members of the Council" is not clear; by context it means the total membership of the Council without counting the vacancies; if so, it could have been worded accordingly. Secondly, "agreed to" is not clear. Does it mean that the resolution should be passed as it is without any change or amendment? Thirdly, it is not clear if the 14 days' notice applies to moving the resolution in the House also. And lastly, it is not clear when this removal comes into effect and who will give effect to it. Compare the removal of the President where it is said that when the resolution is passed by the second House "such resolution shall have the effect of removing the President from his office as from the date on which the resolution is so passed" [Art. 61(4)].

An election to fill the vacancy in the natural course shall have to take place before the expiration of the term [Art. 68 (1)]. In case of any delay in the assumption of office by the new Vice-President the outgoing Vice-President continues in office [67 (c)]. In any vacancy occurring by other reasons stated above, the election to elect another Vice-President will be held "as soon as possible" (the clause could have been worded within six months) and the new Vice-President will hold office for a full period of five years.

The Vice-President shall be "elected by the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint meeting in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote, and voting at such election shall be by secret ballot [Art. 66(1)]." Thus,

it differs from the Presidential election in several respects:

1. The electoral college for the Vice-President is confined only to the members of the Parliament and thus it excludes the members of the State Assemblies.

2. It includes *all* the members of the Parliament but not merely the elected ones.

3. The weightage given to population is given up.

4. All the members of the Parliament must be assembled in a joint sitting.

Members of the State Assemblies were excluded because, Dr. Ambedkar said, the post was not so very important as that of the President and the same reason probably explains the absence of weightage for population. No explanation was given for including the nominated members in the electoral college, nor was this debated in the Assembly; it seems to have escaped the attention of all.

It was pointed out in the Assembly, as already seen, that the system should be called 'alternate vote' but not 'proportional representation.' Dr. Ambedkar promised to consider it and improve upon it later on; but he did nothing of the sort.⁷ Secondly it was suggested that the voting need not take place in a 'joint sitting' but it could be done by other means. Dr. Ambedkar opposed the suggestion on flimsy grounds.⁸ A question naturally arises here. Is it necessary that a joint-sitting should be called even if there is only one candidate. Note the significance of the words 'elected...in a joint-sitting' [in Article 66(1)]. The Act made by the Parliament under article 71(3), no doubt, precludes that necessity, but I feel that this particular provision of the Act is *ultra vires* of the Constitution as under Article 71(3) the Parliament can regulate election matters only "subject to the provisions of this Constitution." On this ground it can be held that the election of the first Vice-President (of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan) in 1952 is illegal and this could have been challenged in a Court of Law under Article 71(1). The Constitution says that the 'election' not 'voting' shall be in a joint-sitting.

7. C.A.D., Vol. VII, p. 1101.

8. He explained that elections conducted through the postal system was liable to result in failure. Either ballot papers are lost in transit or ballot papers are 'misused' by candidates.

C.A.D., Vol. VII, p. 1101.

As 'election' strictly includes calling in nominations also, my contention is that nominations also should be made in a joint-sitting.

X The Vice-Presidency by itself carries no salary or allowance or powers and privileges nor is there any provision for Parliament to fix them as such. He is entitled to get only the salary and allowances as the Chairman of the Council of States, (which therefore is the really substantive post), which the Parliament shall prescribe by law under Article 97. When the Vice-President acts as the President, he automatically gets all the powers and immunities of the President, but his emoluments, allowances and privileges shall be according to what Parliament by law prescribes [in Article 65(3)] and until so fixed by the Parliament he draws "such emoluments, allowances and privileges as are specified in the Second Schedule." One thing is not clear. Suppose the Parliament changes the emoluments of the President but does not fix any for the Vice-President, does it mean that the Vice-President, while acting as the President, gets the new allowance of the President or those fixed by the Second Schedule? During the period the Vice-President is acting as the President, he is not entitled to the salary and allowances as the Chairman.

One more point remains. What is going to be the status and position of the Vice-President? The Constitution does not make high of him. He has no special status or emoluments or privileges except as the Chairman of the Council and in this latter capacity he occupies a less glamorous position than the Speaker of the House of the People. Compared with him, the American Vice-President has two feathers—he is the Vice-President chosen by the same electorate that has chosen the President, and he is the Chairman of the more powerful House of the Congress. When even then, he does not enjoy much status and prestige in the U.S.A., one of the Ex-Vice-Presidents Mr. Barkley told in 1951, "It seems there were two brothers. One ran away to sea, the other was elected Vice-President and nothing was heard of either of them again" (vide *Readers' Digest*, February, 1957 p. 93). It is doubtful our Vice-President can fare better. Certainly it is meaningless to call him the second citizen, when the first citizen himself is supposed to be pale before the Prime Minister. But compared with his American counterpart, our Vice-President

has no advantage. Because there is no provision for a temporary President in the United States, many a Vice-President had to die insignificantly. But here we have that happy provision and it is quite likely that our President would like to be 'absent' from India for a State visit abroad or for medical treatment and so on, of course going abroad does not necessarily create a temporary vacancy. Presidents can be away even in America for a considerable time as proved in the case of Wilson. And it is quite likely that almost every Vice-President will have an occasion to occupy the Rastrapati Bhawan at New Delhi, even if it is only for a few days.

Much depends upon the future and on who comes to occupy that post, and what other powers can be given to him. But whosoever comes to office, he is soon bound to be disappointed; it is hollow without substance, an officer without power or prestige. Can more powers and duties be given to him? It is doubtful. On theoretical grounds, there is no provision for it in the Constitution, and it will be both unconstitutional and immoral to confer any executive functions on the presiding officer of a House of the Legislature. On the practical side, such attempts have miserably failed in the U.S.A. where the President is really more busy than our 'nominal' head of India.⁹ It is doubtful if any could be given to him here.

9. American experience may give us an indication of the future of this office.

"When the Constitution was being framed, one of the delegates suggested that the Vice-President should be given something to do besides waiting to fill another man's shoes. So they made him presiding officer of the Senate. But he is an outsider there, has no vote except in case of a tie, appoints no committees, and has nothing more than perfunctory powers. Theodore Roosevelt, when he held the post of Vice-President, referred to it 'as an office unique in functions, or rather in lack of functions.' During the Harding administration (1921-23) Vice-President Coolidge was invited to attend meetings of the Cabinet and regularly did so. But Vice-President Dawes, during the Coolidge administration, declined a similar invitation, and the practice has since then been varied."—W. B. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 169 (fifth edition). In 1945, President Truman invited to Cabinet meetings Senator McKellar, then serving as president *pro tempore* of the Senate. In India, it will not be possible to invite him to the Cabinet meetings because of constitutional objections, but there is now a tendency, both in the U.S.A. and India, to use the Vice-President as a sort of a 'roving ambassador'. Both Nixon of America and Dr. Radhakrishnan of India have performed this job with a commendable thoroughness.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XIII) Fundamental Rights: Cultural and Educational Rights

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I

In this article we propose to deal with what have been described in our Constitution as our Cultural and Educational Rights.

1

II

India is a multi-religious and multi-lingual State and this often creates problems of a very complicated character. For instance, we find in the *Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1955*:

"An important question connected with the recognition of States² is that of providing safeguards for linguistic groups which are in a minority in different States. The problem of such groups exists in unilingual States and not merely in composite States. In a way, the problem is a cause as well as an effect of the movement for linguistic units. On the one hand, it is argued that multi-lingual States arrest the cultural growth of linguistic minorities and retard their political and economic advancement, and, on the other hand, it is contended that it is implicit in the very formative principle of a linguistic State that in such a State linguistic minorities must be reduced to the status of inferior citizens.

"The Scheme of redistribution of State territories which we have recommended will result in many cases in bringing together people speaking a common language. To that extent, it will reduce the number of linguistic minorities. It is, however, quite evident that even if the linguistic principle were applied very rigidly, the problem of linguistic minorities will, by no means, be solved. This is because there are obvious limitations to the realisation of unilingualism at the state level, the limiting factors being the following:

(i) not all the language groups are so placed that they can be grouped into separate states;

(ii) there is a large number of bilingual belts between different linguistic zones; and

(iii) there exist areas with a mixed population even within unilingual areas.

"Besides, the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement to all citizens of India. The present picture of the linguistic composition of various administrative units of India, therefore, can, by no means, be regarded as static.

"It is true that often the complaints about the plight of minorities in composite states or bilingual areas are greatly exaggerated. In fact, we have noticed a tendency to whip up a kind of 'persecution complex' amongst minority language groups to secure their support for certain demands. This, however, does not mean that such groups have nowhere been discriminated against. By way of illustration we may refer to the enforcement, in a number of States, of domiciliary qualifications and language tests for recruitment to services, which undoubtedly cause hardship to minorities. The problem of linguistic minorities, therefore, is not unreal."

The authors of our Constitution had fore-stalled this problem and, therefore, provided in Articles 29 and 30 of our Constitution as follows.*

"29. (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

"(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

"30. (1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

"(2) The State shall not, in granting aid

1. Paras. 757-59.

2. I.e., the constituent States of the Indian Union.

* For marginal notes to Articles 29 and 30 see any authoritative text of the Constitution of India.

to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language."

To these we may add Articles 347, 350A and 350B of the Constitution, which run as follows:

"347. On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify."

"350A. It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities."

"350B. (1) There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament, and sent to the Governments of the States concerned."

It may be noted here that Articles 350A and 350B have been recently inserted in the Constitution by Section 21 of the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, practically, as we shall shortly see, as a result of the *Report of States Reorganisation Commission, 1955*.³

III

We shall now deal with the implications of Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution. Before, however, we do this, we may observe by the by that, regard being had to their contents as well as to the marginal notes against them, it

would have been well if Clause (1) of Article 29 and Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 30 had been placed under the same Article and Clause (2) of Article 29 under a separate Article. However, this is a matter of technical detail.

The substance of Articles 29 and 30 is to be found in Article 23 of the *Draft Constitution of India*. And when Article 23 of the Draft Constitution was under the consideration of the Constituent Assembly of India on 8th December, 1948, it was pointed out⁴ by more than one speaker here that, as there would be "islands" of linguistic and religious minorities in different parts of India, this Article gave a clear direction to the majorities in those parts to look after the interests of these minorities so far as their language and culture were concerned. Further, with reference to the word "minority" itself in Article 23, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar pointed out in the Constituent Assembly as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee⁵:

"The word is used not merely to indicate the minority in the technical sense of the word (as we have been accustomed to use it for the purposes of certain political safeguards, such as representation in the Legislature, representation in the services and so on), it is also used to cover minorities which are not minorities in the technical sense, but which are nonetheless minorities in the cultural and linguistic sense. For instance, for the purposes of this Article 23, if a certain number of people from Madras came and settled in Bombay for certain purposes, they would be, although not a minority in the technical sense, cultural minorities. Similarly, if a certain number of Maharashtrians went from Maharashtra and settled in Bengal, although they may not be minorities in the technical sense, they would be cultural and linguistic minorities in Bengal. The Article intends to give protection in the matter of culture, language and script not only to a minority technically, but also to a minority in the wider sense of the term as I have explained just now . . . It was felt that this protection was necessary for the simple reason that people who go from one province to another and settle there, do not settle there permanently. They do not uproot them-

3. See Chapter I of Part IV of the *Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1955*; also p. 260 of this Report.

4. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 8th December 1948, pp. 895-927; also *ibid.*, 7th December, pp. 891-94.

5. See *ibid.*, 8th December, 1948, pp. 922-23.

selves from the province from which they have migrated, but they keep their connexions. They go back to their province for the purpose of marriage. They go back to their province for various other purposes, and if this protection was not given to them when they were subject to the local Legislature and the local Legislature were to deny them the opportunity of conserving their culture, it would be very difficult for these cultural minorities to go back to their province and to get themselves assimilated to the original population to which they belonged. In order to meet the situation of migration from one province to another, we felt it was desirable that such a provision should be incorporated in the Constitution.

"I think another thing which has to be borne in mind in reading Article 23 is that it does not impose any obligation or burden upon the State. It does not say that, when, for instance, the Madras people came to Bombay, the Bombay Government shall be required by law to finance any project of giving education either in Tamil language or in Andhra language or any other language. There is no burden cast upon the State⁶. The only limitation that is imposed by Article 23 is that if there is a cultural minority which wants to preserve its language, its script and its culture, the State shall not by law impose upon it any other culture which may be either local or otherwise. Therefore this Article really is to be read in a much wider sense and does not apply only to what I call the technical minorities as we use it (*sic*) in our Constitution."

It should be evident from what is shown above what the authors of our Constitution had in mind when they adopted Article 29(1) and Article 30 of the Constitution.

So far as Articles 350A and 350B of the Constitution are concerned, we may trace their origin to the following recommendation⁷ of the *States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55*:

"Constitutional recognition should be given to the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother tongue at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number

of students being available. The Central Government should acquire power to enforce this right on the lines of provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution."

And so far as the aetiology of this recommendation was concerned, we may find it in the following observations of the *States Reorganisation Commission*⁸:

"During the course of our enquiry, the question of reinforcing the existing system of safeguards for minorities figured prominently. It was strongly urged before us that the safeguards for minorities embodied in the Constitution have proved inadequate and ineffective against the cultural oppression of linguistic minorities and their economic exploitation. Whatever the merits of this assertion, we have to take into consideration the fact that large sections of public opinion, both among the proponents and the opponents of linguistic States, favour the strengthening of the existing Constitutional guarantees to linguistic minorities.

"We realise that over-emphasis on the rights of minorities and too many special safeguards for them would tend to keep the minority-consciousness alive and might thereby hamper the growth of a common nationhood. We are, therefore, not in favour of setting up too elaborate a system of guarantees to the minorities which would, in our opinion, complicate rather than solve the problem. At the same time, we are impressed by the need of according to the linguistic minorities sufficient opportunity for development so that they may not suffer from a sense of neglect or discrimination.

"Before we make our specific recommendations on the subject, we wish to indicate the broad principles and objectives which have governed our approach to the problem. These are:

(i) as the problem of linguistic minorities is common to unilingual as well as polyglot areas, the measures to be adopted should be such as can be applied to linguistic as well as composite States;

(ii) while minorities are entitled to reasonable safeguards to protect their educational, cultural and other interests, it has to be borne in mind that such safeguards should not so

6. This statement is true, subject to the requirements of Clause (2) of Article 30 of the Constitution.

7. See Recommendation 31 of the *States Reorganisation Commission (1953-55)* on page 260 of its *Report (1955)*.

8. See paragraphs 767-76 of its *Report*.

operate as to perpetuate separatism or to impede the processes of natural assimilation;

(iii) the system of guarantees to minorities should not be such as to lend itself to misuse by parties interested in promoting a sense of disloyalty to the State; and

(iv) it should be clearly understood that a State in which a particular language group constitutes the majority cannot be considered to be the custodian of the interests of all people speaking that language, even when they are residents of other States (*sic*)

"The language of instruction in educational institutions and the language of the administration are matters that touch, in practice, many vital aspects of the life of every individual. They, therefore, constitute what we regard as the core of the problem of linguistic minorities.

"We first deal with the question of the right of minorities to instruction in the mother tongue. The Indian Constitution guarantees to the minorities the right to private schools, but does not specifically recognise the right to instruction in the mother tongues in public schools. It seems to us that linguistic minorities do not have the resources required to establish and maintain their own educational institutions, particularly in rural areas. In such cases, therefore, a positive duty should be cast on the State to provide for facilities to the minorities for education in the mother tongue at the primary school stage.

"After carefully examining the background of the question, the reasons why the suggestion for making suitable provision in the Constitution on the subject did not find favour with the Constituent Assembly⁹, and the views expressed

9. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 7th and 8th December, 1948.

It may be interesting to note here the following observation of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, a member of the States Reorganisation Commission (1953-55), in the Constituent Assembly on 8th December, 1948, in connexion with the motion of Mr. Z. H. Lari (United Provinces: Muslim), as amended by Kazi Karimuddin, that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof, having a distinct language and script shall be entitled to have primary education imparted to its children through the medium of that language and script," "in case of (a) substantial number of such students being available":

"If our Muslim friends today . . . demand that their children should be given instruction in primary schools through their own language and script where a sufficient number of them ask for this, the demand cannot be considered as extravagant. It is a demand

before us, we have come to the conclusion that the right of the minorities to have education in the mother tongue at the primary stage, subject to a sufficient number of students being available, should be placed on a more stable footing than is the position at present. We, therefore, recommend that constitutional recognition should be given to this right and that the Central Government should acquire power to issue appropriate directives for the enforcement of this right on the lines of the provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution."

It is hardly necessary to make any comment on these observations. They are so fair and reasonable!

Let us now pass on to Article 347 of the Constitution which, as shown before, empowers the President of India to provide, in certain circumstances, "for the use of a minority language also in the administration of a State." According to the *Report*¹⁰ of the *States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, "so far no order has been issued under this Article and it has been left more or less to the States concerned to regulate the use of the minority languages for administrative purposes." Further, we find in the said Report¹¹ "that the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Ajmer and Saurashtra have adopted legislation under Article 345 (of the Constitution), recognising the respective regional language or languages as the official language or languages in the States concerned;" that "in other States, English continues to be the official language;" that "some States have recognised more than one official language"; that "thus, in Madhya Pradesh, both Hindi and Marathi are the official languages at all levels"; that "the Punjab and PEPSU have demarcated two distinct zones—a Punjabi-speaking zone and a Hindi-speaking zone;" that "in Bombay and Hyderabad, official business at district and taluk levels is conducted in the languages of these units;" that "in Hyderabad, PEPSU, Rajasthan, Travancore-Cochin and Madhya Bharat, the regional language or languages have been re-

which we should, if we are actuated by justice, be ready to grant."—See *ibid.*, 8th December, 1948, pp. 920-920.

10. See paragraph 778 of this *Report*.

11. See paragraphs 779-81 of the *Report*.

cognised for use in the High Court;" that "in other States, English continues to be the language of the High Court;" that "as regards the lower Courts, there is no State, with the exception of Assam, in which English is used exclusively in the lower courts;" that "in most States, where English is used in the High Court, the subordinate courts use both English and the regional languages, the general practice being that judgments are written in English and other work is done in the regional languages;" that "several States have permitted the use of the minority languages in subordinate courts;" and that "Bihar, Bombay, Andhra, Madras, Orissa, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal have allowed the use of two, or even three languages, in certain areas."

After this survey of "the use of minority languages for official purposes," the States Reorganisation Commission observed¹²:

"The present position, therefore, is that, while it is generally agreed that minority languages should receive due recognition in bilingual areas, a clear policy has not so far been laid down for regulating the use of the minority languages in the administration.

In conclusion, the Commission stated¹³:

"We do not desire to make any recommendation about the details of the policy to be followed in prescribing the use of minority languages for official purposes. However, we are inclined to the view that a State should be treated as unilingual only where one language group constitutes about seventy per cent or more of its entire population. Where there is a substantial minority constituting thirty per cent or so of the population, the State should be recognised as 'bilingual' for administrative purposes.

"The same principle might hold good at the district level; that is to say, if seventy per cent or more of the total population of a district is constituted by a group which is a minority in the State, the language of the minority group, and not the State language, should be the official language in that district. It will also be of advantage if, in bilingual districts, municip-

pal areas, or other smaller units such as taluks, where there are minorities constituting fifteen to twenty per cent of the population, documents which are used by the people at large, such as government notices, electoral rolls, ration cards, etc., are printed in both the languages. It should also be permissible to file documents in the courts, etc., in the minority language. Likewise, where the candidates seeking election to any local bodies are required to have a working knowledge of a language, the knowledge of a language of such minor language groups should be given recognition.

"These suggestions are for the consideration of the Government of India. What we wish to emphasise is that the Government of India should adopt, in consultation with the State Governments, a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations and that effective steps should be taken (under Article 347 of the Constitution) to ensure that this code is followed."

In concluding our discussion of the question now under our consideration, we should like to observe that, although there is a considerable justification for what has been said or done in the interest of the linguistic minorities in different parts of the Union of India, there is another aspect of the question which should not be altogether ignored in this connexion, namely, should a linguistic minority in a constituent State of the Union be allowed to live perpetually as foreigners, as it were, in the midst of the local population? It appears to us that what Shri K. Santhanam stated with regard to this point in the Constituent Assembly on 8th December, 1948, is also worthy of our serious consideration. "In every province," he said¹⁴, "there are islands of these linguistic minorities. For instance, in my own province of Tamil Nad there are islands, in almost every district, of villages where a large number of Telugu-speaking people reside. In this connection we have to hold the balance even between two different trends. First of all, we have to give to large linguistic minorities their right to

12. *Report of the States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, para. 782.

13. *Ibid.*, paras. 783-85; also p. 260.

14. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 8th December, 1948, p. 909. The attention of the reader is drawn to the entire proceedings of the Constituent Assembly on the date.

be educated—specially in the primary stages—in their own language. At the same time, we should not interfere with the historical process of assimilation. We ought not to think that for hundreds and thousands of years to come these linguistic minorities will perpetuate themselves as they are. The historical processes should be allowed free play. These minorities should be helped to become assimilated with the people of the locality. They should gradually absorb the language of the locality and become merged with the people there. Otherwise they will be aliens, as it were, in those provinces. Therefore, we should not have rigid provisions by which every child is automatically protected in what may be called his mother tongue. On the other hand, this process should not be sudden, it should not be forced. Wherever there are large numbers of children, they should be given education—primary education—in their own mother tongue. At the same time, they should be encouraged and assisted to go to the ordinary schools of the provinces and to imbibe the local tongue and get assimilated with the people” (of the locality).

IV

We shall now deal with the implications of Clause (2) of Article 29 of our Constitution which declares, as shown before, that “no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.” It may be noted here incidentally that this provision was inserted¹⁵ in our Constitution on 8th December, 1948, at the instance of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General) who had moved it in the Constituent Assembly by way of an amendment to what had originally been provided in Clause (2) of Article 23 of the *Draft Constitution of India*¹⁶, namely, that

“No minority whether based on religion, community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission of any per-

son belonging to such minority into any educational institution maintained by the State.”

In justification of his amendment Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava said¹⁷, among other things:

“The words ‘no minority’ (in the Draft Constitution) seek to differentiate the minority from the majority, whereas . . . in the Chapter the words of the heading are ‘Cultural and Educational Rights’ . . . the minority rights as such should not find any place under this section . . . no majority also should be discriminated against in this matter . . . This amendment brings the majority and the minority on an equal status. In educational matters, I cannot understand, from the national point of view, how any discrimination can be justified in favour of a minority or a majority. Therefore, what this amendment seeks to do is that the majority and the minority are brought on the same level. There will be no discrimination between any member of the minority or majority in so far as admissions to educational institutions are concerned. So I should say that this is a charter of the liberties for the student-world of the minority and the majority communities equally.

“The second change which this amendment seeks to make is in regard to the institutions which will be governed by this provision of law. Previously only the educational institutions maintained by the State were included. This amendment seeks to include such other institutions as are aided by State funds. There are a very large number of such institutions, and in future, by this amendment the rights of the minority have been broadened and the rights of the majority have been secured. So this is a very healthy amendment and it is a kind of nation-building amendment . . . The word ‘community’ is sought to be removed from this provision because . . . the word ‘community’ is meaningless and the words substituted are ‘race or caste.’ So this provision is so broadened that on the score of caste, race, language, or religion no discrimination can be allowed.”

The amendment moved by Pandit Bhar-

15. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 8th December, 1948. particularly, pp. 897-98 and p. 925 thereof.

16. Corresponding, in effect, to Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution of India.

17. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 8th December, 1948, pp. 897-98.

gava was duly accepted¹⁸ by the Constituent Assembly on 8th December, 1948, and now constitutes Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution. Let us analyse it here.

In a preceeding article¹⁹ in the series we have been publishing in this journal, we invited the attention of the reader to the absence of the words 'sex' and 'place of birth' in Clause (2) of Article 29, and observed that it appeared to us that, subject, of course, to the other provisions of our Constitution, discrimination on the ground of sex or place of birth under Article 29(2) would not be constitutionally invalid. At any rate, we added, this point needed clarification. We still adhere to this view. Fortunately, there are some judicial pronouncements on the question and we may refer to them here.

In *Anjali Roy, Petitioner v. the State of West Bengal and Others, Opposite Party Bose J. of the Calcutta High Court had held*²⁰ on 14th February, 1952:

"Article 29(2) does not refer to the ground of sex. So this Article by itself does not invalidate any order of the State Government²¹ or of the Authorities of an educational institution of the type described in Article 29(2), restricting the admission of women students into Government or Government-aided institutions. Article 15(1)²² (of the Constitution) which is of wider application than Article 29(2) prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex on (in?) all matters and so it includes discrimination in matters of admission to educational institutions. The result is that Article 15(1) should be construed as controlling Article 29(2) of the Constitution."

On appeal against the judgment of Bose J. in this case, Chakravarti C. J. of the same High Court stated²³, however, in the course of his judgment²⁴ delivered on 5th June, 1952:

18. See *ibid.*, p. 925.

19. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 201.

20. See *The All-India Reporter*, 1952; Vol. 39, Calcutta Section, pp. 822 and 824.

21. Reference here is to the Government of West Bengal. For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 822-31.

22. It runs as follows: "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste; sex; place of birth or any of them."

Also see our article in this connexion in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955.

"Of paramount importance in Clause(1) (of Article 15 of the Constitution) are the words 'discrimination' and 'only.' What the Article forbids is discrimination and discrimination based solely on all or any of the grounds mentioned in the Article. All differentiation is not discrimination, but only such differentiation as is invidious and as is made, not because (of) any real difference in the conditions or natural difference between the persons dealt with which makes different treatment necessary, but because of the presence of some characteristic or affiliation which is either disliked or not regarded with equal favour, but which has no rational connection with the differentiation made as a justifying reason. Next, the discrimination which is forbidden is only such discrimination as is based solely on the ground that a person belongs to a particular race or caste or professes a particular religion or was born at a particular place or is of a particular sex and on no other ground. A discrimination based on one or more of these grounds and also on other grounds is not hit by the Article."

Further²⁵—

"Some argument appears to have been addressed to Bose J. on Article 29(2) (of the Constitution) and the learned Judge has held that the Article should be read as controlled by Article 15(1) which is of a general character and covers all matters. Before assenting to that provision, I should require to consider the matter further when a proper occasion arises. Article 29(2) deals specifically with (the) denial of admission into educational institutions maintained by the State and it may not be without significance that it does not mention sex as one of the grounds on which such admission may not be denied. The framers of the Constitution may have thought that because of the physical and mental differences between men and women and considerations incidental thereto, exclusion of men from certain institutions serving women only and *vice versa* would not be hostile or un-

23. And Sen J. (of the Calcutta High Court) agreed with him.

24. In *Sm. Anjali Roy, Petitioner, Appellant v. The State of West Bengal and Others, Respondents*—See *The All-India Reporter*, 1952, Vol. 39, Calcutta Section, pp. 825-31.

25. See *ibid.*

reasonable discrimination. It is true (that) while formerly Article 29(2) was, in form at least, an independent provision concerned with the particular subject of admission into educational institutions, it has now been linked up, to a certain extent, with Article 15, since Clause (4),²⁶ added to the last Article, authorises special provision for the advancement of educationally backward classes. Such provision may obviously be a provision, reserving certain educational institutions for the backward classes or reserving a certain number of seats for them, with the consequence of denying admission to other classes and, therefore, the Clause suggests that the subject of admission to educational institutions is not outside the ambit of Article 15. It may, however, be said that Article 15(4) has been added as an exception to that part of Article 15(1) which forbids discrimination on the ground of race or caste and as an amendment of that part of Article 29(2) which forbids denial of admission into educational institutions on the same grounds; but since no such provision regarding educational institutions has been made in Article 15 in the case of the ground of sex, Article 29(2), in so far as it does not mention sex as a forbidden ground of discrimination in regard to admission into educational institutions, remains unaffected. The matter is not free from difficulty, but I would prefer not to express any final opinion on it."

It appears from what is quoted above that the Calcutta High Court has not come to any definite decision on the question whether Article 29(2) of our Constitution is in any way controlled by Article 15(1) thereof. The Madras High Court, however, seems to have taken a definite decision on the point. In *The University of Madras (Appellant) v. Shantha Bai and Another (Respondent)*,²⁷ the Madras High Court²⁸ held²⁹ on 1st May, 1953:

26. Clause (4) of Article 15 of the Constitution lays down: "Nothing in this Article or in Clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes"

Also see our article in this series in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, in this connection.

27. Letters Patent Appeal No. 4 of 1952 from the judgment of Subba Rao J.—*The All-India Reporter*, 1954. Madras High Court, pp. 67-71.

28. Rajamannar, C. J. and Venkatarama Ayyar, J.—See *ibid.*, p. 67.

"Now, it will be seen that while Article 15(1) enacts a general principle, Article 29(2) deals with a particular topic, *viz.*, admission to educational institutions. If the principle *generalia specialibus non derogant*³⁰ is to apply, the controlling provision would be Article 29(2) and not 19(1)³¹ [15(1)?]. It should also be noted that the language of Article 29(2) is significantly different from that of Article 15(1). Thus, as pointed out by the learned Advocate-General, while Article 15(1) prohibits discrimination on the ground, *inter alia*, of 'place of birth', these words are omitted in Article 29(2). The omission is clearly deliberate and there is a purpose behind it. A State might be minded to open an institution for the advancement of knowledge in a particular region which might be backward and for carrying out this object it might restrict admission into the institution to persons of the locality. If persons from other and more advanced regions are to insist on being admitted and the restriction in favour of persons who belong to the locality is to be rejected as inconsistent with Article 15(1), the result would be that persons in the locality might be prevented for all times from improving their lot. It is to avoid such consequence that 'place of birth' which is included in Article 15(1) would appear to have been omitted in Article 29(2). In the same manner the omission of 'sex' in Article 29(2) would appear to be a deliberate departure from the language of Article 15(1), and its object must have been to leave it to the educational authorities to make their own rules suited to their conditions and not to force on them an obligation to admit women.

"Some argument was addressed before us on the exact significance of Article 15(3) which enacts that 'nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.' The true scope of Article 15(3) is that, notwithstanding Article 15(1), it will be lawful for the State to establish educational institutions solely for women and that

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70. For details in this case, see *ibid.*, pp. 67-71.

30. "A general Act is to be construed as not repealing a particular one, that is, one directed towards a special object or a special class of objects."—See *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*, 10th Ed., pp. 176-80, in this connexion.

31. An obvious misprint for 15(1).

the exclusion of men students from such institutions would not contravene Article 15(1) . . . The combined effect of both Articles 15(3) and 29(2) is that, while men students have no right of admission to women's colleges, the right of women to admission in other colleges is a matter within the regulation of the authorities of these colleges. In *Anjali v. State of West Bengal* . . . Bose J. was of the view that Article 29(2) would be controlled by Article 15(1). But on appeal, the learned Judges left the point open.³² We are of opinion that Article 29(2) is a special Article and is the controlling provision when the question relates to the (?) admission to colleges."

We feel inclined to agree with the view of the Madras High Court that "Article 29(2) is a special Article" and that it "is the controlling provision" so far as "admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds," is concerned. As we shall have an occasion to see later on, the Supreme Court of India also admitted the special character of Article 29(2) when it declared on 26th May, 1954, in the course of its judgment in *The State of Bombay (Appellant) v. Bombay Education Society and Others (Respondent)*³³:

"Article 15 protects all citizens against discrimination generally, but Article 29(2) is a protection against a particular species of wrong, namely, denial of admission into educational institutions of the specified kind . . . Article 29(2) confers a special right on citizens for admission into educational institutions maintained or aided by the State."

We may even go so far as to state that in some respects Article 29(2) may be treated as a "particular exception" to the "general intention" as embodied in Article 15(1). In such a case the accepted rule of interpretation is as we find in *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*:³⁴

"Where a general intention is expressed, and also a particular intention which is incompatible with the general one, the particular

intention is considered an 'exception to the general one. Even when the later, or later part, of the enactment is in the negative, it is sometimes reconcilable with the earlier one by so treating it. If, for instance, an Act in one section authorised a corporation to sell a particular piece of land and in another prohibited it from selling 'any land,' the first section would be treated, not as repealed by the sweeping terms of the other, but as being an exception to it."

In view of what we have stated above, we reiterate our former submission³⁵ that, notwithstanding what is provided for in Article 15(1), discrimination, on the ground of sex or place of birth, under Article 29(2) will not be constitutionally invalid. At any rate, the point needs authoritative clarification.

It may also be noted here that the insertion of Clause (4) in Article 15 by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, has, as we have seen before,* indirectly amended in some respects Article 29(2) so far as any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are concerned.

V

Before we conclude this article, we may refer, in connexion with the question of interpretation of Article 29(2), to the judgment of our Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay v. Bombay Education Society and Others*, delivered by Das J. on 26th May, 1954.

Briefly speaking, it appears from the judgment³⁶ that the Education Society of Bombay (respondent No. 1), to be referred to hereinafter as the Education Society, had been running since 1925 a recognized Anglo-Indian School known as Barnes High School at Deolali in Nasik District in the State of Bombay. The school used to receive a considerable aid from the State. English was used as the medium of instruction in it since its inception, the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indian community being English.

On 6th January, 1954, the State of Bombay

32. Reference is to the view of Chakravarti, C.J., of the Calcutta High Court as quoted before. Sen J. of the same High Court agreed with this view.

33. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February, 1955, pp. 579-80.

34. Tenth Edition, 1953, Granville Sharp and Brian Galpin, p. 172.

35. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 201.

* See *ibid.*, pp. 197-200.

36. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February, 1955, pp. 568-88; Civil Appellate Jurisdiction (Civil Appeals No. 64 to 66 of 1954).

issued a circular order, headed "Admissions to schools teaching through the medium of English." The operative part of this order enjoined that, subject to a few specified exceptions, "no primary or secondary school shall from the date of the order admit to a class where English is used as the medium of instruction any pupil other than a pupil belonging to a section of citizens the language of which is English, namely, Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Asiatic descent."

On 1st February, 1954, one Dr. Guzar, an Indian citizen belonging to the Guzrati Hindu community, whose mother-tongue was Guzrati, sought admission for his son into Barnes High School. And on 2nd February, 1954, one Major Pinto, an Indian citizen belonging to the Indian Christian community, also sought admission into the school for his daughter. He claimed that his mother-tongue was English and that his entire family spoke and used English at home. But, as a result of the order of 6th January, 1954, referred to above, admission was refused by the Headmaster of the school to both the students as they did not belong to the Anglo-Indian community, nor were they of non-Asiatic descent. There were also "similar other applications for admission which," too, "had to be rejected on similar grounds."

Thereupon the Education Society and its Directors presented an application under Article 226 of the Constitution before the High Court of Bombay "praying for the issue of a Writ in the nature of *Mandamus* restraining the State of Bombay and its officers from enforcing the said order" and allowing "the petitioners to admit in the school any children of non-Anglo-Indian citizens or citizens of Asiatic descent and to educate them through the medium of English." Similar applications were made by Major Pinto and his daughter and Dr. Guzar and his son, "praying for similar reliefs." All these applications were consolidated on 11th February, 1954, heard together and accepted by the High Court on 15th February, 1954. The High Court made an order as prayed for. The State of Bombay then appealed to the Supreme Court against the order. The Supreme Court held³⁷ in essence:

"The impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) denying the right of students who are not Anglo-Indians, or are of Asiatic descent, to be admitted to a recognised Anglo-Indian School (in this case the Barnes High School) which receives aid from the State and which imparts education through the medium of English, is void and unenforceable as it offends against the fundamental right guaranteed to all citizens by Article 29(2) of the Constitution, because—

- (a) the language of Article 29(2) of the Constitution is wide and unqualified and covers all citizens whether they belong to the majority or minority group;
- (b) the protection given by the said Article extends against the State or anybody who denies the right conferred by it;
- (c) the said Article confers a special right on citizens for admission into the educational institutions maintained or aided by the State; and
- (d) the marginal note (to Article 29) referring to minorities does not control the plain meaning of the language in which Article 29(2) has been couched."

In elucidation of some of these points, we may quote an extract or two from the relevant judgment of the Supreme Court. It declared,³⁸ among other things:

"There is (a) good deal of force . . . in the argument that the order (of 6th January, 1954) restricts admission only to Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Asiatic descent whose language is English. . . . Assuming, however, that under the impugned order a section of citizens, other than Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Asiatic descent, whose language is English, may also get admission, even then citizens, whose language is not English, are certainly debarred by the order from admission to a school where English is used as a (the?) medium of instruction in all the classes. Article 29(2) *ex facie* puts no limitation or qualification on the expression 'citizen.' Therefore . . . the order will contravene the provisions of Article 29(2)."

Further—

"The learned Attorney-General (for India)³⁹ . . . falls back upon two contentions to avoid the applicability of Article 29(2). In the first

37. *Ibid.*, p. 569.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 578-86.

39. Counsel for the appellant (State of Bombay).

place he contends that Article 29(2) does not confer any fundamental right on all citizens generally, but guarantees the rights of citizens of minority groups by providing that they must not be denied admission to educational institutions maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them, and he refers us to the marginal note to the Article. This is certainly a new contention put forward before us for the first time. It does not appear to have been specifically taken in the affidavits in opposition filed in the High Court and there is no indication in the judgment under appeal that it was advanced in this form before the High Court. Nor was this point specifically made a ground of appeal in the petition for leave to appeal to this Court. Apart from this, the contention appears to us to be devoid of merit. Article 29(1) gives protection to any section of the citizens having a distinct language, script or culture by guaranteeing their right to conserve the same. Article 30(1) secures to all minorities, whether based on religion or language, the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Now suppose the State maintains an educational institution to help conserving the distinct language, script or culture of a section of the citizens or makes grants in aid of an educational institution established by a minority based on religion or language to conserve their distinct language, script or culture, who can claim the protection of Article 29(2) in the matter of admission into any such institution? Surely the citizens of the very section whose language, script or culture is sought to be conserved by the institution or the citizens who belong to the very minority group which has established and is administering the institution, do not need any protection against themselves and therefore Article 29(2) is not designed for the protection of this section or this minority. Nor do we see any reason to limit Article 29(2) to citizens belonging to a minority group other than the section or the minorities referred to in Article 29(1) or Article 30(1), for the citizens, who do not belong to any minority group, may quite conceivably need this protection just as much as the citizens of such other minority groups. If it is urged that the citizens of the majority group

are amply protected by Article 15 and do not require the protection of Article 29(2), then there are several obvious answers to that argument. The language of Article 29(2) is wide and unqualified and may well cover all citizens whether they belong to the majority or minority group. Article 15 protects all citizens against the State whereas the protection of Article 29(2) extends against the State or anybody who denies the right conferred by it. Further, Article 15 protects all citizens against discrimination generally, but Article 29(2) is a protection against a particular species of wrong, namely, denial of admission into educational institutions of the specified kind. In the next place, Article 15 is quite general and wide in its terms and applies to all citizens, whether they belong to the majority or minority groups, and gives protection to all the citizens against discrimination on certain specific grounds. Article 29(2) confers a special right on citizens for admission into educational institutions maintained or aided by the State. To limit this right only to citizens belonging to minority groups will be to provide a double protection for such citizens and to hold that the citizens of the majority group have no special educational rights in the nature of a right to be admitted into an educational institution for the maintenance of which they make contributions by way of taxes.* We see no cogent reason for such discrimination. The heading under which Articles 29 and 30 are grouped together—namely, 'Cultural and Educational Rights'—is quite general and does not in terms contemplate such differentiation. If the fact that the institution is maintained or aided out of State funds is the basis of this guaranteed right, then all citizens, irrespective of whether they belong to the majority or minority groups, are alike entitled to the protection of this fundamental right. In view of all these considerations the marginal note (to Article 29) alone, on which the Attorney-General relies, cannot be read as controlling the plain meaning of the language in which Article 29(2) has been couched. Indeed, in *The State of Madras v. Srimathi Champakam*

* See in this connection Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's speech in the Constituent Assembly, as quoted before.

*Dorairajan*⁴⁰ (1951, S.C.R. 525 at p. 530), this Court has already held as follows:

"It will be noticed that while Clause (1) (of Article 29) protects the language, script or culture of a section of the citizens, Clause (2) (thereof) guarantees the fundamental right of an individual citizen. The right to get admission into any educational institution of the kind mentioned in Clause (2) is a right which an individual citizen has as a citizen and not as a member of any community or class of citizens.

"In our judgment this part of the contention of the learned Attorney-General cannot be sustained."

Referring to the second contention of the Attorney-General, the Supreme Court held⁴¹:

"The second part of the arguments of the learned Attorney-General hinges upon the word 'only' to be found in Article 29(2). His contention is that the impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) does not deny admission to any citizen on the ground *only* of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. He maintains with considerable emphasis that it is incumbent on the State to secure the advancement of Hindi which is ultimately to be our national language and he stresses the desirability of or even the necessity, generally acknowledged by educationists, for imparting education through the medium of the pupil's mother-tongue. We have had equally emphatic rejoinder from (the) learned Counsel appearing for the different respondents . . . We must, therefore, evaluate the argument of the learned Attorney-General on purely legal considerations bearing on the question of construction of Article 29(2) . . . The arguments advanced by the learned Attorney-General overlook the distinction between the object or motive underlying the impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) and the mode and manner adopted therein for achieving that object. The object or motive attributed by the learned Attorney-General to the impugned order is undoubtedly a laudable one but its validity has to be judged by the method of its operation and its effect on the fundamental right guaranteed by Article 29(2) . . . Granting that the

object of impugned order before us was what is claimed for it by the learned Attorney-General, the question still remains as to how that object has been sought to be achieved. Obviously that is sought to be done by denying to all pupils, whose mother-tongue is not English, admission into any school where the medium of instruction is English. Whatever the object, the immediate ground and direct cause for the denial is that the mother-tongue of the pupil is not English . . . the laudable object of the impugned order does not obviate the prohibition of Article 29(2) because the effect of the order involves an infringement of this fundamental right, and that effect is brought about by denying admission only on the ground of language. The same principle is implicit in the decision of this Court in *The State of Madras v. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan* (1951, S.C.R. 525 at p. 530).⁴² There also the object of the impugned communal G. O. was to advance the interest of educationally backward classes of citizens but, that object notwithstanding, this Court struck down the order as unconstitutional because the *modus operandi* to achieve that object was directly based only on one of the forbidden grounds specified in the Article. In our opinion the impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) offends against the fundamental right guaranteed to all citizens by Article 29(2)."

Thus the Supreme Court clearly declared in its judgment in *The State of Bombay v. Bombay Education Society and Others*, that under Article 29(2) of our Constitution, no citizen could be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds, on the ground of his language. As we have noted before,⁴³ Article 15(1) is silent on the question of 'language'. But, in view of Article 29(2), this does not matter so far as admission into an educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds, is concerned.

Finally, the Supreme Court declared,⁴⁴ in the course of its judgment in the case referred

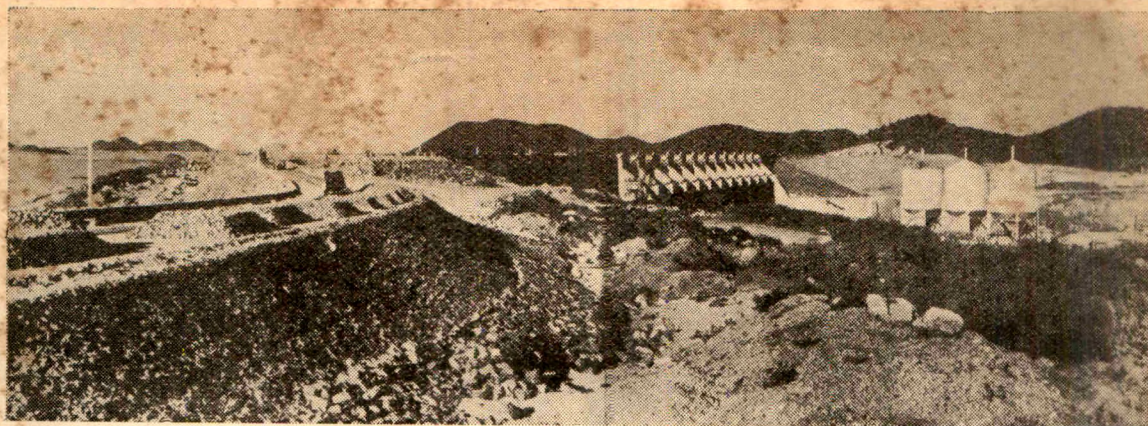
40. See our article in this series in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, particularly pp. 197-99, in this connexion.

41. *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February, 1955, pp. 581-84.

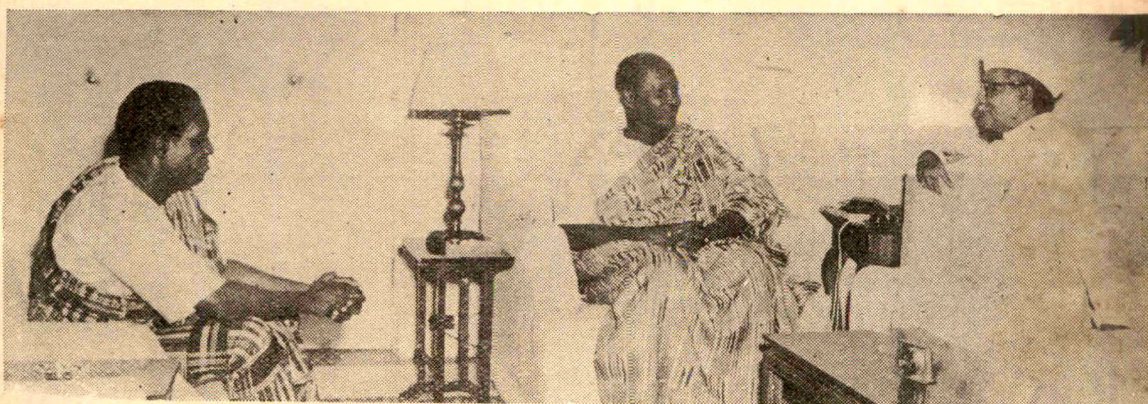
42. See our article in this series in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, pp. 197-99.

43. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 201.

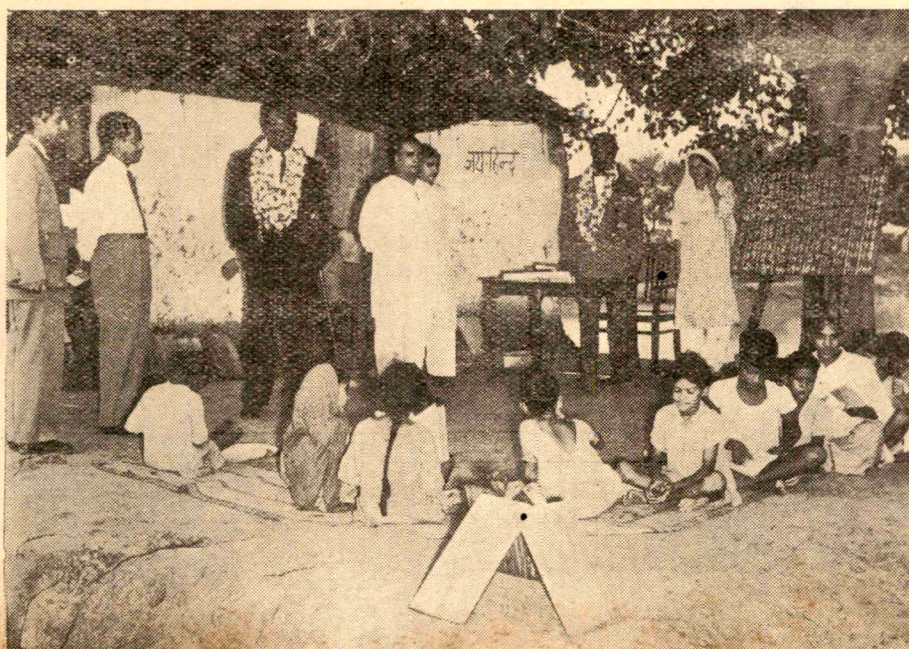
44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February 1955, p. 586.



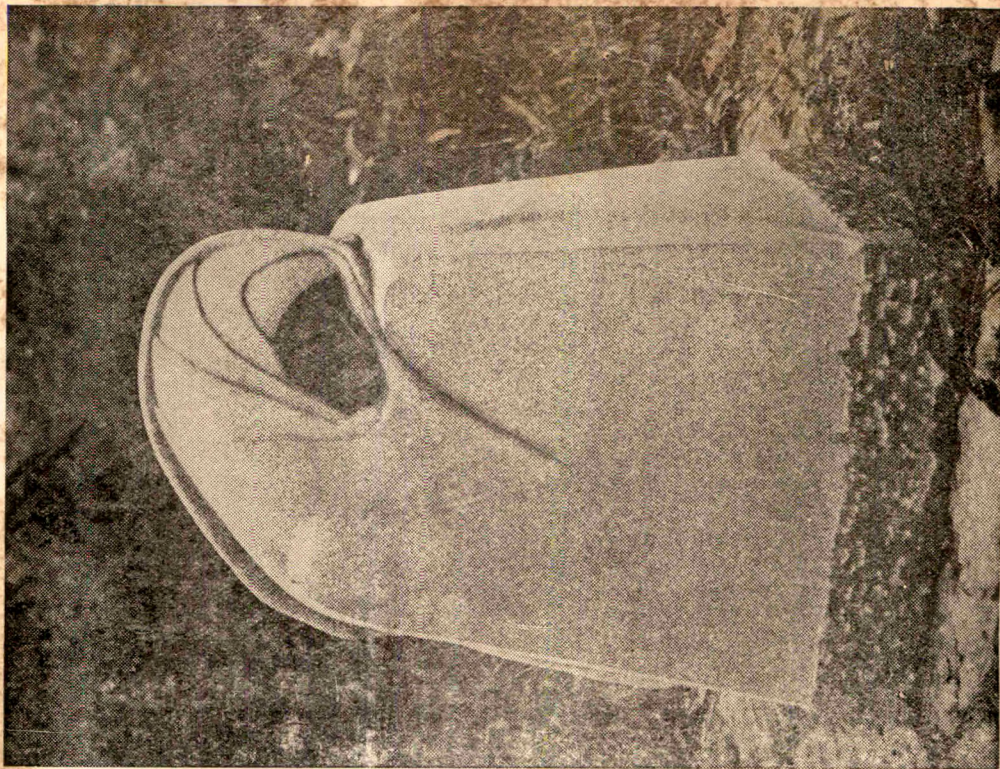
A view of the Maithon Dam



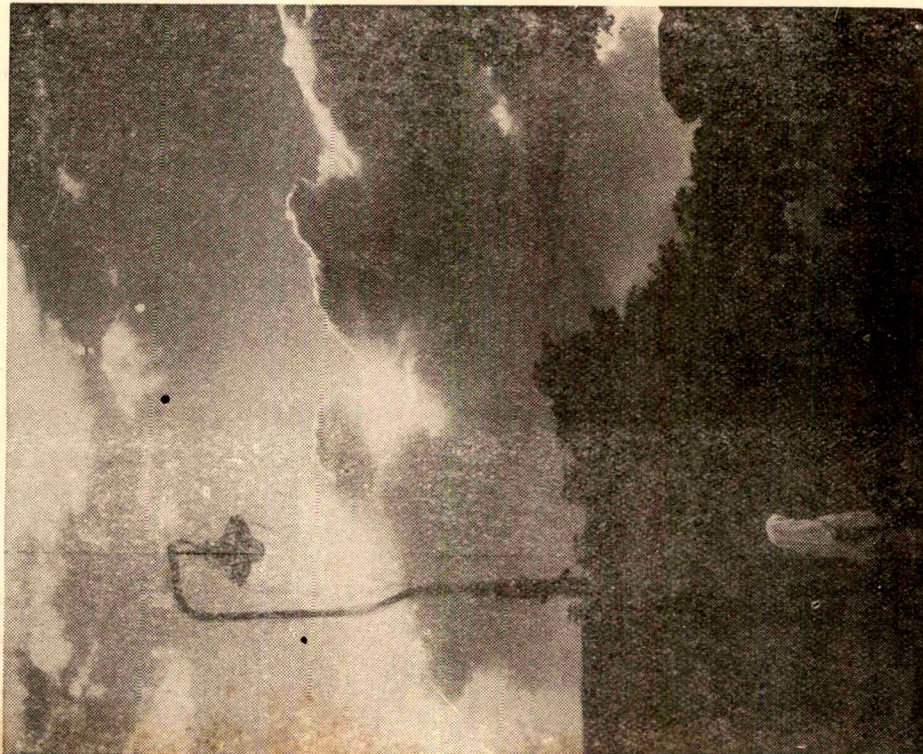
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in conversation with H. E. Mr. Gbedemah, Minister for Finance and H. E. Mr. Nylander, Minister for Education of Ghana at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on September 6, 1957



Mr. Gbedemah and Mr. Nylander, Ministers of Ghana for Finance and Education respectively, visited Shamaspur, a village in the Gurgaon Community Development Block near Delhi on September 6, 1957



War's End
Sculpture by George Papashvily



The array of clouds
Photo by Alak Dey

to above, with reference to Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) of the Constitution:

"Where . . . a minority like the Anglo-Indian community, which is based, *inter alia*, on religion and language, has the fundamental right to conserve its language, script and culture under Article 29(1) and has the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice under Article 30(1), surely then there must be implicit in such fundamental right the right to impart instruction in their own institutions to the children of their own Community in their own language. To hold otherwise will be to deprive Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) of the greater part of their contents. Such being the fundamental right, the police power⁴⁵ of the State to determine the

medium of instruction must yield to this fundamental right to the extent it is necessary to give effect to it and cannot be permitted to run counter to it."⁴⁶

The upshot of the foregoing discussion⁴⁷ was that the appeals⁴⁸ made by the State of Bombay against the judgment and order of the Bombay High Court were dismissed by the Supreme Court, and that the State of Bombay was directed "to pay the costs of the respondents."

In our next article in this series we propose to deal with the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Property.

45. The doctrine of police power of the State is a peculiarly American doctrine. In *Barbier v. Connolly* (1885, 113 U.S. 27), the Supreme Court of the United States defined the police power of the State as its power "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people; and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."—See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, p. 210.

According to Professor Willis, "the police power is the legal capacity of government to control the personal liberty of individuals for the protection of the social interests (or common good) of the people who established such government . . . There are two main requirements for a proper exercise of the police power: (1) There must be a social interest to be protected which is more important than the social interest in personal liberty, and (2) there must be, as a means for the accomplishment of this end, something which bears a substantial relation thereto."—(Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, pp. 224 and 728).

It may be noted here that in *Mayer v. Nebraska* (1923, 262 U.S. 390) the Supreme Court held: "Determination by the legislature of what constitutes (a) proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive, but is subject to revision by the courts."

The doctrine of police power of the State does not appear to have received much encouragement or recognition from the judiciary in India. And we also find in the judgment of Patanjali Sastri, C.J. (Supreme Court of India) in *The State of West Bengal v. Subodh Gopal Bose and Others*, dated 17th December, 1953.

"The American doctrine of police power as a distinct and specific legislative power is not recognised in our Constitution."—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI & VII; June and July, 1954, p. 606; also p. 669. Das J., of the Supreme Court, however, thinks otherwise and there is a good deal of force in what he says on this point.—See *ibid.*, pp. 638-56.

46. This declaration was made by the Supreme Court with reference to the following contention of the Attorney-General (for India) on behalf of the State of Bombay:

"Although any section of the citizens having (a) distinct language, script or culture of its own, has under Article 29(1) the right to conserve the same, and although all minorities, whether based on religion or language, have, under Article 30(1), the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, nevertheless such sections or minorities cannot question the power of the State to make reasonable regulations for all Schools, including a requirement that they should give instruction in a particular language which is regarded as the national language, or to prescribe a curriculum for institutions which it supports."

—See *ibid.*, pp. 584-85.

47. We have not referred in this article to that portion of the judgment of the Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay v. Bombay Education Society & Others*, which deals with the bearing of Proviso 2 to Article 337 of the Constitution on this case as it is not very relevant to our purpose in the article. The interested reader may refer to pages 586-88 of *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February, 1955, in this connexion.

48. See foot-note 36 above.



FOOD FACTS IN INDIA

BY DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., PH.D.

VI

CONCLUSION

WE have discussed at length the progress made by us in the science of nutrition¹ and the truth of the statement that the food in the country is short by so many calories would seem to be doubtful. The very talk of quantitative analysis and that too on the basis of caloric requirements would seem to be quite wrong. De Castro does not make any mention of 'hunger of carbohydrates' in any part of the world. The *Diet Survey Reports* for the period 1935-48 conducted by the Indian Council of Medical Research confirm that the cereal consumption of the people in the country has been more than what is required on the basis of nutritive levels.² The findings of experts like Sir John Boyd Orr are not different.³

Along with this lack of knowledge on nutrition, our information about the flora and fauna of India is all the more incomplete. We hardly know what people, in the remote corners of the country, are used to consuming. According to Max Sorre, "there are some 2 million known species of animals, but only 50 have been domesticated and contribute to our food supply." Similarly out of the world's 350,000 vegetable species, only 600 are cultivated by men.⁴ India which in every sense of the term is a big continent in itself and is inhabited by people of various races in the remotest corners of the country, abounds in natural mushroom growth, which is consumed by the local people. Many of them have been declared by our experts as 'famine foods.' There are root crops like the much-neglected 'taro,' which yields starch as good as potato, but both protein and starch

content is high. A. K. Yegna Narayana Aiyer gives a list of as many as 84 so-called famine foods being consumed by people, all rich in nutrients.⁵ Our village-folk have, however, been living on them for centuries and keeping themselves quite fit.

Mrs. Wiser who made a comprehensive study of the foods of a Hindu village—Karimpur in U.P.—said:

"The village looks to its trees as a special source of variety in the diet. And the trees have something to suffer during most of the year. Some of the fruits like the *neem* and *peepul* berries, we would never consider as human food, and in government publications they are listed as famine foods. But the children eat them in large quantities and farmers munch them on their way to and from the fields."⁶

She further added that

"The children also gather and eat the blossoms of the Mahwa tree, and forage from wild plums."⁷

There is no lack of such other unknown foods in other parts of the country as well. The late Mr. Sivaswami of the Servants of India Society gives details of the food habits of two of the aboriginal tribes of Malabar—the Paniyans and Arandans. According to him the staple food of the Arandans for a great part of the year consists of wild roots, most common out of them being Katiyange, Venni, Kroano, Noore, Kelenge and Kavale.⁸ These

1. It would be interesting to note in this connection that literature on the science of nutrition is extensive. The 5th volume of the *Science of Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews* (1935-36) published 4,762 abstracts of scientific papers and books on various aspects of the subject and the flood appears to be increasing rather than diminishing.—(Aykroyd, *Human Nutrition*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12).

2. Indian Council of Medical Research, Report on the Result of Diet Surveys in India (1935-48).

3. Quoted in *The Modern Review*, February, 1952, p. 114. Also see the League of Nations, *Nutrition*, 1935, p. 9.

4. De Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

5. Paper read by him on 'Subsidiary Foods' at the Symposium on Food and Population at the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, in May, 1951, pp. 117 to 124.

6. Charlotte Viall Wiser: *The Foods of a Hindu Village of North India*, *Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research*, UP Bulletin No. 2, July 1936, p. 15.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

8. K. G. Sivaswami and others, *Food Control and Nutrition Surveys—Malabar and South Kanara*. There are many more cases of other rural studies which refer to the dietary habits of rural India. We may mention in this connection the Hon. James W. Best (*Forest Life in India*, London, p. 122) who, while describing the food of Baiga farmer of Madhya Pradesh, says, "There are wild fruits in plenty, some very nourishing roots, honey for the taking by brave men, and fungi that are delicious . . . One of the meals I have ever enjoyed consists of fish, venison with wild yams, as

aboriginal and tribal people who number as many as 19 millions in India are living on most of such ignored foods and are yet keeping more than fit.

Wild varieties in India are innumerable. And the missing constituents of food are supplied by these. Again, to quote Mrs. Wiser,

"The children are the ones who let their physical needs direct their foraging. None of the edible fruits miss them. The wild ones which they eat, we know little about. But we feel sure that they must supply some vitamin C, and calories, and perhaps some of the iron which they need. The gum from the gum acacia tree of which they are particularly fond, must add calories, if nothing more."⁹

Dr. Dube in his description of a South Indian Village, says that in the rainy season almost everyone grows some vegetables and creepers, and these are in most cases the only vegetables regularly eaten in any part of the year.¹⁰ Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Although surroundings of the village afford very few opportunities for the collection of wild food, mango, jaman, tender leaves and berries are eagerly eaten.¹¹ Then there are innumerable festivals celebrated throughout rural India when special dishes are cooked in every house.¹²

We have adapted ourselves to the variety of foods through centuries.¹³ According to Dr.

many truffles as I dared to eat, mango food from the wild fruit, and honey for the desert."

Again, this is not peculiar to Madhya Pradesh or the Baigas. W. Burns (*Sons of the Soil—Studies of the Indian Cultivator*, New Delhi, 1941) gives pen-pictures of the cultivator all over India by those who had first-hand knowledge of the habits of peasants. Not to speak of the northern cultivator of the Punjab or U.P., even the Madras cultivator (pp. 2-3), the Bengal cultivator (pp. 32 and 34) and the Berar cultivator (pp. 78-79), consumes food which cannot certainly be said to be lacking in quantity at least.

9. Wiser, *ibid.*, p. 60.

10. S. C. Dube, *Indian Village*, 1955, p. 80.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-130.

13. H. H. Mitchell, Division of Animal Nutrition, Illinois University in an article in the *Journal of American Dietetic Association* (20) 8, September 1944 mentions a number of instances of adjustments of the human body to a reduced intake of protein, calcium and vitamins. According to him, every human being is possessed with what is known as 'Adaptation Energy'. It is this energy, according to him, which is responsible

Aykroyd, a diet containing just two items, a whole cereal (e.g., oatmeal) and skimmed milk, would be reasonably adequate in nutritive value. We cannot under the circumstances say with certainty that our food is quite unwholesome. If at all we are keen to improve our food, let us not look to science more and ridicule ourselves in the eyes of the world. We will automatically be able to add more of milk, fish and many other things, if the poor and the middle classes are promised a better share of the national income. There is, in fact, no reason to believe that we are the most underfed country in the world or that we are and have been suffering from even those foods which supply fuel, —cereals—to the body.

VII

Coming to the relation between acreage under foodgrains and the increase in population it may be added that historical series for acreage and yield of various crops are not available, and it would seem to be rather ridiculous to make any comparative study in their absence. During the 'forties' when most of the work was done by eminent scholars like Dr. Gyan Chand, no statistics worth the name were available from areas known as Princely States. This being the case, they restricted their study to British India only. Even if it is accepted that the figures for acreage and production of various crops were correct for British India, we will not be justified to make any categorical statement for the whole of India. Particularly, when we know that the States were intermixed with the rest of India and covered an area of as much as 592,330 square miles, a little less than half of the present area of the Union which is about 12 lakh square miles. This vast territory was inhabited only by 92.8 million people. This, in other words, mean that States which covered as much as 47 per cent of the total area, had only to support a population of 26 per cent of the total.¹⁴ Certainly the then British India was

for the survival of the people of South-East Asia in spite of diet considered as poor by Western nations. His conclusion is, "It probably accounts for the ability of you and me to eschew with impunity such protective foods as milk, spinach, turnip greens or the like if we do not like them. It is an important phase of that capacity of the human race to survive and thrive in all climates and regions of the world."

14. All figures for States are from White Paper on States.

depending for its food supply upon many of these States. Increases-decreases in acreage in this half of the country must also be taken into consideration, if any correct conclusion is to be arrived at. As this is not possible, this method of approach to the problem has got to be rejected outright.

VIII

PRODUCTION STATISTICS

While agreeing in principle with Dr. Thomas that conclusions based on acreage statistics are most unsatisfactory, and do not reflect the improvements in land and other conditions factors, we have to admit that the production statistics for the country have been still worse. There may be some grain or reliability in the data relating to acreage, but even that much is missing with regard to production. This is the main reason which has led to many contradictory conclusions. The findings of Dr. Thomas, Sir Meek and Prof. Karve already referred to that food production had been keeping pace or even going ahead of population increase, cannot be relied upon on this basis. In fact, the whole of the discussion based on acreage or production has to be discarded and conclusions, if any, are to be drawn from other sources.

IX

TRADE PATTERN

Having failed to establish their theory on the basis of nutritive levels or acreage and production figures, the last mainstay with the votaries of the shortage school rests on the trade pattern. The data with regard to import and export of foodgrains is most reliable and as already explained, efforts have been made by Mr. Gopalaswami to prove his thesis on this basis.

Examining the position for the period 1920-21 to 1936-37, it would be wrong to deal with India and Burma separately when they formed one political unit. A study of Table I would reveal that even if we ignore Burma's exports to other countries, India was a net exporter of foodgrains. Adam Smith pointed out some two centuries back:

"It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy."¹⁵

No wonder then if these imports from Burma were in response to this normal principle of economics.

But even if we are to treat Burma and India as separate units, increasing imports of rice and decreasing exports of wheat did not necessarily represent any real shortage at home. Some other factors would seem to be responsible for the phenomena. Let us then analyse the country's import and export position in food which largely consisted of rice and wheat.

RICE IMPORT

Before separation in 1937, India was getting her supplies of rice mainly from Burma. This will be explicit from Table I which give the pattern of food trade in India from 1920-21 to 1936-37. (See Table I).

This shows that rice imports from Burma did not follow a steady pace. From one million tons in 1921-22, they fell to nearly half a million tons both in 1923-24 and 1924-25. They reached the peak of 2.2 million tons in 1934-35 to be followed by a sharp decline to 1.1 million tons in 1935-36 and 1.6 million tons in the two following years. This downward trend in imports continued in the first two years after separation.

Many factors were responsible for these fluctuations in rice imports from Burma. One was that the Burma rice was of a relatively low quality¹⁶ and the cheapest variety. It catered to the taste of poor South Indian whose favourite dish was 'Kechichri' (a preparation of rice and pulses).

Further a study of the price differentials of low grade rice in India and Burma will show that Burma rice was invariably cheaper than the coarse varieties of Madras and Bombay. While the price per maund of such coarse varieties in Burma varied between Rs. 2-11-1 and Rs. 1-3-5 in the year 1934-35 (Table II),¹⁷

15. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Ed., W. R. Scott 1925), Vol. I, p. 457.

16. *Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma*, 1941, p. 71, says: "The great bulk of the rice imported into this country, consists of relatively low qualities, such as, Big and Small Mills Specials and raw rice milled in Burma chiefly from the Nagasein and Lotywezin paddies."

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 564 to 567.

TABLE I
Trade in Foodgrains (United India including Burma) 1920-21 to 1936-37
(In thousand tons)

| Year | Imports | | Exports All foodgrains (excl. Burma) | Net Export (—) Imports (+) | Index |
|---------|----------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|--------|
| | All foodgrains | Rice imports from Burma | | | |
| 1920-21 | 237 | 1,055 | 611 | —374 | —100 |
| 1921-22 | 741 | 1,003 | 422 | +319 | + 85.3 |
| 1922-23 | 262 | 703 | 783 | —521 | —139.3 |
| 1923-24 | 298 | 541 | 611 | —313 | — 84.0 |
| 1924-25 | 205 | 629 | 2,457 | —2,252 | —602.1 |
| 1925-26 | 212 | 1,016 | 875 | —663 | —177.3 |
| 1926-27 | 205 | 723 | 766 | —561 | —150.0 |
| 1927-28 | 816 | 1,103 | 1,009 | —193 | — 51.6 |
| 1928-29 | 966 | 1,253 | 885 | — 81 | — 21.7 |
| 1929-30 | 573 | 1,089 | 603 | — 30 | — 8.0 |
| 1930-31 | 423 | 986 | 765 | —342 | — 91.4 |
| 1931-32 | 337 | 1,255 | 618 | —281 | — 75.1 |
| 1932-33 | 295 | 1,046 | 520 | —225 | — 60.2 |
| 1933-34 | 300 | 1,789 | 466 | —166 | — 44.4 |
| 1934-35 | 582 | 2,200 | 488 | + 94 | + 25.3 |
| 1935-36 | 768 | 1,747 | 422 | —346 | — 92.5 |
| 1936-37 | 345 | 1,620 | 720 | —375 | —100.3 |

SOURCE: Columns 2 and 4 adapted from Appendices to Part 1-B, *Census Report*, 1951, p. 312 and column 3 from the *Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma*, 1941, p. 63, and is the total of rice and paddy.

the average price of a 'coarse variety like 'Kusuma' in Madras and 'Pattani' in Bombay was Rs. 3-5-4 and Rs. 3-15-2 per maund respectively in 1934-35.¹⁸ (See Table II).

The Burma rice was being sold at Rs. 3-5-6 per maund, in the city of Madras, whereas local rice would cost Rs. 4-5 per maund.¹⁹ As for the imports from other countries they also consisted mainly of broken rice of the cheapest variety.²⁰

Since the supplies of cheap rice were available from outside, the Crop Planning Sub-Committee (1934) recommended that no more area should be brought under rice.²¹ Various provinces, therefore, made every effort to encourage cash crops.²² But the area under such crops improved only slightly, while that under rice remained practically stationary. In

the absence of any alternative demand for cash crops, the cultivator found it very difficult to reduce cultivation of rice when the prices were falling and particularly when there was no appreciable demand for any competitive crop.

World Demand: From the years 1909-13 to 1936-37, the average world production of rice (excluding China) rose from 50.4 to 64.4 million tons, i.e., by about 28 per cent.²³ The countries mainly responsible for the increases were India, Burma, Siam, Japan and Korea. Rice is consumed mainly by the countries in Asia. In Europe, France was the chief importer of rice, that too from Indo-China. The world market in rice being thus tight, the Government of India made efforts to find market for Burma rice in India. It imposed a protective duty of twelve annas per maund on all foreign imports of rice with effect from April, 1, 1935,²⁴ with the result that the imports of broken rice,

18. *Ibid.*, p. 543.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

21. Dr. Baljit Singh, *Population and Food Planning in India*, Bombay, 1947, p. 97.

22. Brij Narain, *India Before and Since the Crisis*, Vol. II, 1939, p. 385.

23. *Rice Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

24. G. B. Jather and S. G. Beri, *Indian Economics*, Vol. I, 1949, p. 137.

TABLE II
Comparative Prices of Various Burma Varieties (82-2-7 lb. in Rs. As.). Prices are
per maund of various varieties

| Year | Big Mills | Small Mills | Milchar | Broken No. 3 | Nagasein paddy |
|------|-----------|-------------|---------|--------------|-------------------|
| 1933 | 1 12 3 | 1 13 11 | 2 0 11 | 1 2 8 | |
| 1934 | 1 13 9 | 1 14 10 | 2 3 1 | 1 3 5 | 1 4 0 |
| 1935 | 2 7 5 | 2 8 8 | 2 11 7 | 2 0 8 | 1 11 0 |
| 1936 | 2 3 11 | 2 7 2 | 2 9 5 | 5 12 1 | 1 10 0 |
| 1937 | 2 8 3 | 2 9 10 | 2 11 4 | 1 14 6 | 1 12 0 |

chiefly from Thailand, steadily declined from 283,000 tons in 1934-35 to 18,000 tons in 1935-36.²⁵

THE REAL POSITION

Rice imports as we have already seen did not maintain any set level. The area under rice varied only from 80.3 to 84.9 million acres for India including Burma and 70 to 72 million acres for India alone during the period 1920-21 to 1936-37.²⁶ This absence of any relationship between rice imports and the area under rice would show that though India depended on Burma for the supply of cheap rice, it would not be correct to say that she could not produce at home her normal requirements or that the increasing pressure of population was in any way responsible for these imports.

The real position on the other hand appears to be that Burma had a large exportable surplus of rice for which there was no world demand. Cost of production in Burma was low because of cheap labour. Moreover, the land there was not fit for the cultivation of any other crop. When it formed part of India there were no trade restrictions between the two areas. As most of the Burma business was in the hands of Indians, they found it convenient to trade with India. Consequently, half of the Burma trade, both import and export, was with India. It would, thus, be no wonder if it were presumed that India was rather obliged to get her rice supplies from Burma to adjust the economy of the country as a whole. Table I would otherwise show that

though importing rice from Burma from 1920-21 to 1936-37, undivided India was a net exporter of foodgrains. The position does not alter even when the survey is restricted to exports from India excluding Burma. Rice imports from Burma in that case are to be treated as internal trade.

WHEAT POSITION

Just as India's food imports consisted mainly of rice, her chief exports were of wheat, although she was also importing wheat mainly from Australia. Table III gives details of India's wheat trade.

TABLE III
Wheat Trade of India

| Year | Production | Exports from India | Imports into India | Net Exports |
|---------|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | Wheat* Flour (In thousand tons) | | | |
| 1920-21 | 6.7 | 238 | 61 | .. 299 |
| 1921-22 | 9.8 | 81 | 64 | 440 —295 |
| 1922-23 | 10.0 | 220 | 50 | 19 251 |
| 1923-24 | 9.7 | 638 | 57 | 12 683 |
| 1924-25 | 8.9 | 1,112 | 78 | 4 1,186 |
| 1925-26 | 8.8 | 212 | 67 | 35 244 |
| 1926-27 | 9.1 | 176 | 59 | 40 195 |
| 1927-28 | 7.9 | 300 | 60 | 69 291 |
| 1928-29 | 8.7 | 115 | 54 | 562 —393 |
| 1929-30 | 10.7 | 17 | 51 | 357 —289 |
| 1930-31 | 9.5 | 197 | 47 | 232 12 |
| 1931-32 | 9.2 | 22 | 43 | 111 —46 |
| 1932-33 | 9.6 | 2 | 21 | 33 —10 |
| 1933-34 | 9.6 | 2 | 13 | 18 —3 |
| 1934-35 | 9.9 | 11 | 12 | 7 16 |
| 1935-36 | 9.7 | 10 | 18 | 13 15 |

NOTE.—Imports of wheat flour were negligible.

* For the years from 1920-21 to 1924-25 from *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India*, from 1925-26 to 1934-35 from the *Report on the Marketing and Wheat in India*, 1939, p. 367 and for 1935-36 from *Wheat Statistics*, 1948, p. 29.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Rice Report* (p. 100) after a careful consideration of the point also concluded that "taking India as a whole there is no evidence of any definite or consistent trend either towards an expansion or contraction of the area under rice."

Table III shows fluctuations in the imports and exports of wheat from year to year. Wheat imports were maximum for the years 1921-22 and 1928-29, while exports after touching the million mark in 1924-25 continued to fall. This fall is said to be the result of increasing demand for wheat at home. But abnormally heavy imports were ascribed to poor crops in the preceding years.²⁷ Following the same logic, however, it remains unexplained how the bumper crop of 1929-30 failed to slash down imports to near about the pre-1928 level. Imports or exports of wheat would not, therefore, appear to bear any relation to its production at home. Let us then examine the factors which governed wheat trade during this period.

IMPORTS

A study of wheat market during the 'thirties' and 'forties' shows that the home market was much depressed and the position with regard to foreign imports became so alarming that the Government was forced to impose a special duty of Rs. 2 per cwt. on wheat and Rs. 2-8 per cwt. on wheat flour with effect from April, 1931 in the interests of the growers.²⁸ When even this failed to improve the situation, imports of wheat were banned under the Wheat Act of 1931. This, too, could not check the downward movement of prices.²⁹

The price per candy (656 lb) of Australian wheat in the United Kingdom (C.I.F. Liverpool and/or London) in the years 1933-34, 1934-35 and 1935-36 was Rs. 19, Rs. 20 and Rs. 20.6 respectively. The corresponding quotations at Karachi (ex-store) were Rs. 23.6, Rs. 21.8 and Rs. 23.8 respectively.³⁰ This difference in prices becomes greater when it is realised that it was cheaper to ship wheat from

Australia to Calcutta or Bombay than to transport it from Punjab or UP.³¹ According to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, freight per maund of wheat from Australia to Calcutta was annas 6 while the railway freight from Lyallpur to Calcutta was Rs. 1-3-3.³² This explains why Australian imports continued in spite of the import duty levied by India, though there was an exportable surplus in India herself. Wheat imports in India would thus seem to be directly attributable to the low price of Australian wheat rather than to any effective demand at home.

EXPORTS

India's export trade in wheat with the Western countries dates back from the year 1870. Starting from 3.9 thousand tons in the year 1869-70 it touched the million mark within a short period of about one year. It, however, showed wide fluctuations from year to year, resulting in its drying up by 1935-36.

Purchasing Power: It is, however, said that these exports did not represent any real surplus but owed their existence to the poverty of the people who could not buy their normal food requirements.³³ This contention seems plausible on the face of it and most of the early writers were led away by it.

A deep study of the question, however, disproves this conclusion. Opinions have been expressed by experts like Bowley and Robertson that "In India, as in the rest of the world, there has apparently been, in recent years, an 'overproduction' of agricultural as compared with manufactured goods . . . The food-producing village, and even the food-producing family is a self-contained unit; and in some cases, whatever its privations in other respects, its consumption of food has probably increased in consequence of the fall in prices."³⁴

That these exports were not merely due to

27. *Report on the Marketing of Wheat, op. cit.*, p. 40.

28. An estimated Index Number of domestic prices of wheat in the Punjab (Lyallpur)—Bare 1929-30 as 100—was

| Season | 1929-30 | 1930-31 | 1931-32 | 1932-33 | 1933-34 |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| May | 100 | 74 | 37 | 43 | 63 |
| November | 100 | 45 | 49 | 67 | 52 |
| Harvest time | 100 | 55 | 63 | 67 | 52 |

(Adapted from G. I. Kovoov, *Rural Reconstruction through Production and Marketing of Wheat in India*, Simla, 1934).

29. Jather and Beri, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

30. Adapted from the *Report on the Marketing of Wheat, op. cit.*, p. 381.

31. Dr. A. I. Qureshi, *The Present Food Situation in India*, pp. 8-9.

32. Dr. A. I. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 9. He also refers to the fruitless requests and protests made in those days to the North-Western Railway against the freight policy.

33. Dr. Gyan Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 298; B. T. Ranadive, *Population Problem of India*, 1930, p. 126; and Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India—Peasants' Poverty, Its Causes and Cure*, Allahabad, p. xiii.

34. *A Scheme for an Economic Census of India*, 1934, p. 68.

the lack of purchasing power of the cultivator has also been shown by Voelcker. He reached the conclusion that such exports were real in the sense that this extra production would not have been there, if the foreign demand had been removed.³⁵ Entirely different varieties were grown according to him for home consumption and the foreign market.

The Price Differential: The *Report on the Marketing of Wheat* has given the explanation that our exports increased in those years when the price difference between wheat and barley or wheat and gram was the greatest so that the poorer people could release more of wheat for export. This can only be regarded as one of the contributing factors. All the same more cogent reasons have to be sought for this unsteady movement of exports.

Though the price of wheat in India was the lowest, it could not compete with the large exporting countries of the world. According to the *Report on the Marketing of Wheat*,³⁶ "In recent years price considerations have prevented export on any appreciable scale for in spite of a preference, under the terms of the Ottawa Agreement of 2 shillings per quarter (480 lbs.) Indian wheat has very rarely been cheaper than Australian, Canadian and Argentine wheats in the United Kingdom markets." The Wheat Conference held at Simla in May, 1934, also pointed out that "there is no export because for some years our prices have been above world parity."³⁷

During 1933, for example, the price quotation of Indian wheat in London was Rs. 1-14 per maund f.o.r. Karachi Railway Station—a price far below the lowest figure ever reached during the depression. Against this low quotation, the price of wheat in the harvest season of that year at Lyallpur was Rs. 2-2 per maund.³⁸ Even if all incidental

expenses are ignored, the Punjab wheat at Karachi could not be delivered at less than Rs. 2-13-8 per maund as the Railway freight from Lyallpur to Karachi was Rs. 0-11-8 per maund. Naturally the question of exporting any wheat to London, the chief importer of Indian wheat did not arise under the circumstances. The result was that wheat exports during 1932-33 and 1933-34 fell to the lowest figure of two thousand tons annually.

Price parity it seems was playing an important role even in the case of inter-State trade. Calcutta market had been the natural and practically the only outlet for the export of wheat from the United Provinces. In the years of slack European demand for Indian wheat, the Calcutta market was captured by the Punjab to the detriment of U.P. With the coming of Australian wheat even Punjab was ousted from the Calcutta market.³⁹ This would mean that the responsibility for the fall in the Indian wheat exports lay more than anything else in her inability to compete in the world wheat market.

Wheat Conference: In the presence of such a world situation, India during the period, was faced with the problem of encouraging more consumption of wheat at home. Mr. Jenkins while speaking at the Wheat Conference of 1934 pointed out that one of the reasons militating against an increased consumption of wheat in India was the large quantity of cheap rice which was being imported from Burma.⁴⁰ In his concluding remarks, he again emphasized that the only solution of the problem lay in fostering increase in home consumption and that could be done by a general and indiscriminatory reduction in freight rates, and by starting a publicity campaign on "Eat more wheat."

The Hon'ble Mr. D. J. Boyde could see only two possible ways out. One was the increase in the international demand for wheat,

35. John Augustus Voelcker, *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, 1893, pp. 29-95.

The same is the opinion of Albert Howard and Gabrielle L. C. Howard (*Wheat in India, Its Production Varieties and Improvements*, 1909, p. 45) when they say, "The amount of wheat exported from India every year is small in comparison with the total production . . . it is only the surplus which is shipped to Europe." Also Kovoov, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

36. *Report, op. cit.*, p. 44.

37. *Proceedings*, p. 1. Also *Supplement to the Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India*, 1946, p. 9; and Jather and Beri, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

38. Kovoov, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

39. Bulletin No. 4 of the Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research, United Provinces, quoted in the *United Provinces Wheat in 1938-39 and Days to Come*, J. K. Pande, 1939, p. 7.

40. *Proceedings, op. cit.*, p. 5.

We cannot say how far this is true because people are rather orthodox about their food habits. A wheat-eating Punjabi, for instance, would hardly like rice, however cheap it may be.

and the other was of prohibiting any increase in area under wheat.⁴¹ The Chairman suggested that the Punjab should consider the possibility of diverting 5 per cent of its irrigated area under wheat to oil seeds.⁴² The problem was practically of all-India importance. The Central Provinces' representative confirmed that there was a great deal of wheat in his Province and that production and consumption balanced with a 10½-anna crop and an acreage of 3,40,000.⁴³ He urged that nothing should be done which may result in the Central Provinces' wheat being displaced in the local markets by the Punjab or Sind wheat.⁴⁴

Again, to achieve the same end, the Crop Planning Conference (1934-35) decided that no attempt should be made to produce more than 9½ million tons of wheat in the country and that there should be no stimulus to increase the area under wheat. The future of the crop thus depended on world supplies and on India's policy regarding wheat.⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

Our analysis in the preceding pages is sufficient to refute the accepted theory that India's emergence as a net importer of foodgrains was merely due to the pressure of population. As we have discussed at length, imports and exports of foodgrains were governed by factors other than production or consumption in India.

If population was increasing, production was also increasing which cannot, of course, be established on the basis of existing data. We find that the irrigated area during the first thirty years of the century had increased by nearly 30 per cent. Various land improvement schemes launched by the Government must have also added to the existing food resources to some extent. But the general depression of the 'thirties' placed the Indian peasant in doldrums. It being uneconomical for the Indian peasant to grow more food just for the sake of dumping it in his *kacha* store-house, he lost all incentive to put his heart and soul in agriculture. If the marginal food requirements of certain parts of

the country were met by imported supplies, it does not mean that they were dictated by the existence of a 'food problem' as such within the country. The position, on the other hand, was that home potential could not be exploited fully because of the lack of an effective demand.

X

SEPARATION OF BURMA AND THEREAFTER

That was the position before the separation of Burma. When Burma was separated in 1937, we find that our imports from Burma fell from an average of 1.8 million tons in the preceding years to 1.3 in 1937-38 and 1.4 million tons in 1938-39. This looks strange when we find that the home production of rice had also fallen from 30 million tons in 1936-37 to 28.8 million tons in 1937-38 and 26.1 million tons in 1938-39.⁴⁶ The only possible explanation for this fall may be the result of an effort on the part of India to restrict rice imports in response to the public opinion in the country to set our own economy right, by reducing imports as much as possible. Then with the war clouds hovering the prices of the commodities were rising and Burma rice was certainly not cheaper to compete with the Indian produce. In the following year 1939-40, imports of Burma rice touched the peak of 2 million tons, a little below the 1934-35 mark. This was possibly due to the break-out of the war and the effort of every Government to pile up stocks.

After this year, the imports showed a downward trend so much so that after 1942-43, they completely dried up for about 3 to 4 years. India was, on the other hand, a net exporter in rice, a commodity in which shortage is said to have been increasing during the last 20 years. True, this was due to our inability to procure rice from Burma and other South-East Asian countries. The fact, however, remains that these were the years when the pressure on food was the maximum due to the presence of foreign troops, wastages under war conditions and other allied factors.

In spite of all this, the country did not face any food crisis. The Bengal Famine of 1943, no doubt the most gruesome, was certainly not due to any real food shortage in the country. The verdict of the Famine Enquiry Commission on Bengal is that there was sufficient food lying in

41. *Report, op. cit.*, p. 12.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

43. *Report*, p. 7.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

45. Quoted by W. Burns, *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India*, p. 36.

46. *The Food Statistics of India, op. cit.*, p. 29.

Bengal itself to avert the tragedy. The remarks made by Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava in his opening address to the Fourth Food Conference are apt in this respect. He said:

"Is it right that Punjab should have all the stuff lying hoarded when the rest of India badly needed it? There are, really to my mind, two parties to this drama; this food debacle if I may so call it. They are the Punjab and Bengal. If these two parties are brought together, the rest of the problem would be easy."

Soon after the war, when the import position became a little easy, we found the whole pattern of trade in foodgrains changed. We had in the past been importing rice and exporting wheat. During the war years, rice imports stopped and wheat imports started increasing from 2.5 lakh tons in 1943-44 to 12.6 lakh tons in 1946-47. Efforts were no doubt made to induce people to take more wheat instead of rice, but orthodox as the people are in their food habits, it is not possible that they could have changed over to wheat from rice all of a sudden. The phenomenon remains unexplained particularly for the years before 1947, when the country was split into two.

Even after partition, accepting that India lost the wheat areas in West Punjab and was hard hit in the matter of food supplies, it was more so with regard to rice. The cry in Pakistan was 'Eat more rice and less wheat' meaning thereby that Pakistan had a surplus of rice. Rice imports never reached the pre-war figures while wheat imports went on increasing, reaching the \$-million peak in 1951, the year by which we had pledged self-sufficiency.

How do we then account for these increasing imports every year, in spite of the best efforts to grow more food at home? This is explained by the Government itself in their policy statement of July 19, 1949, which reads:

"The quantity of imports is, therefore, not related to the total population of the country or on any all-India production and consumption figures, but is based on the specific demands of deficit Provinces and States for meeting their rationing commitments for a specific number of persons."

This in other words means that the Government, having committed itself to feed a vul-

nerable portion of the population was duty-bound to have a stock of a specific amount of foodgrains to supply rations to those to whom ration cards had been issued throughout the length and breadth of the country. Immediately after the introduction of controlled distribution, the Government launched a scheme for the procurement of foodgrains. Because of un-economic procurement prices and many other causes, the peasant was not, however, prepared to part with his produce. The result was that the surplus States under-estimated their declared surpluses and the deficit ones exaggerated their deficits. The shortfalls had to be made good by imports.

From the reports on the marketing of Rice, Wheat and Millets, we find that the marketable surplus of these grains is of the order of 40 per cent.⁴⁷ As a result of War there was a definite movement of the people towards the cities. Urban population in 1951 increased to 17.3 per cent, from 12.78 per cent in 1948. During the war a large number of people from the villages were called to the Army. All this should have released more of foodgrains for the non-producing areas. Assuming that the increased purchasing power with the peasant improved his retentive capacity so as to balance the last two factors—recruitment in the army and urbanization—village retention should not under any circumstances have exceeded 60 per cent. Giving another 20 per cent for the rural non-producers, a minimum of 20 per cent of the total production should have been made available for the urban population most of which was under statutory rationing. Actual procurements, however, were invariably below 10 per cent. Hence, the need for imports.

This explains how we were forced to import food during all these years. Food was decontrolled in 1952 and after full two years of decontrol, we found that instead of any imports, the country was in a position to export. Although the country faced the worst floods and droughts both in 1954 and 1955, food prices still tumbled down and the various State Governments were faced with the problem of price support policies and the disposal of surpluses during these two years. No doubt food prices have shown

47. Also cf., *The Standard of Living in India and Pakistan*, R. C. Desai, p. 120.

an upward tendency during the last few months, but they cannot in any way be related to any scarcity of the commodity in the country.

All this should be sufficient to explain that the emergence of India as a net importer of foodgrains during the previous three decades was not due to any real food shortage. It was the result of entirely different factors which, as already discussed, varied from period to period.

XI

We have examined the food problem in detail from all its aspects and find that a verdict of the nature as given by Mr. Gopalaswami in his Census Report is rather hard to swallow. As for the future it would seem to be all the more vague when we know that not only agriculture but the whole of the economic development of our country has been stifled and stunted for over a century. Our yields at present bear no comparison with those of our neighbours like China, Japan and Egypt. Our experiments with the Japanese method of rice cultivation hardly

for two years have astonished the whole world, and we have been able to wipe off the so-called chronic rice shortage for good. The First Five-Year Plan has already exceeded its targets. Every villager is being acclimatised to the improved methods of cultivation under the Community Projects which are going to cover the whole of the country during the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no reason why we may not be able to at least double our existing food supply as a result of normal efforts at intensive and extensive cultivation.⁴⁸ All those prophets who predict a 'D-Day' for 1969 or a 'Dooms-Day' for 1981 are likely to go the way of their predecessors who have been raising Malthusian 'Scarecrows' for about a century. We can thus look to the future with confidence without fear of any such food problem cropping up.

(Concluded)

⁴⁸ This has been worked out by the author himself in his article "Future Food Supply," *Commerce Annual Number*, 1954, p. 119 and "India's Food Potential," *Rural India*, Bombay, May 1956; pp. 192-195.

LABYRINTH

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

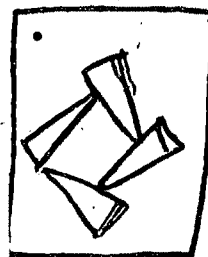
THE dictionary meaning of Labyrinth is a complicated irregular structure full of inextricable windings; or an arrangement of tortuous passages in which it is hard to find your way through or about, without guidance; or a hall connected by intricate passages.

earlier. Then the centre shifted to Babylon, about 20 or 30 centuries B.C., where wedge-shaped letters drawn by nails on clay tablets give a record of the times. There were early trading activities off the coast of Asia Minor and about 2000 years B.C., the chain of islands



Hieroglyphics of Egypt

It is interesting to note when and where, the "labyrinth" came to be so called. Civilisation started in the Middle East, first in Egypt with history recorded in hieroglyphics on Papyrus leaves, from about 4000 years B.C., or even

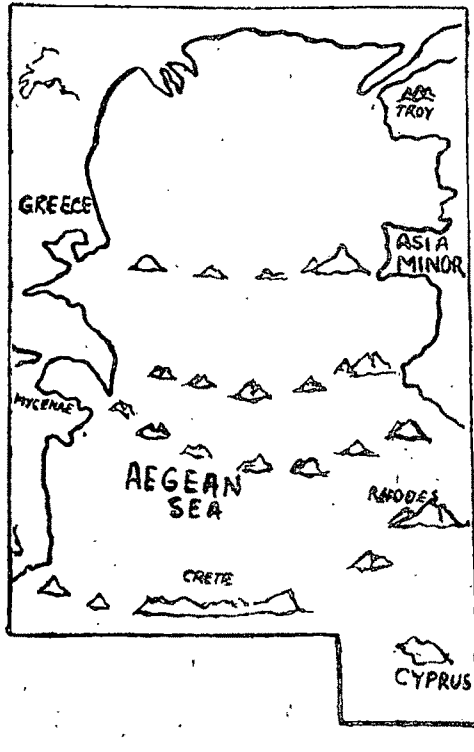


Cuneiforms of Babylon

between Asia Minor and Greece were occupied and the occupation extended to Greece proper in Mycene and other places, whence curious Greek farmers of the Indo-European Nordic

bands had moved down to settle earlier, learned the use of metal swords and spears and used them against their teachers to exterminate them. When one tribe conquered another, extermination followed in olden times, invariably.

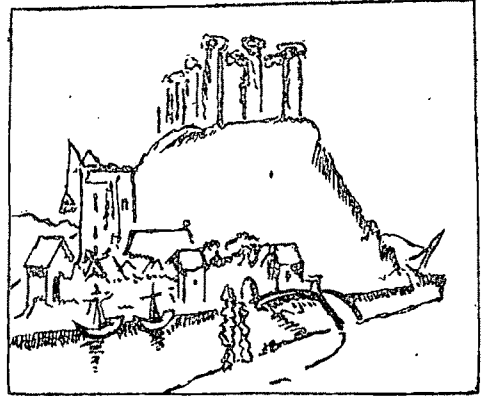
1206. In 1645, the Turks conquered a discontented Crete, the capital surrendering after a siege of 24 years, the longest on record. Misrule resulted in constant revolts, the great powers Britain, France and Russia refusing to



The Aegean Chains of Islands

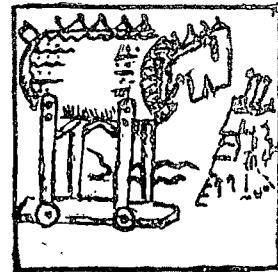
In one of the Aegean chains of islands from Rhodes, famous for the gigantic old bronze figure at the opening of the harbour, the most important of the cities was Knossus in the island of Crete. It is not very far from Cyprus which has come lately into prominence by the abduction of the Archbishop, who preferred a Greek Dominion to a British Colony.

Crete is the natural stepping-stone between Asia, Europe and Africa, and is considered to be the most southernly point of Europe. It has a population of a third of a million, mostly Christians, with some Moslems and hostile Greeks. The Christians are however declining in number. As to its old history, this is the Candia or Heracleon of antiquity, the stage of a number of most interesting myths and legends. It was a part of the old Byzantine Empire, except for 137 years from 823 to 960 A.D., when it was under the Saracens. It was sold to the Venetians in



A Greek or a Mediaeval city

intervene, time and again; sometimes even actively helping the Turks. It was annexed to Greece in 1912. Crete, it may be remembered, was occupied by air-borne troops during the last war in the teeth of opposition of the British Navy and Air-craft.



The Trojan Horse

In the Northern part of Crete lies the most important city of Knossus, where entirely modern examples of drainage with hygienic bath-tubs and other comforts like stoves, etc., as well as exquisite vases and statuettes, jewellery, work in gold, silver, ivory, textiles, etc., have been unearthed. The Palace with its winding staircases and large banquet halls, underground cellars to store wine, grains and olive oil, was so vast that it gave rise to the name of Labyrinth, because of innumerable complicated passages, which made it impossible to find the way out, once the front door was entered. All foreigners and slaves lived outside the Palace hill,

at the base of this structure. Old Greek and Mediaeval cities were built in this fashion with a temple or a fort at the top, and surrounded by a wall and sometimes by a moat. The siege of Troy immortalised by Homer dates later than the 10th century B.C., and under the ruins of Troy has been found another city with relics similar to the above.

But we need not look to the antiquity for examples of a labyrinth. Try the Ballygunge Gardens in South Calcutta. You will find a series of parallel and cross roads bearing numbers of holdings, most confusing to one entering

the place for the first time. For example, holding No. 21 may be followed by P. 134 and next perhaps by 1 [D] 509, without rhyme or reason. Entrance to the Gardens presents no difficulty, but once you are in, you are apt to lose your bearings, your destination becomes a problem and finally you don't know where you are landed when you come out. It becomes as puzzling a case as entering a labyrinth of the above dictionary meaning. This has been going on for years. One wonders when our city-fathers will take notice of the difficulties of a stranger in the above state of complications.

PERSONALITY AND THE ART OF DWIJEN SEN

By H. D. BHATT 'SHAILESH',
The Doon School, Dehra Dun

In the realm of Indian painting the artists of Santiniketan have founded a new school for the expression of the soul and the aspiration of man.

Glancing at the Kala Kendra of Dwijen Sen, who was associated with this very school, it becomes crystal clear that this sculptor-artist



Eternal Youth

The formal traditions of Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nandalal Bose have laid special stress on original recollections and human out-



Dignity of Labour

worshipped at the altar of Art for years in order to transform into realities the dreams of Gurudeva. Consequently, the different forms of his art bear the imprint of his personality.

The fountain of art is life. Art is the external aspect of personality, it is the transformation

of the inner light of man. "Be light unto thyself." It is only when personality is possessed of potency and power that art is great and supreme. Inasmuch as art is the living em-



Companions

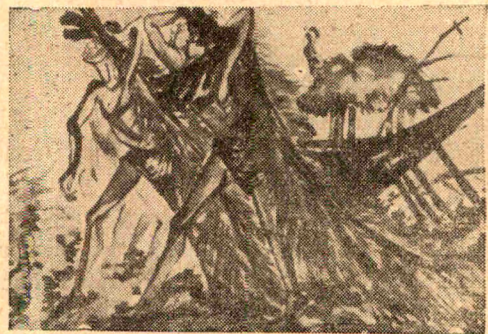
bodiment of truth which is beauty, the fine expression of the depths of life and of the inner-



Childhood and Age

most chambers of the mind is art. If behind those works which are the creations of labour

and constant practice there is no life-giving power of inspiration, they cannot be placed in the category of the great and the immortal creations. Hence for the creation of art the development of life—the development of personality—is indispensable. Personality stands on a higher plane than art because art is the resultant factor of personality and power. It is true that the artist expresses the experiences, recollections and desires of mankind, but it is his personality which furnishes the background of the representations. In this way the personality of the artist is to be judged by his art and his art by the expression of his philosophy of life and of his personality.



Fishermen

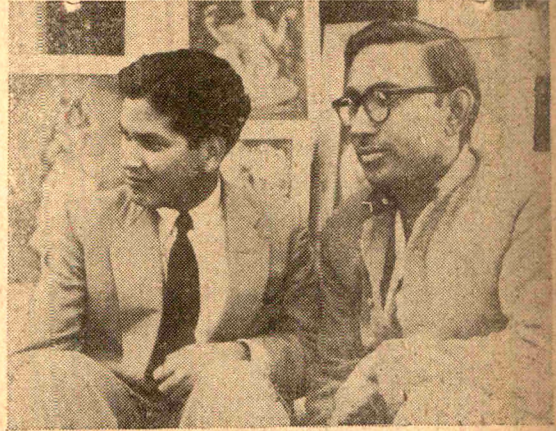
By extending even a cursory glance over Dwijen Sen and his various forms of art one can see the reflection of his striking personality. The development of Dwijen Sen's personality has been through his staunch worship and dedication. Dwijen Sen hears with his inner ears the palpitating minute under-tones of the cry of the innermost corners of the human heart and he gives to them a concrete shape and form. That is why in the art of Dwijen Sen there is the wildness of egoism and the imprint of personality.

Byron remarked that he did not love man less but that he loved Nature more; but Dwijen Sen loves man more as compared to Nature. Being his companion in weal and woe he advances with him step by step. In his art man speaks more when compared to Nature. The varying aspects of man are to be found there either laughing or weeping; dancing or singing and drinking the pleasures of life. If his personality and art is considered thoughtfully the simplicity and kindness of a true and successful artist would be

found in it. Now remains the problem of the beauty of the form. Dwijen Sen is a painter in the realm of the soul and feelings. In his opinion external beauty is subject to destruction, only internal beauty is imperishable, immortal and everlasting. It is on account of this that in his outline pictures, oil-paintings, statues, engravings on stones and other artistic forms there are glimpses of the innermost chambers of the mind and of the depth of feelings.

There are many peculiarities in the personality of Dwijen Sen. He is a deep thinker, possessed of the capacity for diving deep into things and he is a singer of life. Once a friend of mine who happens to be the editor of some paper came to see Dwijen Sen, who was sitting in his Kala Kendra at Dehra Dun. Both of us went in, but Dwijen sat meditating in front of us. We kept on looking, about fifteen or twenty minutes rolled by, but his attention was not diverted. Thinking that it would not be proper to interrupt his chain of thoughts we came back. Later on we laughed at this absent-mindedness, but it is a peculiarity of his character that sometimes for hours he appears to be lost in meditations and study.

The paintings of Dwijen Sen's Kala Kendra are the embodiments of the problems of life and social conditions. From the hut to the palace



The author and the artist

these paintings appear to be speaking the truth. After looking at all his paintings it may be said that in the composition of colours, in the selection of the subject, in the sketching of the pictures and in the finishing touch, we get a glimpse of his originality and personality.

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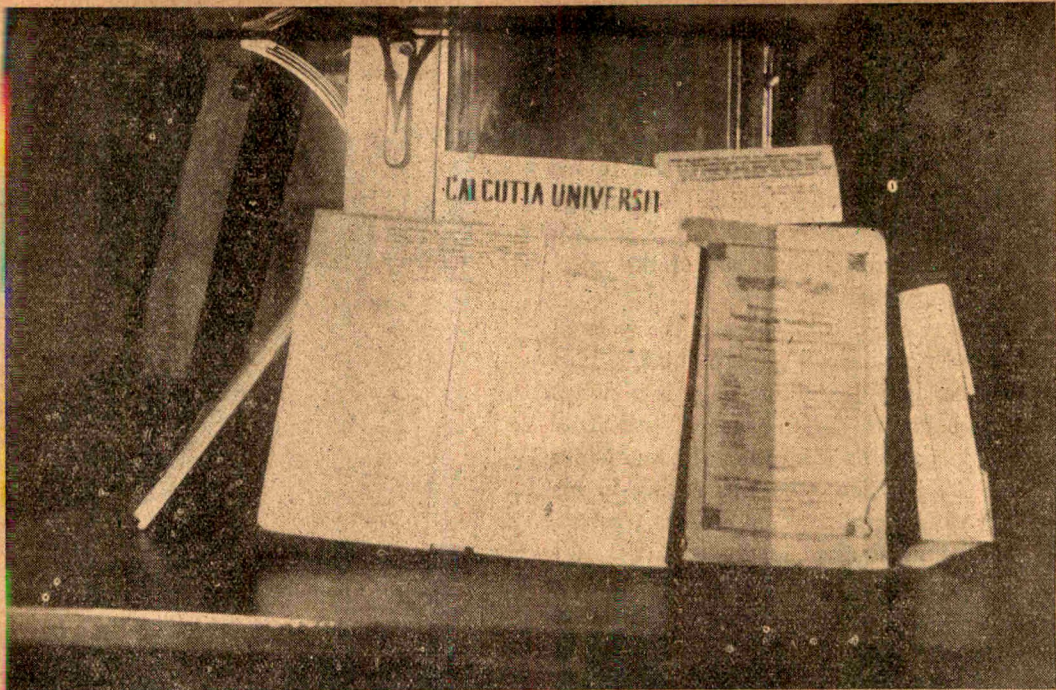
SOULS OF THE PAST

By S. B.

TRUTHS of the past lie enshrined for all times in books that give us a glimpse into the secrets of different ages and reveal the wisdom of the distant past. The soul of man works upon these materials that beguile our hearts and bring bright sunshine in the bleak stretches of our life. The horizon of man's mind is widened by education that unfolds the intelligence of people to go deep into the nature of things. "Whatsoever things were written aforetime," says a proverb, "were written for your learning."

In connection with the Centenary Exhibition of the Calcutta University all the Universities of India lent their publications to make the book exhibition a success. The rare books exhibited in the Asutosh Building drew special attention of a large number of visitors. Out of the book-stock of three lakhs, the Central Library of the University of Calcutta displayed thirty-nine rare books, some of which are being explained here.

Sri Karunanidhan-Bilas by Kavi Jayanarayana Ghosal, a *kavya* on divine love of Sri Krishna written during 1825 presents elaborate materials on social education of Bengal during the late 18th century. Rudimentary influence of English education on Bengali literature is first traced in this *kavya*. In the Persian translation of the Vedas entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar* by Prince Dara Shikoh written in beautiful hand, the beginnings and the ends of the various chapters are highly ornamented and well decorated, and each line in each page is written within golden line. This manuscript is not dated, but it appears to be a copy of the time of Dara Shikoh himself. The facsimile reprint of *Ritusamhara* by Kalidasa, Calcutta, 1792, which is the first Sanskrit book in print in Bengali character and a rare book, viz., Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present* with the signature put in by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, one time a student of this University, adding "Eshan



Calcutta University Centenary Exhibition

Courtesy: The Calcutta Municipal Gazette

Scholar" to his name were among the exhibits. A grammar of Bengali language by William Carey printed in 1805 from Serampore and the first Bengali monthly, viz., *Digdarshan* (1818-1820) edited by John Clarke Marshman were of immense interest to the scholars.

Like the rare book display of Calcutta University Library important rare exhibits lent by courtesy of Sudhir Brahma were also informative. The collection from 'Brahmo Family' of Akrur Dutt Lane threw a flood of light on the history of this University from its very inception. No age could be properly understood unless the past stands are revealed to the eye. The achievements of our forefathers stand like landmarks of the past and open vast fields for research.

The imprint of the book entitled *Landmarks of History: Ancient History from the Earliest Times to the Christian Era* showed that Thacker Spink & Co. in the year 1862 held the privilege to be the publishers for books prescribed by the Senate for various examinations. The selected English courses of this University for Entrance Examination of 1872, I.A. Examination of December 1875, and B.A. Examination of

January, 1878, indicate that Thacker Spink & Co. were the first publishers to this University. In the year 1877, the University Book Press was set up at the Manicktola area of Calcutta and printed a book, viz., *An Analysis of Sir Wm. Hamilton: Lectures on Metaphysics* which was duly exhibited along with undermentioned books that rouse curiosity of many visitors.

- (i) *Manual of Practical Chemistry*: Published by the Medical College, Calcutta, 1837.
- (ii) *The English Reader* . . . adapted to improve the younger classes of learners in reading by the progressive arrangement of the lessons, Calcutta, School Book Society's Press, 1857.
- (iii) *Ontology being a Translation of Tatwa-Vidya, a Bengali Work* by Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Calcutta Central Press. 1871.

During the period of formation of the University of Calcutta, students had to prosecute their studies with the aid of books published and printed at London. The undernoted few books were read with interest by the predecessors of 'Brahmo Family' who were students

of this University and valuable notes written by them along with their signatures are seen in the pages of these books:

1. *The Conduct of the Understanding*: By John Locke. (Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), 1813.
2. *The Students' Manual*: By Rev. John Todd. (Size $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), 1835.
3. *The Season and Castle of Indolence*: By James Thomson. (Size $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ cm.), MDCCCXLVI.
4. *Don Quixote*: By De La Mancha. (Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), 1809.

Leaving aside the contents of these books, if we make an analytical study on size, printing, type face, binding, design, etc., from the different dates of publications, the evolution of the physical aspect of the book, i.e., the history of book production, as a whole, could be understood.

The printing press came into use for the first time in Calcutta in the last quarter of the 18th century. Printers and publishers had to face opposition both from the so-called society and the Government, for printing was not in the first instance recognised as a medium for the diffusion of knowledge. Ignoring these obstacles the late Amritlal Brahmo printed and published some books and journals from his printing press, viz., Standard Press of Akur Dutt Lane, Calcutta. A few pages of these century-old publications in English and Bengali were also exhibited. In the capacity of printer and publisher of the book entitled *Speeches by the Marquis of Lansdowne, Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1888-94*, Amritlal Brahmo wrote in 1895 the preface as follows:

"... It goes without saying that, with the spread of education, with the growing political aspirations of the people, with the military activity of a great European power on the North-West Frontier Province, with the growth of expenditure in every department of administration and with the ever-falling Rupee, the task of governing India is becoming more and more difficult every day. The speeches will afford an interesting study as to how Lord Lansdowne tried to cope with the numerous and growing difficulties. . . . These are some of the considerations that have actuated the publisher to undertake the publication."

The letter of appreciation from the then Viceroy's Palace, 'Belvedere', Calcutta, sent to Amritlal Brahmo in 1905 was also displayed along with the opinions of newspapers:

The Hindoo Patriot: "The publisher has done a public service by bringing out Lord Lansdowne's speeches and we are sure the public will accord to him that patronage which his venture will entitle to."

The Englishman: "The book is well-bound and carefully edited and should prove valuable as a book of reference in the study of Indian affairs."

A Bengali journal, viz., *Bama Bodhini* printed from the Standard Press in 1893 revealed the elegance of early type faces in Bengali, Sanskrit and English. If we compare Bengali and Sanskrit types of today with types used in *Bama Bodhini*, we will find that no substantial improvement has yet been attained in respect of fineness and variety of the type faces.

The original M.B. Diploma awarded to Buddynath Bromo (Baidyanath Brahmo) in 1847 from the Medical College of Bengal established in 1835, was an interesting item among the exhibits. The diploma is in parchment and carry the golden seal of the Examiner of Bengal Government and signatures of all the Professors of the Medical College. A comparative study of this diploma with the certificates awarded now will show the various changes which the University of Calcutta has effected in respect of form, seal, size and colour of paper. It is found from the *Hundred Years of the Calcutta University*, Vol. I, that Dr. Baidyanath Brahmo's name is associated with the introduction of vaccination system in Calcutta.

At the bottom of this diploma, the Entrance Certificates of his son and grandson, Babu Amrita Lal Brahmo and Asutosh Brahmo were exhibited with two original seals of the University of Calcutta. The University seal was imprinted in the white Entrance certificate of 1899 but in 1873-74 certificate there was no seal and it was in blue paper of 7×6 ins. in size.

Thanks are due to the Calcutta University for organising such a unique display of rare and antiquarian books which help to open the windows of the dark past and make known the unknown. Exhibitions of this type, if organised from time to time, will prove to be a liaison between the past and the present.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON

THE Smithsonian Institution here has been called Mother America's attic, where her children may romp on rainy afternoons. The Smithsonian buildings, a sharp contrast to the magnificent solemnity of the great nearby monuments to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, combine more affection and amusement than probably any other group of buildings in this city.



A group of early transportation exhibits on display at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington

Obsolete airplanes hang suspended from the ceiling: the early experiment of the Wright brothers, Langley's planes, Lindbergh's "Spirit of St. Louis," Wiley Post's neat little "Winnie Mae."

Exhibits are many and varied—an old fire engine, the first horseless carriage, Elias Howe's first sewing machine, George Washington's shaving mug and eyeglasses, and wax statuettes of Presidents' wives wearing Inaugural Ball gowns.

"Browsing here," it has been observed, "is as wistful as looking through a faded yellow magazine."

The Smithsonian Institution was given to the American people by an English scientist named James Smithson. Specifically, Smithson left his fortune of \$550,000 to the United States when he died in 1829 "to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establish-

ment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." From it has grown one of the leading American scientific, cultural and educational centers.

In its early days—the U.S. Congress formally accepted the gift in 1846—the institution was responsible for conducting practically all scientific research required by the Federal Government.

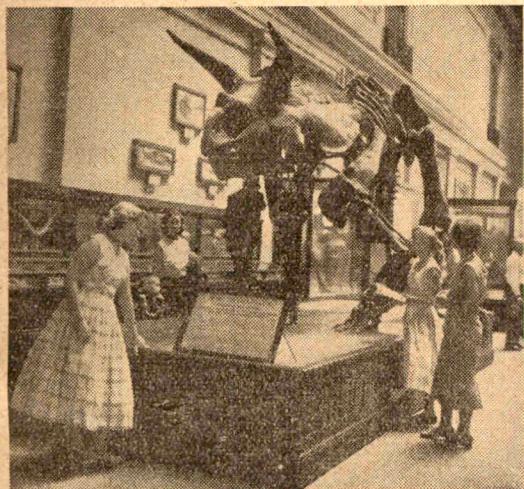


One of the life-size exhibits of North American Indians, depicting Indian customs and culture

Much of this was pioneering work. From 1850 to 1870 it began and carried on the weather service which later became the U.S. Weather Bureau. For the next 18 years it conducted investigations of fisheries which now are part of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It laid the groundwork for much of the work now done by the U.S. Geological Survey. It co-operates with the studies and researches of any interested Federal agency.

The institution has sponsored or taken part in more than 1,500 scientific expeditions in North America and on every other continent, on most of the world's larger islands, and on many of its smaller ones. It has provided financial grants, the use of costly apparatus and other aids to many scientific investigators.

It offers all its facilities freely to a daily average of 100 scientists and scholars from all parts of the world; answers hundreds of technical questions yearly; sponsors lectures on science and art; takes part in radio and television educational programs; issues popular science



A view of one of the exhibition galleries of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington

news releases to the press, and publishes an annual survey of scientific progress. It also operates a Bio-Sciences Information Exchange which provides a number of organizations with information on current research in biology, medicine and related fields.

The Smithsonian issues 14 series of scientific publications which are distributed free to libraries, learned societies, and educational institutions throughout the world. It maintains a library of more than 900,000 volumes, mainly transactions of learned societies and scientific periodicals.

The vast institution manages ten major branches and in 1956 a new one was authorized—the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology, to be erected near other Smithsonian buildings. The ten are: the National Museum, the National Gallery of Art, the National Collection of Fine Arts, the Freer Gallery of Art, the International Exchange Service, the Bureau of American Ethnology, the National Zoological Park, the Astrophysical Observatory, the National Air Museum, and the Canal Zone Biological Area.

The National Museum has such valuables as more than 35,302,000 catalogued specimens of minerals; many early American relics; fossils 400 million years old; Egyptian mummies; life-size groups showing the culture of American Indians and of primitive peoples of Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands; displays of ancient writing methods, exhibits showing development of the graphic arts and the progress made in health and medicine.

The National Gallery of Art, of rose-white marble, is one of the most beautiful buildings in Washington. It houses the great art collection of Andrew W. Mellon, a former Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, who also gave \$15,000,000 for a building and a large endowment fund. The gallery has since acquired hundreds of objets d'art including priceless works in the Kress, Widener, Dale, Rosenwald and other art collec-



A meteorite being displayed in the Division of Mineralogy and Petrology of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington

tions. The National Collection of Fine Arts also contains numerous important art works from masters throughout the world. The Freer Gallery of Art has rich collections of Chinese and Japanese art as well as a few American paintings and etchings, and the collection of 2,250 art objects left by Charles Lang Freer, an industrialist.

The International Exchange Service gives free assistance to other learned bodies in the

United States that wish to distribute their publications abroad, either as gifts or exchanges. The Service also receives shipments of scientific publications from abroad and exchanges official documents of the Federal Government with those of other national governments.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has since 1879 been gathering, recording and publishing information on the American Indians, their ceremonies, languages, culture, history, customs and myths. It also studies prehistoric remains of ancient tribes of American Indians and has amassed large collections of manuscripts and photographs.

The National Zoological Park, established in 1889 to provide a site where the American bison and other animals of interest could be preserved and shown in natural surroundings, now has more than 3,000 animals including rare and particularly interesting ones from all parts of the world.

The Astrophysical Observatory, established in 1890 to study the sun and other heavenly

bodies, operates two high-altitude solar observing stations in Chile and California. Since 1929 it has made a special study of the part played by sunlight in the maintenance of life on the earth.

The National Air Museum contains the airships of America's airflight pioneers as well as many other aeronautical exhibits. The Canal Zone Biological Area consists of a primitive tropical forest and clearing where laboratories and other facilities enable scientists to study the tropical territory. More than 600 books and articles on tropical biology, physiology, medicine and forestry have been published.

In addition to the Museum of History and Technology for even wider "diffusion of knowledge among men," the institution's expansion plans include a Smithsonian Gallery of Art to house the National Collection of Fine Arts, a planetarium, and a new and far more spacious National Air Museum to keep pace with man's ever-increasing knowledge and mastery of the air.

GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL

His Life and Method

BY DR. S. K. NANDI, M.A., L.L.B., D.PHIL.

ONCE a Frenchman asked a German philosopher to state his philosophy in one sentence and the philosopher's reply was contained in ten books,¹ brilliantly written and widely read. This philosopher is Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. He was born on August 27th, 1770 at Stuttgart in an upper middle class family. He is the greatest German philosopher since Kant and has been described in some quarters as 'probably the most self-confident philosopher who ever lived.' Opinions to the contrary are not wanting. There are people who thought Hegel guilty of undue mystification and obscure style. Hegel was

accused of serving pure non-sense. He strung together, it was alleged, 'senseless and extravagant' mazes of words which behoved lunatics living in mad-houses. His works have been characterised as a 'monument of German stupidity.' However, in spite of indiscreet compliments and spiteful criticism,² Hegel stands as a monument of scientific knowledge and classic wisdom. He was awfully painstaking in matters of intellectual undertakings. His rise to fame was slow and this was due to this thoroughness. As a student he was less promising than Schelling, his noted contemporary. He attended the gymnasium of his native city when he was a teen-ager. In his

1. *Science of Logic, Phenomenology of Spirit, Aesthetics, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of Art, Philosophy of Mind, Philosophy of Right, Philosophy of History, History of Philosophy and Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Science.*

2. Caird, *Hegel in the Blackwood Philosophical classics*, pp. 5-8. (Caird here discusses Schopenhauer's assessment of Hegel).

eighteenth year he entered the University of Tübingen to study theology. As a student he attracted no particular attention; it was Schelling who here at the time outshone all his contemporaries although Hegel was older than Schelling by five years. His student career was not remarkable. He was just an average student and nobody could foresee the fact that this shy and unimpressive boy would one day be heard with respect all the world over for his profundity and depth of wisdom. After leaving University, he served as a modest private tutor in Berne and Frankfurt-on-the-Main during the years 1793-1800. While in Frankfurt-on-the-Main the plan of his future system was taking definite shape. In 1801 Hegel came to Jena as an instructor. He ranked at first as an adherent and supporter of the philosophy of Schelling. He collaborated with Schelling in support of the latter's philosophical position and Schelling in return also helped him in many ways. In company with Schelling he edited in 1802-1803 the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*. In 1803 Schelling went to Würzburg but Hegel stayed back at Jena to get a professorship in 1805. He had but small success as an academic teacher. During this time he was eager to come out of the sphere of Schelling's influence. He ridiculed Schelling when he gave his own views to the world in his noted book *Phenomenology of Mind*. Many look upon *Phenomenology* as Hegel's best book although he was compelled to write the latter half of this work in a great hurry as there were political agitations and national crisis. The battle of Jena broke out in 1806.

From Jena Hegel went to Bamberg and was looking for a suitable employment. He had to edit the local political journal for two years and thus somehow earned his livelihood. In the autumn of 1808 he became the gymnasial rector of the academy at Nuremberg where he taught philosophy in the higher classes. His lectures there are printed in the eighteenth volume of his works, under the title *Propädeutic*. While at Nuremberg he got married and his noted book *Logic* was published. His fame was spreading to the four corners of the country. He was being recognised as a thinker of outstanding ability, 'with a flare for originality'. In 1816 he was called as professor of philosophy to Heidelberg. Here in

1817 he got published his *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences* in which he expounded for the first time the whole of his system. The fulness of his fame and activity, however, properly dates only from his call to Berlin in 1818. He was considered as 'the one man who could fill with credit the chair of philosophy that had been vacant since the date of Fichte.' In Berlin there rose up around him a numerous, widely extended and in a scientific point of view, exceedingly active school. While at Berlin he published his *Philosophy of Right* and delivered several extended series of lectures in which he applied his method to the interpretation of history, the fine arts and religion. Here he acquired from his connection with the Prussian bureaucracy, as well political influence for himself as the credit for his system of a State-Philosophy not always to the advantage of the inner freedom of his philosophy or of its moral worth. When the Prussian State transcended all the rights of the individual and showed abject contempt for all forms of personal and individual liberties Hegel thought that he was witnessing the highest form of 'Community' life. The State was considered by Hegel to be the 'better self' of man and as such every man was under a manifest obligation to serve his State, however exacting that service might be. The culmination of this type of philosophy was the embodiment of a charter of absolute support to the Prussian King in all his oppressive measures. Hegel looked a conservative in every inch of his existence and repelled all attempts at a democratic form of Governments. He branded the British Constitution as an 'Ungodly jungle' and he liked it to be replaced by the 'rational institutions' of Prussia. This outlook was not the whole of Hegel. Here he might have been influenced by his concept of the 'Four stages of history' wherein he depicts the last stage of the Germanic world in which "the idea of Freedom will reach its highest expression." Where he could rise above the Tenthon in him he could pronounce judgement of abiding influence. We should not only remember that he inspired such autocrats as the Austrian Metternich and Russian Czars but also take into account the fact that Karl Marx's class struggle theory sprang from Hegel's doctrine of dialectics. In his *Moral and Political Philosophy*

he demands popular representation, liberty of the press, open law-courts, trial by jury and administrative independency of corporations. His deep and profound thoughts on the various problems of civilised life were widely respected.

Hegel's personality was unusual in some respects. He was remarkably objective. He liked to relax in social intercourse with plain and unofficial people. He had no liking to shine in salons. He did not preach like Fichte nor lost himself in pleasing vagaries like Schelling and other Romanticists. His sole concern was to understand the world as it is and to explain everything logically. His Berlin lectures were remarkable for their insight into the aspects of life which are largely emotional, such as art, poetry and religion. He could not have understood these so well as he did if he had not experienced the feelings of other men. But this is not apparent in his writings. His objective outlook on life gave him the right perspective and the proper detachment so essential to understand life in all its bearings. He describes the inner experiences of the soul as dispassionately as a descriptive scientist might do. Another phase of Hegel's personality was his fondness for paradoxes. Since his boyhood he delighted others with his dry humour calling their attention to truths and facts which seem to be inconsistent, yet which must be accepted and in some way reconciled. This process of reconciliation is known as the Hegelian dialectic. He wanted to explain experience and the pre-suppositions or hypotheses of all experience with the help of this dialectical method and he developed literally a great fondness for this his 'procrustean bed.' We readily agree with James Hutchison Stirling when he remarks:

"Open where we may, in short, it is always the dialectic we encounter and that dialectic is always the same, whatever element it may be in act to transform. Nay, there is also a peculiar dialect to which this dialectic has led and which renders it impossible for Hegel to escape into general and current speech, even when employed on matters that are not esoteric."³

Thus he has made philosophy too technical and it has been rightly said against him that what disheartens the student of Hegel is, firstly, the impossibility of reading in Hegel and secondly the difficulty of attaining, in his regard, to a general conclusion.

According to Hegel, scepticism must be the necessary prelude to metaphysics. Like Descartes, he starts doubting everything that could be doubted while Descartes considered the very act of doubting to be above all possible doubts, Hegel goes further and doubts the very act of doubting. Descartes' famous pronouncement: *Cogito ergo sum* did not satisfy Hegel. Hegel's starting point in metaphysics was not the doubter but "Something or some being which can never be doubted." This being is the most abstract and most indeterminate. As a concept it has the least determination. The all-inclusive conception in Hegel's system is this Absolute Idea often referred to briefly as the Absolute or the Idea. The Absolute Idea includes or rather is, all reality or the universe. Nothing is so real for him as the Idea. The Absolute for Hegel is not being but process, explicitation of differences and antithesis, which, however, are not independent or self-subsistently opposed to the Absolute but constitute, individually and collectively, only moments within the self-evolution of the Absolute. This necessitates a demonstration then that the Absolute is possessed within itself of a principle of progress from difference to difference. These differences still form only moments within it. Thus all reality is full of contradiction, and yet it is looked upon as rational. The contradiction is not that which is entirely alogical but it is a spur to further thinking. It must not be annulled but 'sublated,' i.e., at once negated and conserved.

It is not we who are to bring differences into the Absolute but it is Absolute itself which must produce them; whilst they for their parts, must again resolve themselves into the whole or demonstrate themselves as mere moments. Thus it is the object of the Hegelian method to make 'good.

The Absolute, according to Hegel, passes

3. We should bear in mind that the concept of the dialectical movement was not new. It was foreshadowed by Empedocles and embodied in the 'golden

mean' of Aristotle whose teaching was that 'the knowledge of opposites is one.' (See Will Durant's *The Story of Philosophy*, p. 295).

through a dialectic of many triads—each of which has its own thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Hegel's dialectical movement of thought proceeds through a process of unfoldment. The starting point of reflective thought is 'being' and this 'being' develops out of itself the concept of 'non-being,' its opposite. But we cannot rest content with mere non-being. In the thesis a certain aspect of reality is revealed, in the antithesis a contrasting aspect appears and the two are then *aufgehoben* in a higher synthesis. But the synthesis is not a final one; the play begins anew; again an opposition makes its appearance, which in turn seeks to be overcome. Each separate concept is one-sided, defective, represents only a part of the truth. It needs to be supplemented by its contrary and by its union with this, its complement, yields a higher concept, which comes nearer to the whole truth, but still does not quite reach it. Even the last and the richest concept—the Absolute Idea—is by itself alone not the full truth; the result implies the whole development through which it has been attained. It is only at the end of such a dialectic of concepts that philosophy reaches complete correspondence with the living reality, which it has to comprehend. The speculative progress of thought is no capricious sporting with concepts on the part of the thinking subject, but the adequate expression of the movement of the matter itself. Since the world and its ground is development, it can only be known through a development of concepts. The law which this follows, in little as in great, is the advance from position to opposition and thence to combination. A. moves on to not-A and thereby produces a synthesis in B. B again in turn moves on to not-B and the two together produce a higher synthesis in C. So the movement goes higher and still higher up. Now the question may be asked 'Why this movement?' Hegel's answer is that everything contains within itself its own opposite: "It is impossible to conceive of anything without conceiving at the same time of its opposite. We cannot think of Finiteness without thinking of infinity or of time without thinking of timelessness. A cow is a cow and is at

the same time not a cat. A thing is itself only because at the same time it is not something else. Every thesis for an argument has its anti-thesis. Life has death and love has hate. Day has night and youth has age. Hegel does not stop at that and goes a step forward to declare that everything is its own opposite. Life is a struggle of opposing forces attempting to combine with one another into a higher unity. This Hegelian dialectic is thoroughly objective. It is the actual order which the thought of Absolute follows. Hegel tries to prove this by a logical deduction of every member in the system from the preceding one. The dialectic begins with the most abstract conception of pure logic—that of mere being—and terminates with the most concrete phase of thought, the philosophy of the Absolute Mind in its full comprehensiveness and concreteness. The order of the dialectic is purely logical. However, events in time conform to it to a considerable extent, as Hegel attempts to show by illustrations from human history in the fields of politics, philosophy, and religion. The most general trial has logic as thesis, Nature as antithesis and Mind or spirit (as *Geist* is variously translated) as synthesis. The Absolute Idea in itself (*an sich*) as pure reason, apart from the world, is the categories of Logic. From these the Idea advances for itself (*fur sich*) or as we are tempted to say, out of itself, into the external world of Nature, as revealed in the natural sciences. The Idea then returns to itself in a synthesis of Logic and Nature as Mind, and in human experience becomes self-conscious of its own activity. Thus the Absolute or the logical idea exists first as a system of antemundane concepts, then it descends into the unconscious sphere of nature, awakens to self-consciousness in man, realises its content in social institutions, in order, finally, in art, religion and science to return to itself enriched and completed i.e., to attain a higher absoluteness than that of the beginning. So, according to Hegel, there is at first immediate unity, then divergence of opposites and finally, reconciliation of opposites and this is the universal law of all development.



TAGORE, THE POET OF HUMAN VALUE

By JOGES C. BOSE

III

ANALOGUS to *Urvashi* and *Patita* but of different hue and texture is Rabindranath's poem *Bramhan*. It typifies as much his uninhibited outlook in bold relief to the Victorian morals, which gripped a section of our intelligentsia to the length of prudery. In a manner, it is an appraisal of a social question of great complexity in terms of its human value.

Bramhan: Seated on his divan, Rishi Goutama was discussing with his pupils the day's lessons on the mysteries of Bramha, the Supreme Being. A young stranger came that way and begged of him for admission into his tutelage. "But my child," asked the master, "tell me what clan you belong to; because you know that none but a Bramhin has the right to this branch of study." "I myself do not know," said the boy in reply, "but should it please you, sir, I would ask my mother and bring you the information tomorrow." "Yes, do it by all means," Goutama suggested.

The boy besought his mother to tell him his father's name and their clan. "I had been to Rishi Goutama," he explained, "for study on God and His ways. He asked me all about my clan; because, a Brahmin alone has the right to the initiation." "My child," the mother said in perfect candour, "in poor, straitened circumstances in my youth, I had to serve many a master; unto me, were you then born."

The next day, the boy went to the Rishi and reported verbatim as he was told. Instantly there was a flutter all around, as though, a stone-chip was into a beehive thrown. There were laughter in derision and audible whispers to match—"what a cheek!" But Rishi Goutama, not the least perturbed, got up and embraced the boy Satyakama with the signet of his blessing—"You must be a Bramhin of Bramhins. Who else could have spoken out truth like this?" Rishi Goutama is at once set apart; and Rabindranath is never to be lost in the crowd.

He told Einstein, as they met in July, 1930, that man is the foundation of everything; without him there is no truth, no beauty. In fact, with Rabindranath even a fine work of art loses much of its significance if it has no human appeal. Conversely, Tajmahal, as in his poem *Shajehan*, has its value augmented, because the purpose of its creation is invested with the glory of a husband's sigh. It is this, which abides as a pleasurable echo in million hearts.

Shajehan: Rabindranath in one of his itineraries goes to Agra to see Tajmahal. From Agra he goes to Allahabad and has before his vision from out of the window of the hotel, where he was putting up, the grey ruins of the Fort, another relic of Moghul splendour, that has long crumbled down. The difference between the two, namely, that the Fort has no human appeal touches him in sharp contrast. And in its background, he writes the poem *Shajehan*, in which Tajmahal endures like

One long-drawn sigh saturating the
atmosphere earth to sky;
Like one drop of tear of speckless
white on the cheek of time.

Shajehan the artist and emperor is Shajehan the man speaking in whispers to his wife Momtaj, rarefied into a twilight memory of dream and reality—

Jyotsna rat-e nibhrata mandir-e preyasir-e
J-e nam-e dakit-e dhir-e dhir-e,
Sei kan-e kan-e daka rekh-e gel-e
oikhan-e ananter kan-e,
Premar komalata phutula ta soundaryer
prasanta nashan-e.
H-e samrat kabi ei taba hridayer chhabi;
Ei taba naba meghdoot, apurba, adbhut,
Chhand-e gan-e uthiachh-e alrkshyer nan-e.
Jetha taba birahinee priya raechh-e mishia
Prabhater arun abhash-e, klanta
Sandhya diganter karun niswash-e;

Purnimai deha-heen chameli labanya

bilash-e;

Bhashar ateet teer-e kangal nayan jatha

Dwar hot-e ash-e phir-e phir-e.

Tomar saundarya-doot yug-yug dhari

Eraia kaler prahari chaliachh-e bakyahara

ei barta nia

'Bhuli nai, bhuli nai, bhuli nai priya'.

A blend of sound and colour gives the poem a texture, which does not yield to alien alphabets. Any way—

On moon-lit nights in the tingling quiet of thy room, the pet name Taj that thou whispered into the ears of thy beloved partner is to the ear of eternity bequeathed. The soft mellow splendour of thy love unfolds itself in flower-bunches, embossed as they are in placid marble. Thou poet of an emperor, the Tajmahal is the picture of thy inward self; it is thy new cloud-messenger* unique and fascinatingly strange, as it wafts far into the sky in rhymes and songs dedicated to thy wife. Smitten with the pangs of separation, she lives in the red glow of dawn; in the plaintive sighs of tired Eve sinking low down the horizon; in the disembodied grandeur of *chameli*, bathed in full-moon rays; in that bourne, no language can reach and from whose portals the beggar-eyes come back disappointed. As thy ode to Beauty, the Tajmahal has for ages eluded the relentless Time's watchman stern and stands as thy message, words do but faintly express—'No, no, I have not forgotten thee, my love!'

One line of epitaphic significance applying tantalizingly on the poet himself is—

Thou great, the world, resonant with the swelling notes of the sea all around, fails as signally to contain thee. Hence, dost thou cast it away with sublime unconcern, earthen pitcher as it were, when life's banquet ends.

The world compared to an earthen pitcher is not suggestive of any ennui in life or otherworldliness. It leads to the imagery that the chariot of life is on endless move. This dynamism of the 'thrust and go of life' is still more eloquently expatiated in the far

deeper *Jheelum Nadir Teer-e*, (On the bank of the river Jheelum), where—

The day is fast losing itself in the tide of night. The stars are like so many flowers floating on the bosom of the river Jheelum. verily as she looks like a sabre sheathed. The poet is for a moment struck mute with the wild abandon of space. As he recovers his calm, he invokes the Power unseen to yield him the one supreme satisfaction that he may not confound the fact of breathing with the fact of being alive and just revolve round the same old grind. He looks down the dark precipice; looks up into the sky beyond the snow-capped peaks in the glorious conglutination of *deodars*. He cannot resist being seized with a longing to fly over invisible stretch into the future unborn listening, as he flies, to the inspiration of the mighty choral of *hangsabalaka*, the swans on the wings of exhalation and keep to their tune—'No, not here, definitely not here, but elsewhere, elsewhere in some other place.'

I have no quarrel with those, who seek to trace Rabindranath's this 'thrust and go of life' to Bergson's current *Elan Vital*, which makes our yearnings the better of us. I would rather have it that Bergson does but confirm from the angle of a philosopher-scientist, the five thousand years old Hindu conception of one unconquerable urge, emanent in man birth to birth, directing and propelling him to achieve the achievable in a chain of unending creativeness. I feel the more encouraged to say this, because Bergson himself holds that 'there is nothing to prevent our imagining that the evolution of life might have taken place in one single individual by means of a series of transformations, spread over thousands of ages.'—*Creative Evolution*. One test of a man's greatness, as Rabindranath has it, is his capacity to leave behind his achievements dear with perfect nonchalance, because, he is ceaselessly in pursuit of something greater still.

Shajehan is one of the few poems in the post-Nobel period, where Rabindranath warms up with the shine of the old flint and would suffer no impulse to flag or a line to wear thin. Could it be that *Shajehan*, the artist of a prince, seeking to perpetuate his wife's memory, thrilled on the fine, sensitive chord of the prince artist's inner being? Is this how a sentiment,

* *Meghdoot*, Cloud-messenger is the name of a poem of Kalidasa depicting the bites of separation.

too deep for expression, is canalised? In what setting, however, he consecrates the memory of his wife in *Smaran-e*, In Memoriam—

So I do realise today that all pursuits and this running after what men call honour turn out like bundles of straw, if there is not behind all these preparations one ray of smile to enliven thee; if as the evening light is lit, and thou returnest home after the strenuous labours of the day, there is not one dear soul, to whose loving care thou art in a position to commit thy tired self.

In the phantasy *Swarga Hoit-e Bidaya*, Adieu Heaven, he tells the gods on the eve of his departure that he is going back to the earth, which is albeit no heaven but motherland and not a whit less prized. There on the outskirts of a village, his wife, born in one of the poorest of hamlets under the shade of a spreading banyan tree, grows to nurse deep affection for him with all the fostering, which belongs to her maiden breast. Each morning she makes clay image of god Siva to worship and pray that she may in wedlock be tied to him.

In his poem *Manasa-sundari*, The Phantom of My Desire, he celebrates the moment of their first meeting:

What a festive joy was there in my world as thou first came unto me a life's partner ever and ever more. Clad in scarlet bright and in the coy bloom of thy face, thou came in a chariot, bedecked with flowers and as the flute was playing *sahana*, the tune of joy joyfully serene.

In *Urvashi*, we have the completely free woman, who owns no tie to anybody. Her anatomy is the cliché of art; her appeal does not go beyond the reach of flesh. Arjuna, as we have it in the *Mahabharata*, refused to submit to her wiles on the ground that she is in frequent concubinage with his father Indra, the King of gods. Urvashi cursed him to the loss of masculinity for some years. The story is possibly illustrative of her unabashed contempt of social conventions.

In *Swarga Hoit-e Bidaya*, we are vouchsafed a glimpse of what fully develops into a concrete figure in *Smaran-e*—the woman, who by the quality of understanding and appreciation acquires the gift of sublimating even the trite

and the trivial over the lengthening track of a man's life.*

Beatrice, by the way, is a strain; Gretchen a vulgarity. Prurient curiosity ran its febrile course and did not spare Rabindranath the probe. His austerity of refinement has, however, made it an idle game. Pedestrian as it is to make the wedded partner worth all the vintage for Bengal's one-time Shelley, it is illuminative that Rabindranath acknowledges with an eloquent brevity—the fewer said the better—that he owes so much of his resilience to his wife's contributions of mind and body. But to pursue the old thread.

In Rabindranath's drama *Prakritir Pratisodh*, Nature's Revenge, we have the clash of two forces—one ascetic, shy of worldly attachment and the other rooted deep in the affections of human breast. Written at the age of twenty-one, he gives us the story of a hermit, who stole away from human habitations for undisturbed contemplation of God. One day he happened to stumble upon a small young girl on the footway hovering between life and death. He succoured her back to life and could not afford to leave her to the freaks of Nature. In the process he realised, Rabindranath says, that one concrete attribute of the Infinite is his faculty of zest for the finite. The hermit is thus made to exclaim:

With eyes shut and all worldly things
left out,
Where really had I gone in search of
thee, oh my lord!

The same thesis is brought home still more strikingly in his small poem *Bairagya*, Renunciation.

A man wakes up at dead of night, when the rest of the house is fast asleep. What racks him is that in the stress of day to day engrossment in family affairs, he has not been devoting any thought upon God. He, therefore, makes up his mind:

In quest of my adored deity I shall my family renounce. Who are these to have made me forget Thee, oh my God? God says—'I'.

He hearkens not. The little child nestling on the mother's breast, and the mother sleeping

* The idea of this conflict is taken from one of Rabindranath's letters to the novelist Prabhat Mukherjee.

in assured satisfaction sting him as a comedy taken in, it slides past on the plea that it has of infinite illusion. In smothered anguish his no further room. heart cries out:

'Who are these to have held me down in gossamer threads of entanglement?'

The Lord again says—'I'.

But it slips by flat as before. His inner being screams in mute agony of despair:

'Where art thou oh my Lord?'

'Definitely here,' the Lord replies to be slighted as before.

The child cries suddenly, as children do in a dream, and the mother draws it still closer. All these, however, do not touch him now and he walks out with the consciousness of a crucial dedication. Here and now God sighs the eternal sigh of bewilderment—

'And so my devotee forsakes me at last; and where, possibly, can he find me out?'

* * *

Rabindranath's poem *Sonar Taree*, The Craft of Gold, was at one time assailed for what unfriendly critics called its vagueness, symbolism and inexplicability. The Visva-Bharati once invited readers to select two hundred poems of Rabindranath in order of merit. *Sonar Taree* was the easy first, *Nirjharer Swapna Bhanga* and *Puratan Bhritya* were bracketed second, and *Shajehan* was just behind, six votes less. To what extent the highest acclaim for *Sonar Taree* is a reply to the aforesaid gassy fulminations is more than I can hazard a guess for.

The poet is seated on the bank of a swiftly-flowing river waiting for the boat to come and pick him up. The boat comes and takes all right the harvest, he has gathered with a devout assiduity. When, however, it is his turn to be

*Etokal nadee kul-e jaha loy-e chhinu bhul-e
Sakali dilam tul-e thar-e bithar-e,
Ekhon amar-e laha karuna kor-e.
Thai nai, thai nai chhota sh-e taree
Amari sonar dhan'e giacch-e bhari.*

I make over in piles what on this river-bank I have so long devoted myself to. 'Now, do in grace take me in,' I implored. 'Alas, no room is left. The boat is small and with thy golden harvest full,' came the reply.

*Srabon gagan ghir-e ghana meg hghur-e
phir-e
Sunya nadeer tir-e rahinoo pari.*

Dense clouds wend their way over the monsoon sky; and as the river frowns by, I am left all to myself.*

Sonar Taree has a spell of diction, born of onomatopoeitic, alliterative monosyllables breaking into a liquid cadence. The frantic race between the reaper reaping and the monsoon-flood trying to overtake him has the vividness of a motion-picture. The poem's one appeal is its note of piercing frustration, created by a longed-for thing slithering past. But to me its greatest appeal is that it symbolises what is obviously so common, e.g., that we have no consideration for the man, who in the teeth of pitiless elements makes the earth abound with crops; what, in fact, we care for so mightily is his harvest. To the dilettante the poem breathes a note of pessimism, but to the discerning, it is human value writ large as the touchstone of all values.

* All translations of this article are mine.



U.S.A'S INTEREST IN RABINDRANATH

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(Concluded)

PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM

By G. S. FRASER*

OVER the past 30 or 40 years, in the Anglo-Saxon world, there has been something like a complete revolution in the theory and practice of literary criticism. For a famous critic of the late Victorian age, like George Saintsbury, literary criticism was essentially an informal mixture of several quite different disciplines: history, biography, summary description, and subjective appreciation. And, in fact, in many universities the teaching of literature is still conducted on Saintsbury's lines of the informal panoramic survey.

Most younger teachers of literature, however, are opposed to this method. Since Mr. T. S. Eliot's famous essay on *Tradition and the Individual Talent* and since Dr. I. A. Richard's *Practical Criticism*, there has been a tendency among critics to move away from concentration on the poet, his life, times, and inner history, to concentration on the poem as an object: and among teachers to concentrate rather on close examination of individual poems than on wide and perhaps shallow reading, and easy generalisation from it. How a given text works is one of the central themes of modern criticism; at the same time, however, scholarly "background" studies in the climate of ideas of a poet's age, his reading, clues in his work to his personal psychology, and so on, are in a much more advanced and specialised state than they were in Saintsbury's time.

The young student of English literature is therefore often bewildered by a multitude of specialised approaches, when he tries to grasp the central truth about some writer he admires. There is no modern book, for instance, which attempts to grasp Shakespeare as a whole, as Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* did: and how is the young foreign student going to relate to each other, say, Professor Dover Wilson's work on text and sources, Mr. Wilson Knight's work on symbolic patterns, and other attempts to clarify Shakespeare's intention through such diverse disciplines as psycho-analysis and the study of Elizabethan moral theology?

BROAD APPROACH

For students, particularly, Mr. David Daiches has performed an inestimable service by not only providing, in his *Critical Approaches to Litera-*

ture, a clear summary, with useful long quotations, of some of the main revolutionary achievements in modern English and American criticism, but by relating that criticism to its past. He begins with Plato's attack on poetry for being an imitation of an imitation (God has an idea of the tree, actual trees imitate this idea, and the artist who paints a tree imitates the imitation). He shows how Aristotle gets round Plato's dilemma by agreeing that poetry is an imitation, but "an imitation of an action," high, noble, and serious. It deals not with mere facts but with "the probable and the necessary." "Hence poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars." He traces the influence of these ideas throughout English literary history.

Thus, Sir Philip Sidney in his essentially moralistic *Defence of Poesie* makes the point against Plato that Plato himself is a poet: his dialogues are fictitious, and have all the ornaments of rhetoric, and to convey the highest moral truths Plato himself uses not dialectic but fables. Shelley, a Platonist by nature, turns Plato's arguments against himself: the true poet is not imitating the imitation, he is in touch with the source. And Dr. Johnson, defending Shakespeare against the charge of breaking the unities, is really using Aristotelian common-sense to undermine pseudo-Aristotelian pedantry. With Aristotle, Dr. Daiches feels, criticism grew up. He stated, even if sketchily, most of the fundamental problems.

This broad historical approach enables Dr. Daiches to see the revolution in modern criticism in fairly calm perspective. Agreeing that the analytical approach, typified by Mr. Empson, has quickened our response to the subtleties of the individual poem, he nevertheless points out that it is almost useless for the purposes of comparison, and that it tends to run into blunders through despising the historical approach. Biography and history, a feeling for the setting, for the period, can still contribute much to the understanding of poetry, though they are critically out of fashion.

FLEXIBILITY OF APPROACH

Nevertheless, Dr. Daiches rejects the critical

relativism of Dr. Pottle, for whom anything is poetry that a sufficiently educated reader of its time took for poetry; we must accept the idiom of a given age as a poetic medium—it was an error of Arnold's flatly to reject the Augustan medium for instance—but we still have to make absolute, not relative, critical judgments about the ends for which the medium was used, and how successfully it was used by different poets in different poems. The critic cannot abdicate; fashion cannot do his judging for him. Again, Dr. Daiches agrees, as against the extreme position of Dr. Leavis and some of his followers, that the critic's taste should be catholic; but he sees that, as often in Hazlitt, for instance, there is an extreme catholicity, a general enthusiasm for everything, which amounts in practice to refusal to discriminate.

The most refreshing feature of Dr. Daiches' book is, perhaps, its lack of a doctrinaire quality; he does not believe either that any one critical approach or method can be adequate in all circumstances, or that any of the approaches or methods he treats with respect might not be useful, up to a point, in some circumstances. He encourages a wise flexibility of approach; and

insists that literature is larger and richer than literary criticism, that literary criticism is not an end in itself, but an aid to the appreciation of literature. His admirably chosen quotations form a very useful anthology of key critical texts, from Plato and Aristotle to John Crowe Ransom and William Empson, and his later chapters contain some excellent suggestions for critical exercises, and for further reading.

Critical Approaches to Literature would make a first-rate hand-book for anybody conducting a seminar—with special reference to the modern English and American achievement and its antecedents on the history and principles of literary criticism. The book has, indeed, a certain textbook quality; Dr. Daiches' own personality is held somewhat in reserve, and the value of *Critical Approaches to Literature* is more that of a source of discussion-material than of a book to be read right through for pleasure. But, as a manual for the teacher or for the reasonably resourceful student, the book could hardly be bettered.

* Author of *The Modern Writer and His World*, editor of the contemporary anthology *Poetry Now*, and a regular broadcaster and contributor to London literary journals.

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SANSKRITIC STUDIES IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MUCH useful and valuable work is being done in the different languages of modern India on Indology, especially on old Sanskritic texts. We have translations as well as critical studies on many an important Sanskrit and Prakrit work in the various provincial languages of the country. Not only popular books like poetical works, but works of purely scholarly interest also have been covered. It is, however, a pity that these productions have been given scanty publicity. As a result, works published in one language are little known to people—nay, even to scholars—beyond the area served by the language in question. How many people outside the Hindi-speaking regions, for instance, have any idea about the Hindi translations of works like the *Kavyamīmamsa* of Rajasekhara or studies in Hindi on the *Harsacharita* or the *Mriccha-*

katika? Similarly there are a good many works of the same type in Bengali which are almost unknown to non-Bengali people though some of them may be of interest and help to them. This is not the place to give a list of works of this type in Bengali or in any other language, though there are quite a good number in almost all the major languages of the country. Necessary steps need be taken to bring these works to the notice of the scholarly world through reviews in reputed journals, carefully compiled bibliographies as well as through other means. As matters stand few bibliographies make any systematic note of these publications. For the present I shall refer to a few recent works copies of which have been received for review in these pages.

Dr. R. G. Basak whose contribution on ancient Indian history are well-known has now set

himself to the task of translating and interpreting in Bengali reputed Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. His translation of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya has brought the work within easy reach of the average Bengali reader. His latest work is the annotated translation of the *Gathasaptasati*¹ of Hala which will be helpful to students of literature in making acquaintance with beautiful specimens of ancient poetry of our country. The translation is accompanied by the Prakrit text with select variants and its *Chhaya* or Sanskritised form.

The appearance of the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa with a modern Rajasthani version deserves special mention, owing to the comparative paucity of published literature in the language. Sri Narayan Sinha Bhati's metrical translation² of the work has undergone a second edition within two years of its first publication. This is a clear indication of the nature of reception it has had at the hands

of its readers. The translation is accompanied by an introduction and a short summary of every verse both in Hindi.

*Sudraka*³ of Chandravali Pande is an interesting study in Hindi of the life and works of the celebrated poet of the same name. The learned author seeks to identify the poet with King Vasishiputra Pulumayi and trace similarities between Sudraka's *Mricchakatika* and the famous Tamil classic, the *Silappadikaram* in the composition of which the Satavahana king is supposed to have had some hand. It is the king-poet who is further supposed to have found it necessary to revise the *Charudatta* composed at his instance by his court-poet Bhasa and he gave it a finished form in his *Mricchakatika*. The suppositions of the learned author are indeed ingenious if not always convincing. His analysis of the characters of the drama, the social condition of the period of its composition as reflected in it and the characteristic features of the poet's composition will be read with interest and profit by the general reader.

1. General Printers and Publishers Limited, 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.

2. Pithal Prakasana, Kacheri Road, Jodhpur.

3. Motilal Banarasi Das, Banaras.

—:O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AS I SEE HER.* By S. R. Sharma.
Published by Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Agra.
1956. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 8.50.

This is an excellent work from the pen of a veteran college Professor of Indian history and author of a number of notable works on the subject. The author's aim, as he tells us in his Preface, is to describe with strict regard to truth and within the shortest compass all the vital aspects of India's civilisation from the earliest times to the present, in a balanced and harmonious combination. In particular he seeks (p. 1) to bring home to the reader "the subjective unity" underlying India's "objective diver-

sity" wherein lies "the uniqueness of her creative idealism." A perusal of this work shows that the author's attempt on the whole has been thoroughly successful. He combines well-digested erudition with a spirit of sympathy and intuitive insight into the processes of Indian history. While suppressing unnecessary details he concentrates on the story of development of India's genius in the most important spheres of life. To this we have to add his singularly attractive style which grips the reader's attention from beginning to end. His pronouncements gain increased weight from apt quotations from the original texts in the ancient times and of comments by authoritative writers in the later periods.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work, we may be permitted to make a few remarks. The author has fought shy of the much discussed question of the "constitutional" or "limited" character of Ancient Indian monarchy, nor has he made sufficient allowance for the limited operation of the Ancient self-governing village assemblies both in space and time. He allows himself instead to make the bold generalisation (p. 131) about Ancient Indian kings and peoples that "they were essentially democratic without being doctrinaire democrats, they were spontaneously social without being socialists, and fraternally community-conscious without being communists." We have to mention in this connection that the author's bald references (pp. 126-7) to the popular election of Harshavardhana of Thaneshwar and Gopala of Bengal are a little off the mark, because not to speak of our complete ignorance of the persons and classes figuring in these elections, they did not help to make any change in the general pattern in the constitutions of these two States. In his account of Indian social life through the centuries, the author overlooks the dark sides of the picture such as those involved in some aspects of the position of women and still more in the condition of the depressed classes and of slaves. Some of the author's statements are quite unauthenticated, such that the seven pagodas in Mamallapuram were "dedicated to the Pandavas" (p. 128), that Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan *savants* "mastered Pali" along with Sanskrit and that the ancient inscriptions of their countries "contain verses in the classical Sanskrit of the Gupta Age" (p. 139), that Afghanistan up to the Hindu Kush was ruled by the Indians "from c. 300 B.C. to 1000 A.D." (p. 144), and that Husain Shah of Bengal "founded" the Satya-pir cult (p. 161). The complete absence of diacritical marks and the want of an Index as well as the uncorrected printing mistakes are to be regretted.

U. N. GHOSHAL

AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS: By P. C. Chatterji. *Kitab Mahal, Allahabad and Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book under review presents philosophical problems in a very clear and definite language. The author took great care for precision throughout the book and his discussion is quite elaborate and polemics convincing. The book, though meant for uninitiated, will undoubtedly help the initiated appreciate the intricacies of long-standing philosophical problems. The

author confesses that his spiritual home is Cambridge and he has been immensely influenced by such stalwarts as Moore, Russell and Broad. Occasional reference to Keynes, Wittgenstein have made the book interesting.

The book has been divided into twelve chapters. They deal with such metaphysical problems as Substance, Mind and Body, Universals, Truth, Value and Perception. It is not quite easy to deliver the goods in any metaphysical treatise and this has been ably recognised by the author. The 'critical philosophers' recognised the fact that philosophy does not give us the Truth but it helps clarity of thought. The book betrays a mission of the author tuned to the pitch of the critical philosophers. There is always a need for such books. Our propensity for hero-worship has not completely died down. Philosophy was looked upon by most of us as the pulpit whereon Sermons of the wise were given to the ignorant world. Our Upanishadic *rishis* or system-builders like Kapila and Kanada might have been replaced by Bradley and Hegel. But that is not a step forward. We must know and remember that the study of philosophy is an intellectual exercise and the book under review reminds us of this pleasing reality over and over again.

The book is not without defects. We invite the attention of the author at least to one fact of omission. At page 20 he gives us the impression that Empirical arguments, the prop of Epistemological Idealism, may be divided into two classes: "Those that are based on relativity of perception and others." In the next few pages he states and examines the arguments based on 'the relativity of perception.' He, however, omits to explain the other types of arguments referred to by him as 'others.' This 'others' obviously did not mean the logical arguments next discussed. His straightaway plunge into the 'logical arguments' falls to meet a gap created by his own commitment. We would suggest a rectification in the next edition, which, we are sure, will come out ere long. The publishers deserve a word of praise for the neat printing and nice get-up.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

HINDU RASHTRA: By Babraj Madhok. *Swastik Prakashan, 27-1-B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.*

The author, a prominent Jana Sangha leader, is at pains to show—not very convincingly, however—that India was a nation from days of yore and that the Indian National

Congress is responsible for the partition of the country. History has been misread and misinterpreted at places to support the author's thesis.

The author's indictment of some aspects of the Congress policy before and after independence, however, contains elements of truth. He points out and rightly at that that the foundations of a nation cannot be laid on the quicksands of appeasement and compromise. "The growing linguism and provincialism" are, according to Shri Madhok, "the result of the failure of the rulers of India to emphasize the fundamental, geographical and cultural unity of the country." Communalism, casteism, separatism and the whole gamut of them still flourish in India. The disturbances over a large part of the country in mid-1956 following the publication of a book by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, the agitation for a Punjabi-speaking State, the controversies and the ugly disturbances that preceded and followed the reorganisation of the States, and the general elections of 1957 prove the contention. Separatism in all forms and varieties, the author rightly concludes, must be rooted out. "The most urgent problem of Indian nationalism" is to develop a genuine national consciousness transcending "group consciousness as members of different religious communities." Hinduism and Islam, the principal religions of India, Sir J. N. Sarkar also points out in another context, "must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science. That such a re-birth of Islam is not impossible, has been demonstrated in our own days by the conqueror of Smyrna" (*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 494). Hindu as well as Muslim and Sikh communalists will do well to read and re-read these words of wisdom of the great savant.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

BHOODAN YAJNA (Land-Gift Mission):

By Vinoba Bhave. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 134. Price Rs. 14.

First published in 1953, the book under review is the second reprint out in March this year. The Navajivan Publishing House is here caught napping. They have served old fare in a new dish. Bhoodan has covered much new ground since 1953. It is no longer Land-gift Mission. It is now Gramdan Mission heading towards Firkadan.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

PRICE MOVEMENTS IN INDIA (1929-1957): *By Dr. Lakshmi Narain, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shri Prakashan, Meerut. Pp. 310. Price Rs. 12.50.*

This treatise is the thesis of the author approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the Delhi University. The period of study covers two extremes, viz., the Great Depression and Great wartime and post-war inflations. The price policies of the first and Second Five-Year Plans are also critically examined.

The author discusses this important subject in twenty-one chapters detailing the entire scheme in the Introductory, as price constitutes the central problem of economy as is found today. Price affects all classes in society—producers, distributors and consumers—who have to make these decisions in their economic behaviour. The study of prices, therefore, is of extreme importance. The Great Depression (1929) which swept almost all the countries of the world affected India most and Indian economy suffered from it till sometime after the outbreak of the Second World War (Sept. 1939). During wartime India suffered terribly from inflation, particularly due to financing Allied operations in the East. Price control was more successful in U.S.A. and U.K., but in India black-market prices had to be paid by the poorest people. The author presents a detailed study of the course of depression, prices during War (Aug. 1939 to Aug. 1945), monetary factors in price situation, war-time inflation in India (1942-45), effects of war-time inflation, price trends in India and other countries, post-war prices, devaluation and prices, effect of Korean war, post-war inflation in India, prices from May 1951 to December 1956, prices and planning and price mechanism. A review of the Movement, 1929 to 1956, has been given in a separate chapter. The treatise is concluded with chapters on price policy for the Second Five-Year Plan and deficit financing and prices.

It is an interesting study and the many causes of price rise and fall have been carefully and scientifically scrutinized and presented. The observation in regard to price behaviour during the First Five-Year Plan and the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan will be helpful to the planners and students of Economics.

A. B. DUTTA

PRACTICAL HINTS ON FRUIT GARDENING: *By B. L. Choudhri. Published by the Western Book Depot, Nagpur. First Edition. 1955. Price Rs. 6-12.*

The book contains at the outset a foreword by Sri S. K. Misra, Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture, Nagpur University, who felt pleasure in recommending this book to those interested in fruit industry. But the reviewer holds a different opinion as this book contains numerous scientific inaccuracies and printing mistakes. We also expect a better type of printing and get-up when we are going to pay the price. A few mistakes are pointed out below:

At page 108, "Roughing—Removal of diseased plants" is written. Roughing means the removal of those plants which are found other than actually desired. At page 110, one should read pollination instead of "fertilization" and at page 111, reproductive instead of "productive." At page 125, under Banana he has written, "A pound of this fruit contains more nutriment than three pounds of meat while as a food it is, in every sense, superior to the best wheaten bread." Is it true? I leave the above statement to the readers for judgment. At page 126, he has described Banana as large drupe. It is not so; it is a berry. At page 136, he writes, "There is a common belief that plants raised by sowing the whole fruits give better results." In a scientific treatise the belief of the people should not be incorporated. Besides, in Nature when mature fruits drop down, seeds come out finally and germinate in proper season. Besides in this black plum there are no varieties. He should have written that two *types* exist giving descriptions of fruits of each type.

Such instances can be multiplied. The author should carefully read scientific facts and treatises to correct this book for the next edition. One should not rush to print with so many fundamental mistakes.

R. M. DATTA

TENALI RAMA: By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S. Orient Publishing Co., Madras. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 3.

This little book gives us in English the Telegu humour of Tenali Rama, the court-jester of Krishna Deva Raya (c. 1530) of Vijayanagar. We in Bengal are familiar with the humour and little pranks of Gopal Bhanr, a courtier of Maharaja Krishna Chandra of Nadia (c. 1760); and of Raja Birbal, said to be one of the nine jewels of the court of Akbar (c. 1580). Tenali Rama, one of the *ashtadiggajas* of Krishna Deva Raya, compares favourably with them, and in some of the stories even excels them. Several of the stories have

parallels in the humour of Gopal Bhanr and of Raja Birbal. One must read the stories himself to appreciate fully the humour of Tenali Rama. The translator and editor has done well in giving a short sketch of the life and times of Tenali Rama, which we hope will be more exhaustive and detailed in future editions. Without such a background it becomes difficult sometimes to appreciate Tenali Rama. The price of the book seems to be a little high.

J. M. DATTA

THE FIRST DECADE, August 15, 1947. (A symposium commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of Indian Independence): Edited by Clifford Manshardt and with a Preface by the Hon. Ellsworth Bunker, Ambassador of the United States of America to India. Published by the United States Information Service, India, August 12, 1957, for selected circulation.

This is a nice little book of about two hundred pages brought out by the United States Information Service to commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of Indian Freedom. There are nine articles, all written up by Indian scholars and statesmen, each distinguished in his own field, depicting the progress and problems of various aspects of Indian life. It is not usual to find a Government of a country publishing a book on another country wholly written up by officials and officially related scholars of the latter for public distribution. But, then, here is such a book. It is not the ordinary information bureau stuff but is a book worthy of the shelves of any good library. The book is a fine gesture of American friendship for India and the persons responsible for its publication deserve our congratulations and thanks.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKAR

VAISHNABA LYRICS: By Dr. Matilal Das. Bharat Sanskriti Parishat. Block K, Plot 467, New Alipore, Calcutta-33. Price Rs. 3.

The Vaishnaba lyrics have not only lived through centuries; they have still been inspiring our poets. The author has presented herein some of the best of them in commendable English rendering. The spirit of the original poems have been retained to a considerable extent.

SONG SUBLIME: By Prafullakumar Lahiri. Published by the author at 57, Monoharpukur Road, Calcutta-29. Price Re. 1.

A translation of the Gita in poor English verse.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AYE-KAR VIDHAN EVAM HISAB LEKHE: By C. B. Gupta. Rama Prasad and Sons, Agra. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 5.

Income-tax Law and Accounts,—the subject of the book,—is a complicated affair, which baffles many an intelligent person, nay even the "high-brows." The author, a professor of the College of Commerce, Delhi University, has, therefore, attempted a lucid presentation thereof which will be welcomed not only by would-be commerce graduates but also by the general Hindi-knowing businessman. It is, indeed, a painstaking as well as praiseworthy treatment of a puzzling problem and procedure.

G.M.

GUJARATI

APOORVA MILAN: By Ratilal Girdharlal Shah, M.A., LL.B., Rajkot. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay. Printed at the New Prabhat Printers Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 456. Price Rs. 5.

It is a novel written entirely in the modern style and depicts the love incidents occurring in the lives of young boys and girls of the present age. It is full of noble thoughts and sentiments. The author has striven to demonstrate by his talented pen and rich imagination that Nature, Art and Artist are one: there is unity amongst them and not diversity.

SAMAJNA PRASHNA (Problems of Society): By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Published by Vedant Ashram, Post Valad. Printed at the Vir-Vijaya Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Illustrated. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 159. Price Re. 1-8.

Swami Madhavtirtha has to his credit about twenty books written and published till now. They are all of a meditative and deductive and advisory character. Some of these have passed into four editions. This book as the title denotes deals with social problems, such as, Present Times, Man of Tomorrow or The Coming Man, and Perfect Science. One has to go through its pages to follow the wide range of observation and comment displayed in it by the Swamiji. Vedanta, Sankhya, Vivarta-Vad, nothing is ignored.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Nature and Man

PROBLEMS OF CO-EXISTENCE

In an article in *The Aryan Path*, Roy Bridger offers food for serious thought upon the danger of "neglect of the life sciences in favour of the death sciences," a danger which bids fair to be increasingly brought home to the most complacent and the most superficial:

Under the threat of atomic warfare the world is trying to think in terms of co-existence, by which is implied co-existence between East and West. Ancient habits of thought, such as the comfortable resolve that if points are to be conceded in a dispute they must be the other side's, can be dangerous survivals in a guided-missile age. Yet behind human politics looms an even more formidable necessity—that of stabilizing co-existence between man and Nature. Although Nature managed well enough before man's arrival, and could presumably make do after his departure, we like to think we shall remain in the picture. But it can never be the other way round. Nature cannot be overthrown except at the cost of our own suicide.

The reason for this is that, although it is possible to make a mental distinction between man and his natural environment, the conception is quite illusory. Man, in isolation, simply does not exist. The individual does not exist. There is only mankind, or the individual, plus an intricate assortment of environmental props. We go through life with a strong supporting cast. Pay them off—and the Prince of Denmark has made his positively farewell appearance.

Trees, for instance, are one of the key groups in all Nature's kingdoms; in many things which are matters of life and death to us—soil erosion, shelter, humus formation, water circulation, and so on—trees are found to be inextricably woven into the pattern. But trees, too, are in the same fix as ourselves. They can't exist—in isolation. Their entourage includes mammals, birds, insects, worms, shrubs, herbs, grasses, ferns, mosses, lichens, algæ, fungi, mycorrhizas, bacteria and protozoa. A forest is not simply a group of trees; it is a complete social organization. We may form a notion of wresting trees from Nature's control and manag-

ing them ourselves—but who on earth is going to manage the rest of the crowd? In fact, the latest teachings of silviculture are that the highest level of management is reached in the natural forest, and that everywhere man's interference is disrupting the great natural cycles—of water, of nitrogen compounds, of carbon dioxide and of plant foods.

Apart from cultivated plants, domesticated livestock and various forms of life over which we exercise some sort of control, numerous animal, plant and insect species are recognized as indispensable to human existence—spiders and insect-eating birds for keeping down the numbers of those small but prolific organisms which if unchecked would eat us right off the planet, and termites for running the "dead wood department" in the tropical cycle of life, not forgetting the bacteria and protozoa but for whose presence in the human stomach itself digestion could not take place.

The Martians in Wells's story *The War of the Worlds* would seem to have had a fair chance of success when, with "intellects vast and cool and unsympathetic," they regarded this earth with envious eyes and from across the gulf of space "slowly and surely drew their plans against us." Yet the irony of their failure to conquer the earth was that no effective resistance was offered from without. They had all before them, but they collapsed before completing their conquest. They were slain from within, slain by the disease and putrefactive bacteria against which their systems were unprepared, for Martian life had developed without bacteria.

We are not so entirely self-possessed today as to be free ourselves from gloomy conjectures as to the outcome of our bid to dominate the planet. But the end, if end there is to be, is usually visualized as some spectacular cataclysm on the "Twilight of the Gods" scale. Man is such an important person that even his passing must be magnificent. Yet for all we know, we too may be brought down by the tiniest of living things. We are in any case only nominal owner-occupiers of our own bodies; multitudes of bacteria swarm within our domains, in fact practically running the whole show. The entire human army marches at the pace and on the

terms of its stomach bacteria—which today are being heavily harassed by sterilizing influences of all kinds, such as refined foods, drugs, sleeping tablets, tonics, alcohol, tobacco, caffeine and so on. The latest threat is the obsession with cleanliness. The scholarly Fowler defines cleanliness as “freedom from dirt.” But being an indoor person, he wouldn’t know. A certain amount of good honest dirt is good for you, essential and imperative for you. The dirty old byres of the world have nourished some of the healthiest and toughest of peoples. But today everything must be spotlessly clean. Some of the newer techniques for securing cleanliness remove dirt (i.e., life) so thoroughly that the opposite pole is reached. Extreme cleanliness, like extreme dirt, means death.

We have not made a scrap of progress since the time of King Ine of Wessex.

The futurist steel and concrete landscape we are contriving is thus suitable only for a species which has not yet had time to appear. Man’s own most suitable environment is one not very different in essentials from the one he first inherited. Yet every day more jungle is cleared, more wilderness opened up. Hitherto Nature’s machinery has been well taken care of but with new developments in exploitation and communications more and more of it is falling into our hands. A terrifying situation can be glimpsed: man will find that his attempt to take over has brought him the responsibility of running the whole thing. Farm land, forests, national parks, nature reserves, it will all have to fall within a single integrated command.

The world of Nature, moreover, is something like an iceberg. The base of it is out of sight. The key to the cultivated plants and domesticated livestock on which we depend is the soil. The key to the forest life with which we dare not dispense is also the soil, though this is only now being realized. In every cubic yard of good soil some 200,000 living creatures are juggling with its nitrogen and phosphate percentages. They require their nutrients to be in organic form. They were conditioned that way millions of years ago, and have never got out of the way of it. With the flight of labour from the land, many agricultural operations are having to be skimped, and ironically enough the one which matters most—the feeding of the soil with properly prepared organic residues—is skimped most of all. It may be counted a triumph of human ingenuity to have invented processes for making synthetic manures, but mineral salts merely provide a temporary stimulus to growth by burning up humus reserves, like a man swal-

lowing a double brandy. The new mechanized composting techniques offer an opportunity of redressing the balance—one of the few examples we have so far devised whereby mechanization and Nature’s way of life can run parallel.

In most other directions mechanization is proving to have been very dearly bought. Some of the most elaborate machinery we have is to be found in the food-refining industries. That the products of it upset our digestion is unfortunate, for so much capital is tied up, the livelihood of so many people is involved, so many unthinkable international repercussions are threatened if any hitch occurs, that the set-up is practically unstoppable.

But the most immediately urgent manifestation of the vast conundrum posed by mechanical progress is the appearance of a race of demoniac earth-destroyers. Though still conventionally classified as military weapons, the new gods of war have in fact outsoared any trifling little quarrel that men can engage in. The quarrels are now of no consequence, and those who engage in them are of no consequence. Only the destroyers are left in the picture now, gaining in stature day by day, acquiring their finishing touches, poised for the last logical outcome of

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man's fatal neglect of the life sciences in favour of the death sciences.

The Martian fighting machines in *The War of the Worlds* were like giant men of steel, but the beings operating the switches inside them were small and vulnerable. For a few days after they had died their mechanized communicating devices cried on, a sort of high-pitched

"Ulla, ulla, ulla, ulla," until abruptly it ceased. It was cut off—and who knows but one day man's own all-penetrating machine voice will be cut off abruptly all over the earth, its mortal operator stricken in his tracks by a Nature he could no longer control?

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India's Taxation Policy

P. C. Jain writes in *Careers and Courses*:

The main object of the Indian Government's taxation policy at the present moment is to raise additional revenue for the Second Five-Year Plan. In his 1957-58 Budget, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, levied fresh taxes on the common man, the middle class and the rich people and on companies to raise an additional revenue of Rs. 88 crores in a full year.

The Second Plan provided for deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores in a period of five years, but the Government subsequently came to the conclusion that this amount of deficit financing would prove inflationary and might push up the price level unduly. This has induced the Finance Minister to raise more revenue for the Plan through additional taxation rather than through deficit financing. It is expected that taxation would not prove inflationary while deficit financing would, and that the rise in prices now would not be as great as would otherwise have been the case.

Another consideration which has weighed with the Finance Minister is that in order to release physical resources for the Plan the people's consumption will have to be reduced, and increased taxation is one of the best ways of reducing consumption. Apart from this, it is necessary to get people's full co-operation for the success of the Plan. People should realize the intensity of the problem facing the country and should be willing to make sacrifices for it. The prick of taxation, in Mr. Krishnamachari's view, would make people Plan-conscious and would encourage them to produce more and save more. Finally tax evasion in India is a serious problem. Mr. Krishnamachari's taxation proposals, especially so far as companies are concerned, are motivated by his desire to prevent tax evasion.

There is no doubt that the Finance Minister's Budget proposals would bring more revenue for financing the Plan, but it is not at all sure that they would enable us to achieve the objectives of the Second Plan. The Finance Minister has considered only the revenue aspect of his Budget proposals and not their total effect on Indian economy. A very depressing picture emerges if we do so, and take into account the effect of the Budget proposals on people's will to work and save, the incentives to the entrepreneurs, the cost of production of industry and the price level.

In the peculiar conditions prevailing in India it is wrong to argue that taxation is not inflationary. The only difference is that deficit financing pushes up the price level by increasing

people's incomes more than the supply of goods in the market, while additional taxation pushes up the price level by increasing the costs of production. The price of postal articles and the "price" of railway tickets has increased by the recent taxation measures. Traders have increased the price of their goods by the full amount of the increase in the sales taxes and excise duties and in some cases by a larger amount. The Government has directly increased the prices of steel, cement and coal and this is expected to lead to still higher prices of all kinds of goods.

The fact that additional taxation pushes up the price level is demonstrated by the fact that the general index of wholesale prices increased from 376 in January, 1956, to 387.3 in March, 1956, and a high level of 423.5 at the end of April, 1957, as a result of the additional taxes imposed by the Central and State Governments in their 1956-57 Budgets. The index number increased from 422.8 in the beginning of May, 1957, to 438 at the end of May and 440 in the beginning of June, 1957, as a result of the additional taxes imposed in the 1957-58 Budget.

RIISING PRICES

The increase in retail prices has been of still greater magnitude and the rise in these prices continues unabated. It is reasonable to hope that in the near future the inflationary pressure would still further increase as a direct result of additional taxation. Central Government employees, including some categories of Posts and Telegraphs employees, have demanded an increase in their emoluments as they consider their claim justified in view of the increased revenue of the Government. Prices in India and the cost

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of living of these categories of Government employees were high for quite some time, but the nation-wide demand for higher emoluments has been the direct result of Mr. Krishnamachari's Budget proposals. As the demand of these Government employees is met, industrial workers, office clerks and others employed in the private sector are likely to put forward a similar demand. If all these demands are granted the Government's expenditure and the cost of production of industry would increase, and this would result in a still greater increase in the price level. Once this process begins there is no knowing where the vicious spiral of rising prices and rising costs would end. There is nothing much to choose between higher prices brought about by additional taxation and higher prices resulting from deficit financing. The net effect of both on the people is much the same.

The most adverse effect of Government's taxation policy, however, would be to curtail seriously both output and savings. Mr. Krishnamachari has given some relief from income-tax to persons in the lower income-groups, but this cannot be expected to increase their savings as this advantage has been more than counterbalanced by the increase in indirect taxes and the rise in their cost of living. Even if people in this category cut down their standard of living, their present incomes would not suffice to meet their current expenses. It might not be possible for any of them to make any savings at all.

SAVINGS

So far as people in the higher income groups are concerned, the Finance Minister has relied upon his reducing the combined maximum rate of income and super taxes from 91.8 per cent to 84 per cent in the case of unearned incomes and 77 per cent for earned incomes to increase people's savings. But the good effect of this welcome concession in income-tax has been more than lost because of the expenditure tax and the wealth tax which have been levied on these people, who will not have the incentive to increase their wealth if it means paying more taxes. In theory, the expenditure tax encourages savings but it would not do so in India. In order that the expenditure tax should increase savings the Government should reduce the combined maximum rate of income and super taxes, as recommended by Mr. Kaldor, to seven annas in the rupee or 45 per cent, and should reduce indirect taxes in the shape of excise duties, sales taxes, etc., paid by these people. But as the

Government of India is not in a position to do so, the tax burden on people in the higher income groups would exceed their taxable capacity and, in spite of their high level of income, they would not be able to save more.

Moreover, if they have to pay a wealth tax on their accumulated savings the inducement to save would be reduced still further. It is an established fact that in the last analysis the rate of economic growth is determined by the rate of national savings. Whether use the method of deficit financing or not, ultimate economic progress depends on savings and they should increase to the level of national investment. But the Government's taxation policy is calculated to reduce savings and would in this way not only upset the working of the Second Five-Year Plan but retard also the economic development of India.

This retardation of our economic progress would get further momentum by the hardships and difficulties created by the Government's taxation policy for private enterprise in India. There is a public sector and a private sector in the Indian economy. While raising more revenue for the Second Plan, the Finance Minister thought only of the public sector. The company taxation in the 1957-58 Budget would stifle the working of joint stock enterprise and the private sector would be prevented from playing its due role in India's economic development. There is a strange situation in India under which companies are taxed if they declare a dividend in excess of 6 per cent and they are also taxed in the case of Section 23A companies, if they do not declare a dividend. The dividends tax is linked not with the total capital invested in a company, which alone can show its earning capacity, but with the paid-up capital. The consequence is that companies are subjected to an inequitable tax burden and have no inducement to produce more and earn more profits.

The worst feature of the Government's taxation policy is the levy of the wealth tax on companies. It is a direct tax on the capital of a company and has to be paid whether a company is in production or not and whether it makes a profit or a loss. This would not only discourage the flotation of new companies in which the entrepreneur has to wait for a considerable time before profits begin to accrue but would encourage the winding up of some of the existing companies belonging to this category. How can the Government's taxation policy help the fulfilment of the objectives of the Second Plan if in the process, it stifles private enterprise and redu-

cès output, investment and savings in the private sector?

The ultimate aim of economic planning is to increase the people's standard of living and to increase their economic welfare. It is true that to secure a high standard of living and a high level of economic welfare, the people have to make sacrifices. But such sacrifices should not be beyond the people's taxable capacity; otherwise, the very basis of planning is destroyed and the advantages which might flow from increased economic development cease to have any meaning.

ADVERSE EFFECTS

Under the Government's taxation policy this is precisely what might happen in India. The Finance Minister has levied fresh direct and indirect taxes on the plea that as yet the Government takes away only 8½ per cent of the national

income as revenue as against 16 to 18 per cent in some other countries of the world. But the Finance Minister has not taken into account the fact that a vast majority of the people in India do not have sufficient income to meet their bare necessities. How, then, can they have any taxable capacity left after all the indirect taxes which have been levied by the Finance Minister during the past few years? The only result of taxes levied in the 1957-58 Budget would be to make their lot unbearable. As a result of the additional taxation in the 1956-57 and 1957-58 Budgets the cost of living of people in the lower income groups increased by about 15 per cent and of those in the higher income groups by about 10 per cent. This increase in the cost of living of the Indian people has forced them to forgo some of the necessities of life and has reduced their health and vitality and their resistance against disease.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Max Muller Bhavan Opened in Delhi INDO-GERMAN CULTURAL CENTRE IN INDIA

THE German Reading Room "Max Muller Bhavan" (Mercantile Bank Building, E-Block, Connaught Place, New Delhi) was inaugurated by the Hon. Minister for Transport, Shri Humayun Kabir, who said that

"Germany is a great country with achievements in many fields, but her greatest contribution is in the field of philosophy, literature and art."

India owed a lot to a band of devoted and distinguished scholars of the West who discovered India both for India and for the West. The name of Max Muller stood out like a beacon among them.

The library, comprising of approximately 1000 books is to become the meeting-place of all those interested in Germany. Apart from books, the visitors will find journals, newspapers, and other informative literature, to keep them up-to-date with various problems of Germany. Moreover, there will be facilities to learn the German language. Beside these German language-courses and lectures, conversation-courses will also be held.

The Reading Room bears its name after the famous German Indologist Max Muller. There is perhaps no better name which could be given to the German Reading Room, even if one cannot expect it to do justice to the great name it bears. Max Muller was the most important of all the German Sanskritists, one of the greatest among those who discovered India spiritually and who helped Indians to discover their own past.

Friedrich Max Muller, son of the phil-Hellenic poet Wilhelm Muller, was born at Dessau in the Duchy of Anhalt on December 6, 1823. In Leipzig, Max Muller became a Sanskritist, in Berlin, where the famous founder of the Indo-Germanic studies, Franz Bopp, was his professor, he turned to comparative philology.

In Berlin, Max Muller met the philosopher Schelling, who inspired him to discover the realms of metaphysical speculations. Finally, in Paris, as a student of Burnouf, Max Muller started learning Zend, the holy language of the Parsis.

In 1846, the philologist who by then had gained much fame in the whole world, came to England. Oxford at this time had become the

centre of Indological studies, ever since Sir William Jones had discovered Sanskrit for Europe. This great centre of Indology cordially welcomed the foremost European authority in Sanskritology. The combination proved extremely fruitful to both, and to India. In 1849, the first volume of the Rig-Veda was published, the sixth and last volume in 1874.

The publication of the Rig-Veda initiated a new era in Sanskrit studies in Europe and even in India. For Max Muller gave the Hindus their own holy Scriptures. One of the far-reaching consequences of the first printing of the Veda was the foundation of the reform movement of Arya Samaj in 1875 by the Kathiawar Brahman Mula Shankara, better known by his monk name Dayanand Saraswati. And in the end—the Max Muller edition of the Rig-Veda, the first of its kind, became the accepted text of the holy scriptures of Hinduism.

Naturally, Max Muller was very proud of the success of his Rig-Veda edition. He observed with satisfaction that it caused in India the same great stir as in Europe. He himself wrote late:

"After all, this was their (the Hindus') Bible, which so far during the three to four thousand years of its existence had never yet been edited. Attempts were made in various places to set a religious ban on my Veda, alleging that it had been written by a *mleccha* with cow's blood. But the book proved stronger than its enemies; it was indispensable, and eventually those who had at first sought to ban it acknowledged it. The late Dr. Haug sent me a detailed account of a Brahmin meeting at Poona at which the Brahmins at first had a non-Brahmin read out my edition of the Veda as they did not want to touch the book, but in the end all of them corrected their manuscripts according to my text, which had been fixed at the far-distant University of Oxford."

Lack of space restricts us to point out here all of the innumerable works of this eminent German scholar in the field of Sanskritology and Indology. We may mention here only some of the works he wrote: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, *Chips from a German Workshop*, *Comparative Mythology*, *India: What Can it Teach Us?*, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, *Three Lectures on Vedanta*, *The Science of Religion*, *Anthropological Religion*, etc.

Many and varied as were his works, he has been the real interpreter of the Indian soul to the West. When in 1875 he resigned from his professorship, he took up the task of editing the "Sacred Books of the East," 51 volumes, all but three appeared under his expert supervision. Here the most ardent impulses of his activity are seen. India was always the centre of his thoughts. Once Swami Vivekananda confessed:

"And what love he (Max Muller) bears towards India! I wish I had a hundred part of that love for my own motherland!"

When on October 28th, 1900, Max Muller died, the world lost an extraordinary and intensely active scholar who worked for harmony between Occident and Orient. The depth and range of his vision will impress not only our generation, but all others to come. All his work deals with the panorama of human development. In his *Last Essays* he said:

"If history is to teach us anything, it must teach us that there is a continuity which binds together the present and the past, the East and the West."

Here Max Muller is prophet and admonisher at the same time, and our generation bears the responsibility of his heritage.—*Bulletin* of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi.

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Bhakra-Nangal Project

K. K. Duggal writes in the *American Reporter*, August 23, 1957:

Bhakra (Punjab).—Meekly obeying the push-button, a big silvery crane swings a huge bucket of concrete. The bucket drifts down the heights and empties itself on a rising, sloping wall. Every other minute, day and night, a similar bucket containing eight tons of concrete is lowered to a narrow gorge between high hills. In this gorge is rising a great wall which will dam the swirling Sutlej and harness its waters to generate more power—which will mean more food and more prosperity for millions.

This wall of stone, sand and steel, already 250 feet high, is the gigantic Bhakra Dam, to be the highest straight gravity dam in the world when it reaches its full height of 740 feet. (Hoover Dam in Nevada, U.S.A., now the highest, is 720 feet high). Here on the Rs. 170 crore Bhakra-Nangal project are working a hand-picked team of 30 U.S. technicians headed by M. Harvey Slocum, 300 Indian engineers and 7,000 workers—all toiling to complete by March, 1960 India's biggest river valley project.

"Our target date stands," said General Manager S. D. Khungar. "We are keeping up with our schedules and are confident of accomplishing the job on time."

Mr. Khungar attributes the tempo of progress to three factors—Mr. Slocum, the zeal of Indian engineers and sound planning. Mr. Slocum, whom Mr. Khungar termed "a whole army in himself," is the most important factor. "But for him we could not have stuck to our schedules," Mr. Khungar said, adding: "By and large, the whole American team is useful. From them our engineers have fully profited. Dam construction was new to us and without American guidance we could not have gone so far in so short a time."

STUPENDOUS WORK

I had a glimpse of the stupendous work going on at Bhakra when I spent a day at the worksite recently, driving over roads and pathways carved out of the mountains. At one end of the project a 4-1/2-mile-long belt conveyor hauls tons of stone and sand from the nearby Fatehwal quarry to the screening plant. Here the stones are graded and washed and pushed on to the cooling plant where they are chilled to a temperature of 38 degrees F. Cement is pumped up from the silos to the batching and mixing plant to be made into concrete. Push-

button devices automatically weigh and mix the ingredients. This plant (the first in Asia) is modelled on those used at Shasta Dam in California and Grand Coulee in the State of Washington. Huge buckets of concrete are carried in rail-cars to the cranes to be lowered to the dam.

Machines do the work. This mechanization, a hallmark of the American method, is fascinating and the spectator wonders how man has made machines which will blast rocks and excavate formidable terrain.

Bhakra-Nangal's potential for prosperity was pinpointed by Mr. Khungar when he predicted that three States—Punjab, Rajasthan and Delhi—will get a thorough face-lifting. "An additional 6.5 million acres will get water, bringing the total irrigated area benefiting from this project to 10 million acres. This will yield 850,000 more tons of food than is produced now, 590,000 more bales of cotton, 150,000 more tons of sugarcane and 36,000 more tons of pulses and oil-seeds. No other river valley project anywhere is the world has that food potential," Mr. Khungar said.

"The firm power available from Bhakra-Nangal will be 365,000 kw. This will give rise to many major industries in towns and new cottage industries in villages. Nangal Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd., a State venture already under way, alone will consume 160,000 kw. Tubewells in Punjab are already run on Nangal power released from two power houses at Ganguwal and Kotla (total capacity: 96,000 kw.)." he added.

Public Relations Officer, Nirmal Singh, summed up: "The extra food from Bhakra will be enough to provide one full meal daily to every Indian mouth. The power generated will be sufficient to put one bulb in every Indian home. In ten years Bhakra will pay for itself. Imagine the prosperity resulting from food alone."

NEW PROSPERITY

A glimpse of the new prosperity is reflected in the 148-mile-long Nangal-Bhakra canal (longest lined canal in the world), which feeds the two power houses at Ganguwal and Kotla. The seemingly unending grid of wires that runs

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above the rolling farmlands of Punjab carries the power generated by these two units. The new fields of wheat and cotton fed by the canal seem to prove that Nirbhai Singh knows what he is saying.

The Bhakra-Nangal project began as an idea in the brain of Sir Louis Dane, Lt.-Governor of Punjab, in 1908, when he strayed into this wilderness on a tiger hunt. But it remained a mere idea until Sir Chhotu Ram, Punjab Minister, took it up in earnest in the early 40's.

Such top U.S. dam engineers as Dr. John L. Savage, A. J. Wiley and F. A. Nickell were associated with the project before the Slocum team came here. Dr. Savage prepared the design, which resembles an army ammunition boat and is patterned on Grand Coulee Dam, also designed by Dr. Savage. A board of consultants comprising distinguished U.S. engineers still advises on the complex problems which arise.

The actual work started in 1948 with the excavation of two tunnels to divert the Sutlej waters. The original river bed had to be dried to dig the dam foundations. (The diversion tunnels, each half a mile long and 50 feet in diameter, are the biggest in the world). Simultaneously the rocks flanking the Bhakra gorge were injected with big doses of cement to make them impregnable against water pressures. The first concrete achievement was the 95-foot-high Nangal Barrage, completed in 1950, which gave birth to the hydel canal and provided the first irrigation facilities to the arid lands of Punjab.

Beyond the dam lies the vista of the 64-square-mile reservoir, to be called Gobind Sagar, where picnic parties will come to boat and fish. Along the top of the dam will run a 1,700-foot long, 30-foot-wide road where tourists will park their cars and have a panoramic view of this amazing feat of engineering. (Already 500 people a day visit the dam). And many a tourist, gazing down from the height, will recall Prime Minister Nehru's words:

"Bhakra-Nangal project is something tremen-

dous, something stupendous and something which shakes you up when you see it. Bhakra today is the symbol of India's progress. The gigantic work they have undertaken at Bhakra symbolizes the people's faith and determination to march ahead."

Japan's Excellent Radio and T.V. Technique

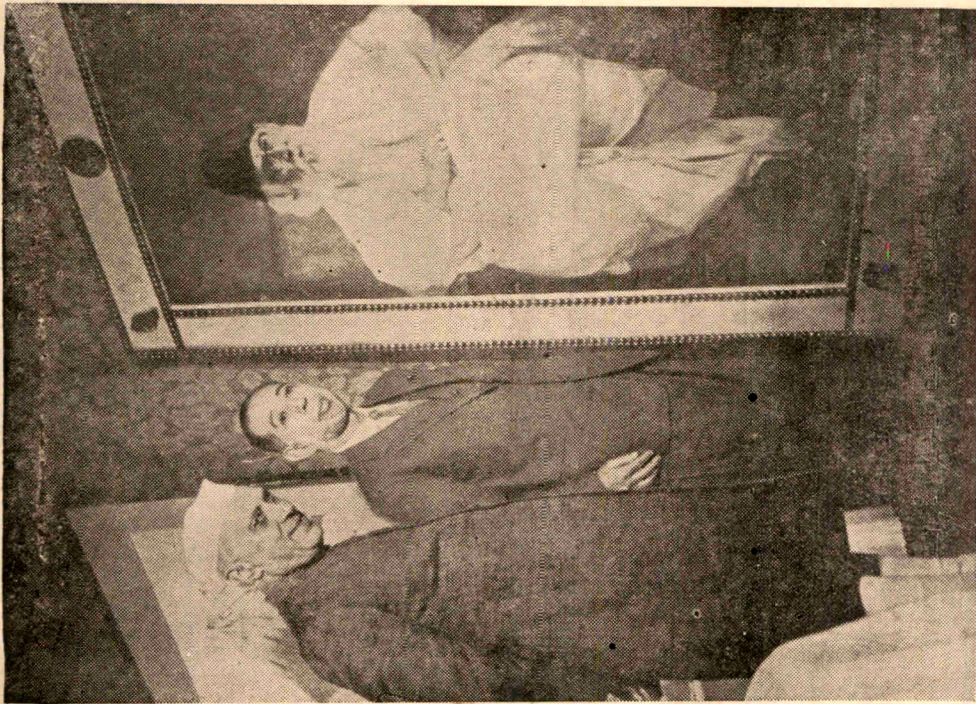
JAPAN has 14,070,311 radio and 461,475 T.V. receiving sets as of May 10, 1957. It is not too much to say that this remarkable progress of radio and T.V. activities in Japan owes its present development and the large number of excellent sets to the untiring efforts of the Technical Research Laboratory of NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation).

The Laboratory celebrates its 27th anniversary of establishment today, June 1, 1957. In order to celebrate the anniversary and for the purpose of acquainting the general public with the ever-developing technique of radio and T.V., the Laboratory was thrown open to public inspection on May 25-26. More than 20,000 people who visited the institution were pleasantly amazed to see the wonderful achievement of the Laboratory, which included, among others, trial telecast of color television, FM broadcast receiving sets, demonstration of transistorized walkie-talkie, and the process of making electronic music, etc.

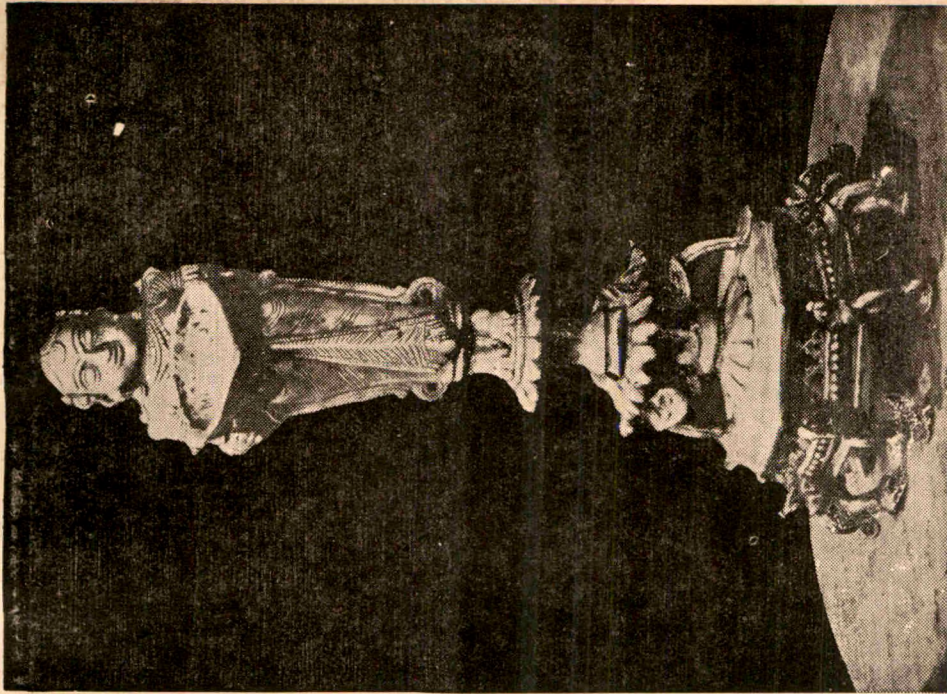
The Laboratory boasts itself as being the only of its kind in the Far East which handles radio and T.V. in the same institution and one of the first class such laboratories throughout the world.

In passing, the first conference of Asian Region Broadcasting Stations will be held in Tokyo between July 1 and July 8 under the sponsorship of NHK. Invitations have already been sent to 22 countries in Asia and Africa and its outcomes watched with keen interest by all the parties concerned.—*Information Bulletin*, Embassy of Japan, New Delhi, June 15, 1957.





A life-size portrait of Poet Rabindranath Tagore was presented by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, in Tokyo recently



Deep-Lakshmi (brass) in the Winchester Museum at Surat



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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER



1957



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WHOLE No. 611

NOTES

Plans and the Common Citizen

The Second Five-Year Plan is hanging in the balance. There are shortages everywhere, and the financial prospects are the reverse of promising. Crop failures, labour troubles, increase of inefficiency in all departments have all tended to make the prospects bleak. Added to these there is the sharp rise in the cost of living of the common citizen and the total inadequacy of the supply of both essential and secondary consumer goods, other than food products.

It is all very well for the Finance Minister to shout from the house-tops that the Plans will go through, happen what may, and for inefficient and corrupt officials and subservient legislators to try to confuse the public by figure juggling, but the fact remains that the existence of the common citizen has been rendered precarious in the extreme, due to the ignorance, inefficiency and total irresponsibility of the Ministers-in-Charge.

Take for example the question of black-markets. Today it is a synonym for the open market. If you want anything at the so-called control price, you are told that it is "not in stock." If you are willing to pay extortionate prices, you can get any amount. Smaller industries and private production concerns, particularly those who need intermediate products or semi-finished materials, are all facing a major crisis due to the widespread prevalence of black-markets over the entire range. Our complacent Ministers at the Centre are dreaming rosy dreams in their ivory towers.

In October, our newspapers published a communique, that Shri Morarji Desai was very pleased to see that his admonition to the stock-

ists of imported goods regarding increase in prices after import restrictions had been imposed, had good results and that prices of imported commodities had not increased to any perceptible extent. We had expected that the said newspapers would point out the truth in their editorials, but to our surprise almost all remained silent, which is a remarkable exposition of the low level to which they have sunk.

In reality there is hardly any imported article, including even newspapers, etc., that are sold in bookstalls, medicines and drugs that are vital necessities to the sick, and articles of everyday use in trade and industry like photographic plates and films, etc., have risen to a ruinous extent. If Shri Morarji Desai still believes that his admonition has had the slightest effect, then his native acumen and capacity to probe into the factual basis of statements, for which he had a high reputation, must have degenerated to the calamitous degree.

Our Panditji is more concerned about the future of the world, than with the present suffering of his suffering fellow citizens. Does he know that people today have started saying, "Could it be worse if Jawaharlalji went away?" His integrity, his high-mindedness and his rigid personal adherence to principles are still held to be above any challenge, but they have begun to doubt about the reciprocation on his part to the love and staunch adherence that he has received from them.

The cardinal principle that should govern all Plans, is that the burden imposed upon the common citizen should not exceed his capacity for endurance, as else his existence will be jeopardised. This principle is being observed in the breach today in this sham Welfare State.

Mission in Quest of Money

India today is frantically searching for foreign exchange to finance her Second Five-Year Plan. The recent mission of the Finance Minister of India has not been so successful as was expected to be, though there is no occasion for surprise in the lack of any spectacular outcome of his tour. In the post-war world there is paucity of private finance capital for movement to foreign countries. Britain, the traditional source for industrial finance in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, is short of industrial finance for investment in overseas countries. She herself has been borrowing from the USA, Canada and the IMF to meet her requirements. During the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference during the last summer, the Prime Minister of India tried this source but was informed of Britain's inability to help India with funds. This much now is certain that without foreign exchange, India's Second Five-Year Plan has to be pruned. The mission of India's Finance Minister is not expected to bear fruit in the very near future and that is his own statement. Nothing tangible is expected immediately. The only two countries which are now in a position to help India with necessary development finance are the USA and West Germany. While appreciating India's efforts in economic reconstruction, the American attitude is rather reserved. For the reconstruction of the post-war West Germany, the USA spent nearly 2 billion dollars under the Marshall aid programme. But in case of India, American aid is much too meagre as measured against our needs.

Economic development on a gigantic scale, as has been planned by India cannot be financed in any case by the ordinary resources of a country. That requires in almost every case extraordinary efforts and wide utilisation of all resources. India is a backward country with low per capita income and with low national savings. For her economic planning on the present scale is undoubtedly an ambitious effort, for the fulfilment of which external assistance is essential. Planned economy for India is not a luxury, but an essential for her existence. In order to eradicate the growing poverty of the vast numbers of people of this sub-continent, economic development at a rapid pace is all the more necessary in order to wipe out the arrears

left by the British, in the field of industrial development of the country. India cannot leave the economic reconstruction of the country to the ordinary process of private enterprise and the State has to step forward for the economic reconstruction in view of the inadequate private resources and enterprise in the fields deemed to be vital to the growth of a healthy national economy. But in some foreign countries there has been certain misunderstandings about the socialistic system of economy in this country. The Anglo-American block is definitely against anything socialistic or communistic and India's economic policy, being directed towards socialism, is not viewed with favour by them. Further, the foreign policy of India is not supported by this block, as these countries apprehend that India is more with Soviet Russia and China than with the USA and Britain.

The amount of assistance, that has trickled to India is in reality a half-hearted measure of insurance against India turning altogether red in desperation. The Finance Minister should have understood this position before his tour of the USA. The big democratic Powers today fail to realise that any large-scale pruning of the Plan, or total failure, would mean disaster to the economic structure of India. The New Delhi Correspondent of the *New York Times* observes in a despatch that if India does not get the necessary assistance from the USA and other countries, "almost inevitably it means that there will be less willingness to pay the price of democratic process, more pressure to let them slide, more fear of Communist China and more aping of it, more votes for the Communist party of India." The said Correspondent concludes that while India is holding its breath, if India "collapses other countries will be holding theirs."

India's foreign trade in post-independence era has not been such as to either assure or allure private foreign capital. India is a deficit country in foreign trade ever since the attainment of independence and in the current year the deficit is anticipated to be not less than Rs. 275 crores. Moreover, the other day V. K. Krishna Menon almost frightened the capitalistic circles by declaring that India is the highest taxed country in the world. The flow of private foreign capital to this country is possible only when there is expectation of higher margin of

profits. Unless India holds out the prospect of higher profits, there is little chance of foreign capital flowing into this country. Another impediment to the inflow of private foreign capital is the insistence on the part of India for Indianization of the staff. Of course, from the viewpoint of India, the Government of India's insistence on Indianization of the staff is desirable and understandable too. But from the viewpoint of the other side, that is, foreign enterprises in this country, this demand does not always seem to be justified. Foreign capital will naturally place more confidence in executives of the same origin and in the administrative set-up the key positions will be given to the foreigners naturally. When India is a supplicant for foreign capital and enterprise, she cannot just dictate terms that seem to be disadvantageous to foreign enterprise. India has certainly the liberty to dictate terms, but in that event foreign capital has also the liberty to exercise its choice as to whether to come to this country.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The results of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for the year ended 30th June, 1957, reveal a steady progress in the working of the Corporation in the field of providing industrial finance to the various industries in the country. The total amount of loans and advances which stood at Rs. 14.24 crores last year has also shown a marked increase; it now stands at Rs. 21.90 crores. The Chairman in his annual speech points out that there has been a fall in the total volume of loan applications received from Rs. 27.70 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 21.36 crores this year. There has been a corresponding fall in the amount of loans sanctioned, which came down from Rs. 15.13 crores for 1955-56 to Rs. 11.91 crores in the current year. The Industrial Finance Corporation has now set several Advisory Committees in order to help it in sanctioning and disbursing loans. These committees include a large number of technical experts in each and also provide for proper regional representation. This year a fifth advisory committee for miscellaneous industries like Electricals, Paper, Cement, Glass, Aluminium, Non-ferrous metals, etc., has been set up.

This year the Corporation followed a new

step in nominating non-officials to the Boards of Directors of a limited number of companies to whom loans have been granted. Hitherto, the practice was confined to the nomination of officials of the Corporation. As regards the general pattern of industrial units which have received loans during the year under review, sugar came first with a total of Rs. 4.63 crores. Chemicals and textiles followed with Rs. 2.51 crores and Rs. 1.85 crores respectively. This same pattern prevailed in the preceding year also. Co-operative societies continued in an increasing measure to seek assistance from the Corporation. The total amount that has been sanctioned to co-operative industrial societies now comes to Rs. 10.73 crores as against the corresponding figure of Rs. 6.89 crores at the end of the last year. The number of the recipient co-operative societies comes to 22 and they are all engaged in the manufacture of sugar and they are distributed over six States.

The Industrial Finance Corporation was set up with the expectation that the need for providing long-term industrial finance to industries in the private sector would be met by this Corporation. But the hope has soon been belied and the performance of the Corporation is none too enterprising nor is there anything in this connection to cause rejoicing. During the ten years of its existence the Corporation has so far advanced loans for a total sum of Rs. 55 crores. In India, the industrial finance required today in the private sector, will not be less than Rs. 200 crores a year and in that background the achievement of the Corporation is much below the expectation. The main reason for this poor performance is the limited resources of the Corporation. The paid-up capital of Rs. 5 crores is certainly much too inadequate. Formerly the Corporation was allowed to borrow sums not exceeding 5 times its paid-up capital and reserve fund. Now by a recent amendment the Corporation has been empowered to borrow sums aggregating ten times its paid-up capital and reserve fund. This measure will augment to a certain extent the resources of the Corporation. Still, the resources of the Corporation are much too inadequate in the face of growing demand for loans.

This point has been well-emphasised by the Chairman in his annual speech this year.

In order to enable the Corporation to fulfil the important role that has been assigned to it under the Second Five-Year Plan, its resources must be augmented. A large number of loan applications are lying with the Corporation without any action having been taken on them. The Chairman points out that the paucity of funds holds back the decision of the Corporation in granting loans. The Corporation, particularly, the volume of its share capital, was conceived at a time when there was no idea regarding the Plans nor was the magnitude of the resources required for the implementation of the Plans conceived at that time. Now it is quite evident that the Corporation is seriously handicapped.

A new field of activity which the Corporation has taken up in the current year is the guaranteeing of deferred payments by the importers of capital goods who are able to obtain this concession from foreign exporters. This step is the outcome of the acute shortage of foreign exchange resources of the country. The Government has imposed severe restrictions on the import of all goods including capital goods. The importers of machinery are now obliged to secure terms of deferred payments before import licences are granted to them by the Government of India. Some of the foreign manufacturers have demanded that the arrangements for deferred payments must be guaranteed by the Industrial Finance Corporation of India. Accordingly, the Industrial Finance Corporation Act has been amended empowering the Corporation to guarantee such arrangements of deferred payments.

The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation from its inception to the end of June, 1957, amounts to Rs. 55.11 crores. Of this amount, less than 50 per cent (that is, Rs. 26.51 crores) have been disbursed. So far 177 industrial enterprises have been granted loans, among them there are 151 new undertakings. The new companies have received loans for Rs. 33.80 crores and the remaining amount of Rs. 21.31 crores has been granted to 108 old industrial enterprises. Forty-nine companies have been granted loans for Rs. 10 lakhs and under; each of another 43 companies has received loans between Rs. 10 lakhs and Rs. 20 lakhs. Only six companies have been sanctioned loans of more than Rs. 1 crore. These

six companies have received in the aggregate a sum of Rs. 9.71 crores. The sale transaction of the Sodepur Glass Works, Ltd., was completed on May 3 of this year. It has been sold to Indo-Ashi Glass Company, Ltd., an Indo-Japanese concern. The factory has started work with effect from the last week of June, 1957.

A classification of loans sanctioned according to the types of industries indicates that food, textiles and basic chemicals together account for the bulk of the total amount of loans. Up to the end of June, 1957, the food industries have received loans for Rs. 16.31 crores; Textiles Rs. 8.44 crores; Basic industrial chemicals including fertilisers Rs. 7.51 crores; Paper and paper products Rs. 4.21 crores; Cement Rs. 3.77 crores; and Metal products (except machinery and transport equipment) Rs. 1.93 crores. In order to expedite the sanctioning of loans the Corporation has appointed more law officers at different branches to scrutinise the title of the property to be mortgaged to the Corporation and also to draft the loan documents. The Corporation has also granted liberal grant of interim loans against requisite assets ending finalisation of documents.

A State-wise analysis of the loans granted by the Corporation reveals that Bombay heads the list with Rs. 17.85 crores. Fifty-seven industrial units in the State of Bombay have been sanctioned this amount. West Bengal follows next with Rs. 5.98 crores for 26 industrial units in the State. Madras comes next with Rs. 5.58 crores. Industrial units in Bihar have received loans for Rs. 4.77 crores and in Kerala the amount sanctioned stands at Rs. 4.27 crores. The lowest amount sanctioned to any State is Rs. 3.50 lakh and that has gone to Madhya Pradesh. With effect from 23rd April, 1957, the lending rate of the Corporation has been raised from 6½ per cent to 7 per cent with the usual rebate of ½ per cent for payment of interest and instalment of principal on due dates. The rate of interest charged by the Reserve Bank on its lendings to the Corporation has been raised from 3½ per cent to 4 per cent following the rise in Bank rate from 16th April, 1957. The total assets of the Corporation stood on 30th June, 1957, at Rs. 23.86 crores. The total borrowing by the Corporation from the Reserve Bank during the current year under

Section 21(3)(b) amounted to Rs. 6.35 crores. Now the Corporation may be empowered to negotiate loans for private industrial enterprises in this country from the International Finance Corporation.

What Use Second Chambers?

There was much controversy during the passage of the Bill in the Indian Parliament with respect to the establishment of a second chamber in the State of Andhra. In view of the Government policy to curtail non-essential expenditure in the country it is quite pertinent to ask as to why the second chambers in the States are being maintained and also being newly created. What is the role of the second chambers in the matter of legislation in a democracy? In this respect India has blindly followed the British pattern without realising the futility of the second chamber in modern practice. In theory, the utility of the second chamber is that it prevents hasty legislation by the Lower House, as it consists of the elders of the Nation, who are in a position to examine in a dispassionate mood the pros and cons of a Bill passed by the lower chamber. The other arguments in favour of the second chamber are that it secures representation to the various minority groups in the State and further that it prevents legislative tyranny which would have been otherwise possible in the absence of a second chamber.

But the above arguments do not seem to be valid in modern democracies, particularly where there prevails a parliamentary government or a responsible cabinet form of government. So far as the first argument, stated above, is concerned, it may be stated *per contra* that the second chamber often turns out to be a conservative and reactionary organ halting the process of progress initiated by the lower chamber. The lower chamber consists of the representatives of the Nation, chosen direct by the people. But the election to the second chamber is, in the main, by an indirect method and as such the chosen members cannot be held to be the representatives of the Nation in the real sense of the term. This is the main reason why in modern times, in parliamentary forms of government, powers have shifted from the second chamber to the lower chamber. The existence of the British House of Lords is a historical sequence which cannot have any parallel in India.

In the States in India, the second chamber has practically no power and this is evident from the legislative powers assigned to it. Over Money Bills the second chamber has no power at all. The Money Bill must be originated in the lower chamber by the Ministry and is required to be passed by that chamber alone. The upper chamber has no right to vote on the Money Bill and it has even no suspensory veto over the Bill. Within a fortnight of the passing of the Money Bill by the lower chamber, it will become an Act of the State Legislature as a matter of course. The upper chamber has no power to detain the Bill for more than a fortnight and their recommendations on the Money Bill may or may not be accepted by the lower chamber. Therefore over the Purse of the State, the upper chamber has practically no voice. The Indian Constitution follows in this respect the principle of "no taxation without representation," that is, those who do not directly represent the people cannot have any right of imposing taxation.

As regards the general bills, the upper chamber has only a suspensory veto. The lower chamber in a State in India can get its will carried through even against the decision of the upper chamber in respect of general bills, that is, bills other than money bills. After a general bill is passed by the lower chamber it is sent to the upper chamber for its consideration and acceptance. If the second chamber does not return the bill within three months, or if it makes such amendments which are not acceptable to the lower chamber, then the lower chamber can get the bill passed again by itself and then it will be sent again to the second chamber for the latter's acceptance. If the upper chamber for the second time does not pass the bill, or does not return the bill within one month of its receipt or makes such amendments which are not acceptable to the lower chamber, then the bill will become an Act of the State Legislature on receipt of the Governor's assent. Thus, in case of general bills, the upper chamber in a State has only a suspensory veto for four months in the aggregate. But it cannot withstand against the persistent desire of the lower chamber. In all matters of law-making the lower chamber thus has been given the overriding powers whether in case of money bills or general bills. Unlike the Central Legislature there is no provision of a joint sitting of both the

chambers in case of deadlock continuing over a bill. Therefore, the upper chamber in a State can easily be by-passed by the lower chamber in getting a bill passed through, if the latter so desires.

In modern practice the argument in favour of the upper chamber as a check against hasty legislation by the lower body cannot stand. The ultimate responsibility in the sphere of administration as well as legislation belongs to the people's representatives who act as the ultimate judge in all important matters affecting the destiny of the Nation. In theory also real powers now belong to the people and the ministerial responsibility now-a-days has shifted from the legislature to the people who are the political sovereign of the country. In view of that the Ministry can go and take the mandate, as is the practice in Britain, from the people. There cannot be a better and greater authority than the verdict of the people and the modern practice in a parliamentary democracy, whereby appeal is made from the legal sovereign to the political sovereign by the dissolution of the lower chamber, clearly indicates that the upper chamber does no longer provide any real check on any hasty legislation made by the lower chamber, if and when it is at all hasty. The British Parliamentary Act of 1911 and the Steel Nationalization Bill of 1949 were adopted on the mandate of the people obtained by general election and in both these two instances the bills were passed against the will of the upper chamber, particularly in the case of the former legislation. As regards the other argument that the upper chamber secures representation to the minorities, this is no longer valid in modern times. In a secular State like India religious minorities are not admitted and for them there is no arrangement for separate representation. The only minorities today in India, for the purposes of general election, are the tribal and backward communities. Their representation is secured by reservation of seats in general constituencies.

The composition of the upper chamber in a State shows that there is no provision for minority representation in the upper chamber simply because no minority has been recognised to be so on a permanent basis in the Constitution of India. The method of election provides that

one-third of the members of the State Legislative Councils will be elected by local bodies, another one-third by the elected members of the State Legislative Assemblies, one-twelfth by graduates of three years' standing, and another one-twelfth by teachers of three years' standing and the rest will be nominated by the Governor of the State. Therefore, from the viewpoint of minority representation, there is no need for the upper chamber in the Indian States excepting for the few that are nominated by the Governor. The last argument that it prevents legislative tyranny is totally insignificant in modern times in view of the fact that the mandate of the people being regarded as the ultimate authority in matters of national importance, there cannot arise any question of legislative tyranny by one chamber alone. As shown above, even under the present circumstances as laid down in the Constitution, if the lower chamber insists, its will will be carried out in all matters of legislation against the opposition of the upper chamber. The upper chamber has thus no real effective power in controlling the will of the lower chamber. Therefore, the upper chamber is redundant being bereft of all power.

The upper chamber is just a forum for free discussion which is restricted outside the precincts of the legislature. *(The only useful purpose which is being served by the upper chamber at present is to provide employment to the supporters and admirers of the different political parties by electing them to the upper chamber. Ministers defeated at the general election have also been brought in as members of the State legislature through the backdoor by electing them to the second chamber. As matters stand, therefore, the upper chamber merely constitutes a drain on national exchequer.)*

The Question of a National Language

The Hindi Commission recommendations evoked a spate of criticism from almost all the non-Hindi areas. Eminent Indians whose patriotism and integrity were beyond all question, such as, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Rajagopalachari, Dr. K. M. Munshi, Dr. Mudaliar—sharply condemned the over-enthusiasm of the supporters of Hindi. In his speech before the 4th All-India PEN Conference Pandit Nehru frankly said in so many words

that Hindi would have to wait for many years more to qualify for the status of an all-India language. Besides, both the major opposition parties—the Communist and the Praja Socialist—opposed the immediate introduction of Hindi. Many of the Southern State Governments, run by the members of the Congress Party, openly objected to the Hindi Commission proposals.

Still others pointed out that Hindi, which was spoken by only a minority of the Indians could by no means be regarded as a national language in so far as a national language connoted much more than an official language. While they could visualise the use of Hindi as an official language at some future date they were not ready to concede to Hindi the status of a national language. They held that all the fourteen languages listed in the Constitution should be given the status of national languages.

The consensus of opinion excluding a handful of over-enthusiastic supporters of Hindi was that while non-Hindi-speaking people would be encouraged to learn Hindi, the Hindi-speaking people should also be made to learn a second Indian language, in order to balance their chances, in service and in professions like legal practice, with the non-Hindi-speaking peoples. This last proviso would also satisfy those who regard this Hindi movement with suspicion, as a political dodge to gain undue advantage.

Nepotism and Efficiency

Law's delays in India are almost proverbial. No one knows when his or her case would be disposed of. It is not at all difficult to cite cases which have been pending before the courts for years together, nay for decades even. Such undue prolongation of the period of suits before the courts is one of the grave defects of judicial administration in India. In an interim report to the Government of India the Law Commission is understood to have commented upon the appointment of judges on considerations other than merit as one of the principal causes of accumulating arrears in courts and the consequential delay in the decision of cases.

The Commission's interim report has only confirmed what the public had long believed to be a fact. But that in no way detracts from the great importance of the Commission's remarks.

The interim report of the Commission, which is composed of eminent Indians, clearly demonstrates how nepotism and corruption are corroding the vitals of our country. The judges at the High Court level, the Commission finds, were being appointed, not on consideration of political expediency or regional or communal sentiment. Canvassing, which was considered a grave disqualification and was almost unknown in the past, was now prevalent and was even encouraged by "some persons on whom rests the responsibility for these appointments." Sometimes there was undue delay in filling up vacancies because of the "play of rival and conflicting influences" in the matter of selection of judges.

Administrative Delays

Last month we referred to the exasperating situation in the Postal Department where there was no guarantee of timely action on any matter. Since writing that we are happy to find that the Union Minister of Transport and Communications has admitted the existence of these lapses and has indicated his determination to eradicate the irregularities. In a speech lasting more than two hours before a conference of regional heads of the Posts and Telegraphs Department in New Delhi at the close of October, Mr. Shastri is reported to have frankly told his officials that there was a great deal of truth in increasing public complaints about postal delays at practically every level. The *Statesman's* special representative at New Delhi adds: "So evidently concerned was the Transport Minister over the falling standards of postal efficiency that he insisted that restoration of efficiency in communication services must have priority over any other problem of the department." According to the correspondent "the Union Transport and Communications Minister expressed his determination to remedy the situation and gave enough indication of his intention to effect basic changes in the administrative set up of the department."

Writers' Responsibility

In their addresses before the 4th session of the All-India P.E.N. Conference at Baroda, both Shri Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan stressed the key role of the writers in spreading the message of international friendship and

goodwill among nations. Dr. Radhakrishnan referred to the devaluation of a number of words, such as, "freedom," "justice," "aggression," "peace" and "truth" through their indiscriminate and uncontrolled use. It was necessary in the interest of progress that words were used with greater care, he said.

Shri Nehru touched the State's responsibility towards the writers and their writings. In his view the State should help the writers without in any way trying to force ideas upon them. How it could be done he did not explain. He also referred to the problem of indiscipline among writers which grew of their freedom.

In India, more than anywhere else, writers flood in need of State help—direct and indirect. State participation would, therefore, be quite desirable provided it did not cripple the writers' freedom. That was by no means easy of achievement as experience in other countries seemed to suggest. Once the State stepped in it would try to control quality, to weed out "indiscipline" among the writers and the line between regimentation and quality control was a very thin one to be imperceptibly crossed. The functioning of such organisations as the All-India Radio was a pointer in this direction.

Yet it must at the same time be recognised that it was essential in the interest of progress and knowledge for the State to provide greater help to the writers in India. In the USA such a function was being performed by private foundations who provided numerous scholarships to scholars and writers to undertake special studies to their liking. But the foundations seldom, if ever, wanted to mould the opinion of the scholar. In India, the number of such foundations was extremely small. So that whatever help was to be made would have to be shouldered by the State as in China and the Soviet Union. If the State in India in its endeavour to help promote independent research and writing adopt some such principle as was being followed by private foundations in the USA, then, perhaps, some of the evils associated with State-aid could be avoided in this country.

Pakistan Political Changes

There was a big shake-up in Pakistan politics on October 11 when Prime Minister Suhrawardy was forced to resign by President

Iskander Mirza, following the withdrawal of support to the Suhrawardy Ministry by the Republican Party. The Republican Party's decision to withdraw from the Government was taken after Mr. Suhrawardy had refused to recommend the break-up of one unit in West Pakistan. While the Republican Party wanted to break up the one-unit in West Pakistan, the Muslim League wanted to retain it. This raised a controversy in which Mr. Suhrawardy apparently sided with the League, possibly in the hope that he could thereby retain the support of President Mirza. As matters turned out, Mr. Suhrawardy's calculations went wrong and President Mirza lost no time in demanding the former's resignation as the Prime Minister lost his majority in the National Assembly.

After weeklong discussions and political manipulations in Karachi Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar of the Muslim League was finally installed as the sixth Prime Minister of Pakistan on October 18. The new government represented a coalition of three political parties—the Republican Party, the Muslim League and the Krishak-Sramik Party. The composition of the Chundrigar Cabinet was as follows: Six Republicans, four, including the Prime Minister, of the Muslim League and three belonging to the Krishak-Sramik Party. The distribution of portfolios was as follows:

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Prime Minister, will look after Economic Affairs, Labour and Works; Mr. Firoz Khan Noon will hold Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Syed Amjad Ali, Finance.

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana gets Defence; Mr. Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Industries; Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Commerce and Law; Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Interior; Mian Jaffar Shah, States and Frontier Regions and Information and Broadcasting; Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Kashmir and Parliamentary Affairs; Mr. Lutfur Rahman Khan, Education; Mr. Abdul Latif Biswas, Food and Agriculture; Mr. Abdul Aleem, Rehabilitation and Misbahauddin Hussain, Communications.

In addition there were two Ministers of State—Mr. A. K. Das and Haji Maula Bux Soomro.

The fall of the Awami League-Republican coalition in the Centre and the formation of the

League-Republican Coalition Government to which the Awami League found itself in opposition naturally gave rise to questions about the future of the Awami League Coalition Government in East Pakistan. Questioned by correspondents Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Awami League Chief Minister of East Pakistan, admitted the difficulty inherent in a position which envisaged being the Chief Minister in the Province and in the Opposition in the Centre, but added: "It is not, of course, that we shall always oppose the Central Government. As far as the East Pakistan administration is concerned there can be no contradictory policy with the Centre. Some kind of working arrangement with the Centre in regard to the conduct of the Provincial administration will have to be devised."

Commenting upon the behind-the-scenes negotiations for a new government in Pakistan, the *Vigil* wrote in an editorial article on the eve of the formation of the Chundrigar Cabinet:

"Who fills the vacancy in Pakistan's Premiership and supplies the 1957 model is a matter mostly of passing interest. The rottenness of Ministry-making politics is only too obvious; so also is the helplessness of most of the Pakistani people. This general sense of helplessness growing over years is not at all relieved by the hectic activity of a handful of party-politicians in Karachi, and Dacca and Lahore. It is not even correct to describe as party-politicians the men busy at making or marring Ministries in Pakistan. The "personality cult" is as old as political careerism and nowhere has it made itself so disastrously effective as in Pakistan in recent years. A Muslim League leader cynically referred to Pakistan's search for a Prime Minister of 1957 model. The sarcastic edge of the remark is enjoyable, but it misses the main point which is that a model does at least need making a conscious choice and fashioning a device suited to serve some useful purpose. Since the time Khwaja Nazimuddin was jockeyed out and Shri Mohammed Ali of Bogra suddenly appeared from the wings the only model Pakistan's political profiteers have scrupulously (!) held before them is one of endless muddle. 'It will lumber along,' one of Queen Victoria's Prime Ministers used to say whenever his Government seemed to be crumbling. In Pakistan, the administration, largely controlled by

a permanent bureaucracy, has lumbered along, while Ministries and Governments and Parties have come and gone, leaving scarcely even a single achievement of theirs on record.

"The 1957 model of Pakistan's Ministerial show might be slightly different in appearance from the previous shows. But the elements are the same and it is not the so-called parties but the personalities coming out on top for the time being that will add flavour to the 'mixture as before.' The basic weakness is the chaotic character of the political parties in Pakistan. Some foreign commentators have sought to draw a parallel between French politics and Pakistani politics. The similarity, however, is very superficial. There may be too many political parties in the French Parliament and, of course, also party discipline there, except in the case of Communists, is notoriously slack. But the French model is at least founded on a measure of repeated popular electoral support. And though ministerial instability is chronic in France, the parties there have reached a condition of immobility. This means that the elective representatives in the French Parliament are broadly and sharply divided into immobilised blocs of Right, Centre and Left. This immobility no doubt makes it very difficult to form stable Governments. But some consistency there in the behaviour of the representative political parties keeps up a decent show of democracy. In Pakistan, on the contrary, all the parties are at sixes and sevens. As a result cynicism is rampant: and apathy forces a tragic mask on popular discontents."

Chundrigar and Minorities

While the declared policies of the Chundrigar Cabinet did not differ very much from those of its predecessor, in one respect its policy would mean a great departure from that of the Suhrawardy Cabinet. The Chundrigar Government would try to scrap the joint electorate act to re-introduce instead separate electorates for the Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan. That the new Government was serious about the implementation of this measure was proved by the measures already adopted by it. On October 28, the Government announced amendments to the Draft Electoral (Preparation) Rules under which the voters henceforth would be enrolled communitywise. The Draft

Bill to amend the Electoral Act was also ready and would be presented before a specially convened session of the National Assembly on November 29. Neither the joint electorate system nor the separate electorate system gave the Hindus any advantages in Pakistan. To that extent *formally* the Hindus did not stand to gain or lose anything by the measure proposed to be adopted by the Pakistan Government. But *in reality* the consequences of the re-introduction of separate electorate would mean disaster for the Hindus—socially and personally. As experience everywhere showed it was never possible to provide "separate but equal" status. The effort failed in the USA and resulted in gross discrimination against the Negro minority; in the Union of South Africa, separate electorate served as a potent weapon in the hands of the rulers to keep the non-whites under subjugation. The British tried separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims in India as a means to keep the national movement divided. The "separate but equal" theory almost in all cases arose out of the assumption of an inherent superiority by persons belonging to a particular race or religion. The Muslim Leaguers upheld the idea of separate electorate expressly to corner the Hindus whom they considered unfit for full citizenship in an Islamic Republic. It was only after a long and sustained fight by the Hindus in co-operation with democratically-minded Muslim leaders of Pakistan that the joint electorate bill could be adopted by the Pakistan National Assembly. The scrapping of that Act to make way for the reintroduction of the separate electorate thus could not but be viewed with great concern by the Hindu minorities in East Bengal whose conditions of life there were anything but normal. The Pakistan Government's deliberate policy of forcing the Hindus out of Pakistan has imposed a great burden upon the resources of India who have had to bear the strain for the resettlement of the vast numbers coming to her for safety. The new measures of the Pak Government were obviously intended to exert a greater pressure upon the Hindus to swarm out of Pakistan into India. This calls for some measure of retaliation, as Pakistanis who are in power, refuse to allow any humane or democratic considerations to stand in the way of their fell motives.

Dr. Soekarno on Indonesian Problems

President Achmed Soekarno is one of those Asian leaders whose popularity and respectability extend far beyond the frontiers of their own countries. His message to the Indonesian nation on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of Indonesian independence, while centering upon Indonesian problems, touches some aspects which have their counterparts in other countries also. For that reason President Soekarno's message bears repetition.

President Soekarno said that a revolution was a dual process: it involved victory over the enemy and mastery over one's own self. One of the main reasons for Indonesia's present distress was that while victory had been basically achieved against the external enemy, character-building had lagged far behind. Moreover, newly-won power had corrupted many, so that in the course of a period of twelve years only Indonesia witnessed seventeen cabinet changes. "How many among the Indonesian leaders have truly remained 'popular' as they were formerly?" he asked.

Another factor in the current distress of Indonesia was the people's lack of perspective, the absence of a realization on their part of the unique characteristics of the Indonesian Revolution. This failure to comprehend the spirit of Indonesia led to a lot of confusion in thinking and action. ". . . I think," said Dr. Soekarno, "that the Indonesian nation has carried into effect a wrong political system, especially so in this period of transition. The Indonesian nation and people have been 'misused' by their leaders in the rock-and-roll of unrestrained chatter-box-democracy which does not recognize discipline or guidance."

". . . Our democracy is a 'free-fight' liberalism democracy. Ours is an indiscriminate type of democracy; a democracy adhering to the principle of 'freedom of speech for freedom of speech's sake'; a democracy that is free to criticise, free to deride, free to ridicule; free—free—free without any guidance, without any management towards one aim. . . ."

Such uncontrolled democracy did not benefit the common Indonesian. "Because," to quote the President, "they are all but small men who do not air their feelings. They do not hold speeches at meetings, they do not give inter-

views to newspapers, they do not write allusions or insinuations in papers. They just keep silent and work. Under the present democratic system they have theoretically the same right to say their say as everyone else. In practice, however, they do not want to use the opportunity to wag their tongues." The common man did not want shallow "free-fight liberalism" but economic betterment and material prosperity while the self-seeking politicians were only after personal power. Therefore, it was necessary in the interest of the progress of Indonesia to abandon such "democracy" and to "take the course of a new democracy which is more in keeping with our identity and which provides a better guarantee for the realization of our political and social ambitions," Dr. Soekarno said.

Democracy did not consist solely in secret ballot. It required the fulfilment of certain conditions for its success. According to the President, "The first condition is that democracy must be focussed on the State. The second is that it must go by the interests of the nation. Thus, democracy must serve the State and the Nation, not an individual or a group. The third is that its members must be honest people, people who are actually endowed with political and moral integrity. The fourth is that it must have a great number of people with creative ability, people who are true exponents of ideas, people who collectively contribute their ideas to the Nation and the State, and not merely people who quack all day long like ducks."

Exit Zhukov

Marshal Zhukov has been deposed from his position of leadership in the Soviet Communist Party and Government by his friends who are now banded under Khrushchev's wings. The fact, given out to the world by the Kremlin, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party was considering the future of Zhukov so that he might, to paraphrase Khrushchev, get a position in keeping with his qualifications and experience—as if Zhukov was an applicant for some position for which his qualifications were not conclusive—tended, if anything, only to stress the degree of Zhukov's disgrace.

The dismissal of Zhukov, who was generally regarded as one of the key figures in contemporary Russia, possibly next only to Khrushchev,

the first Secretary, was certainly a surprise to students of international affairs and laymen alike. No one could expect, to be sure, that Zhukov who had played such a key role in the June ouster of the veterans Molotov, Kaganovitch and Malenkov, would have to tread in the footsteps of his victims so soon. Yet as one recalled the continuing struggle for leadership among the Soviet Communist leaders since the early 'twenties, a phenomenon which was kept away from public view by the towering personality and genius of Stalin, one wondered whether this was not the only thing to be expected at the moment. One might not be far wrong to describe the history of the Soviet Communist Party as one of repudiating or killing its earlier leaders by their successors. Stalin managed to besmirch almost all the old Bolshevik revolutionaries and succeeded in getting rid of them by some means or other. On the evidence of no less an authority than the redoubtable Khrushchev, he (Stalin) had always tried to discredit, if not actually to kill, his nearest rival. This Stalinist tradition was well-maintained by his successors-in-office, despite their formal denunciation of Stalin and his methods: Beria was killed without having been given an opportunity to have his position explained; Molotov and Kaganovitch were similarly banished to virtual imprisonment and now Georgi Zhukov, the victor of Berlin and Khrushchev's time-serving "hero", had to follow suit because the world was told, he had been "thwarting the will of the Party" in the armed forces in his capacity as head of the Defence forces of the USSR.

Indeed, if Zhukov, who was Khrushchev's closest rival and who was "dangerously" popular with the Soviet citizens should not be removed then would the Soviet State not lose its very essence of a "proletarian" (personal) dictatorship? The removal of Zhukov thus seems to be in keeping with *Soviet Communist* tradition and bureaucratic practice in general. Up till now Soviet Union has not tolerated two leaders at the same time: even eminence in fields other than political was dangerous for a man, to wit, Gorky and Vairlov. As from the inherent law of bureaucracy it would be well to recall that a bureaucrat nowhere relished an equal by his side but always cherished the idea for a larger number of subordinates. By deciding on the

downgrading of Zhukov, Khrushchev acted true to his training, under Stalin.

Zhukov's dismissal, while initially making for a surprise, would not therefore seem extraordinary to a world which grew accustomed to frequent and violent changes in Soviet leadership. The concern of the outside world was centred on the event's possible repercussion, upon the course of Soviet foreign policy. And here was cause for concern. The world witnessed a toughening of Soviet attitude after the launching of the Sputnik; the dismissal of Zhukov, who in his political orientation was a bit more radical than Khrushchev, might lead to a reversion to Stalinist techniques of conducting foreign policy. One wondered whether Marshal Tito's sudden illness and the announcement of his inability to go to Moscow to be present at the 40th anniversary celebrations had anything to do with these internal Soviet changes.

Sputnik (The Companion)

The Soviet Union demonstrated her great scientific progress by launching the first man-made satellite into outer space on October 4. The satellite, named Sputnik (or Companion) by the Russians, was 23 inches in diameter and weighed about 184 pounds. The satellite was moving on elliptical trajectory at about 18,000 miles per hour and was circling the earth every 96 minutes 2 seconds at an altitude of about 560 miles. The artificial moon was fitted with radio transmitters continuously emitting signals which were heard over all the shortwave wireless receiving sets.

The magnitude of Russia's achievement was given by the fact that she was not only the first country to launch a satellite but also by the fact that the satellite she launched was eight times heavier than the satellite contemplated by the United States—her nearest rival in the field. Dr. Joseph Kaplan, Chairman for the United States program for the International Geophysical Year, called the achievement of getting of 184-pound satellite into the air "fantastic" and added "if they can launch one that heavy, they can put up much heavier ones."

The successful launching of the artificial satellite was an event of tremendous scientific interest. It was a significant step forward in man's venture to conquer space which began

with the first successful flight of an airplane nearly fifty-five years ago. Two main problems stood in man's way to outer space. One was the composition of the atmosphere. Air thinned out at upper levels—starting roughly, at sixty miles from the earth's surface—so that winged flight became difficult. The second problem was provided by the gravitational pull of the earth which, the scientists estimated, could be escaped by a body travelling at a speed of 18,000 m.p.h. or more. The rocket, first developed by the Germans during the Second World War, provided an answer to both these problems: it carried oxygen, needed no wings and was capable of enormous velocity. During the post-war years scientists in the Western countries, notably in the USA and the USSR, were engaged in researches to produce larger rockets designed to rise of hundreds of miles in the upper atmosphere and then arch like an artillery shell to deliver nuclear bombs on targets thousands of miles away. The intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), first fired by the Soviet Union in August last, was a step in the progress in this direction.

How would a satellite work? Referring to U.S. experimentation the *New York Times* reports:

"This is the way the U.S. satellite was to work. It would be launched by a step-rocket. The first-stage rocket would drive the satellite up through the lower atmosphere—perhaps 50 or 60 miles. When its fuel was spent, the first stage's shell with its fuel tanks and machinery, now dead weight, would drop off. At the same time, the second-stage rocket would be fired. The course of the satellite would be turned toward the horizontal. When the second stage's fuel was gone, its shell would in turn drop off, and likewise for the third stage if there were one.

"The satellite would now be flying free. A law of physics states that, once set in motion, a body remains in that state unless some force changes it. Thus a body set on a course horizontal to the earth directly below would fly off into space—were it not for the effect of gravity. This force bends its course, as happens in the case of the Moon. Because of the speed with which the Moon travels, it drops downwards at the same rate as the curvature of the earth—

and therefore remains at a relatively constant distance from the earth.

"So it is with a man-made moon. However, unlike the Moon, the first satellites—relatively as primitive as the Wright brothers' plane—would not entirely escape the earth's atmosphere. Gradually the particles of air at their altitude would slow them down to the point where the earth's gravitational pull would draw them into denser atmosphere and the satellites would burn like meteors."

Professor L. I. Sedov, Chairman of the Inter-Departmental Committee for Co-ordination and Supervision of Theoretical Research in Interplanetary Communication of USSR, told in an interview with the Moscow weekly *New Times*: "One of the problems awaiting solution in this field (of space travel) is the return of the satellite to the earth. Until this is done, living beings cannot be sent up."

"For some years now dogs have been successfully sent up in rockets, but in experiments of this kind the time spent at high altitudes is comparatively brief. To send living beings in a satellite for a longer period of time, we must ensure their safe return besides solving complex problems of a biological nature associated with cosmic radiation outside the bounds of the atmosphere, gravitation, etc. Only after this is done will it be possible for man to embark on a space flight."

The *New York Times* summarises the implications of this scientific achievement in the following words:

"The news of the Soviet achievement had an electrifying effect in the capitals of the world. Its implications, scientific, military, and political, were profound."

"Scientifically, the satellite will be able to increase man's knowledge of the earth. Its path will be affected by the gravitational pull of the earth, and this pull will vary with changes in the earth's configuration. Thus by charting the moon's course scientists will be able to determine with great accuracy how much the world bulges at the middle, and how flat it is at the poles. It will enable them also to pursue studies of the earth's ancient magnetic field. Long-term observation of a satellite might enable future

generations to determine if the earth's land masses are in motion, as some scientists maintain. And it could lead to new determinations ranging from how much air there is on the fringes of space, to how lumpy is the interior of this planet.

"Furthermore, other, more complicated satellites are on the way. The first United States satellite will make delicate observations of ultra-violet rays, above the earth's atmosphere, which may have profound effects on weather and climate. Other spheres are to record the nature of cosmic-ray bombardment, changes in the earth's magnetism and various forms of heat transfer to and from the earth."

"All these are milestones toward a universal goal: space travel. But while scientists have made giant strides in the field, it would appear that rocket ships might remain in the realm of science fiction for some time. The vital questions are whether human beings could survive the terrific speeds required for interplanetary excursions, and, provided they reached their destination, how they could get back."

"Militarily, the very fact that the satellite is whizzing around the earth would indicate the Russians are ahead in rocketry. Moreover, its weight—184 pounds—makes plain that they have a hopping projectile. It means, said a naval scientist, "that the Russians must have the intercontinental ballistic missile as they claim."

"There was also the possibility that future satellites could be equipped as revolving radar stations with an eye on every nation in the world—of tremendous military value to both defensive and offensive planning."

"Politically, the Soviet moon was of tremendous value to Moscow as a psychological and propaganda victory over the U.S. To nations everywhere it demonstrated that the Soviet Union is a top military power and able to challenge American leadership. Whether the Russians could long maintain the pace once the intensive U.S. program got under way would appear unimportant, at least for the moment; the very fact they were first with a moon should have great impact on countries where prestige—and ability to threaten effectively—is vital to Moscow."

Rockets and Missiles

After the Soviet "satellite" had been launched, there was much speculation regarding the position of the U.S.A. where missiles are concerned. The *New York Times* of October 27 published the following account in relation to that:

Missiles come in three sizes, a U. S. observer has said, "small, large, and 'where did everybody go?'" On the first two varieties, the United States and Russia are believed to be about on a par. Both nations have families of short and medium-range missiles capable of seeking out and destroying targets on land, on sea and in the air.

But in the all-important intermediate and intercontinental-range ballistic missiles—the "where did everybody go" variety—Russia appears to have a decided edge over the U.S. The Soviets began testing their T-2, an intermediate range ballistic missile (I.R.B.M.) in mid-1955. Since mid-1956 Russia has been shooting off five T-2s every month. Today the T-2 is reported to be in production and undergoing advanced testing. Its range has been estimated variously at 800, 1500 and 1800 miles.

The United States has three 1,500-mile-range I.R.B.M.s: the Army's Jupiter, the Air Force's Thor, and the Navy's Polaris. Their powerplants have been reported to be roughly half the size of the Soviet T-2. Moreover, up to last week only three Jupiters and two Thors had been successfully fired. The Polaris is not yet ready for testing.

In the intercontinental missile class (5,000-mile range), Russia reported firing the first I.C.B.M.—the Soviet T-3—last August. Some Westerners believe the T-3 will be operational next year, others expect it to take another two years or more. The U. S. entries in the intercontinental field are the Atlas and the Titan. The Atlas has failed two launching tests: the Titan has not yet gotten off the ground. Atlas should be operational, some experts estimate, sometime after 1960.

Finally, in the closely related field of satellites, the Soviet lead is demonstrated by the fact that the U.S. version—the 21½-pound Vanguard—is not expected to be ready for launching until next spring.

Why has the United States been lagging? For one thing, this nation got off to a late start.

In the mid-Nineteen Forties, when Russia evidently began work on the T-2 and the T-3, most Pentagon officials felt that long-range ballistic missiles were for the science fiction writers. Secondly, some critics believe the missile program was hampered by inter-service rivalry, with the Army, Air Force and Navy all competing for money, priorities, missile roles and technologic manpower.

Third, the U.S. has been held back, some experts say, by lack of knowledge. The President told the news conference a few weeks ago: "I wish we . . . knew more as to . . . all the . . . things we have to know about."

Some critics counter that if the Administration had spent more money on missile research and development, the U.S. would have kept up with the Russians. These critics include Trevor Gardner, who resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force early in 1956 in protest against the slow rate of progress on missiles, and a number of Democratic Congressmen, led by Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, who for years have been urging the Administration to spend more on missiles.

The United States apparently miscalculated the psychological impact of the news of the Soviet sputnik. Although the Government learned some months ago that Russia would soon launch its satellite, no action was taken to counter the forthcoming Soviet triumph.

Accordingly, when the sputnik was actually fired three weeks ago, the U.S. was caught off-balance. There was mounting pressure on the Administration to do something.

It was against this background that the U.S. made its moves last week.

On U.S. missiles developments, these were the disclosures:

Altitude record: A lightweight, four-stage rocket, launched in Project Farside by the Air Force from a balloon platform 100,000 feet in space above Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific, reached an altitude of 4,000 miles or more, according to preliminary Air Force estimates. The previous record was 625 miles by an Army Jupiter C rocket; the sputnik's maximum altitude is about 570 miles.

Satellite record: Vanguard, designed for the Navy to carry the U.S. satellite into orbit, underwent a successful test of its first-stage

engine at Cape Canaveral Missile Proving Ground in Florida. It rose 109 miles at a top speed of 4,250 miles per hour.

I.R.B.M.s: The Army's Jupiter and the Air Force's Thor both were tested successfully at Cape Canaveral—and in a departure from past policy the Defence Department announced details.

Other missiles: Bomarc, the Air Force's long-range interceptor (anti-aircraft) missile, located an unmanned World War II B-17 drone target and followed it "so closely that the drone was destroyed by collision." Sidewinder, an air-to-air missile guided by an infra-red detector, was tested against a target plane bearing a flaming flare-pot on its wing. It homed on the flame.

Atomic depth bombs: Secretary of Defense McElroy announced that the Navy's anti-submarine patrol planes in the Atlantic—the nation's primary defense against the huge Soviet submarine fleet—were being armed with recently perfected atomic depth charges.

These developments, along with the Eisenhower-Macmillan conference-stated pledge of "an enlarged Atlantic effort in scientific research and development" indicated that the Administration was trying to do two things. First, it wants to reassure the Western world, that the United States is doing well in the rocket-missile-satellite field. Second, the Administration hopes that missile development can be speeded up by collaboration among Allied scientists. Although Britain is far behind the U.S. in missile development, the hope is that British scientists can help the U.S. in related field such as basic research, electronics, possibly warheads.

Politics in Guatemala

The dramatic moves that have taken place in the small central American republic of Guatemala, after the tragic removal of the President, are now causing uneasiness in the U.S. The most curious factor in these moves, is the alliance between the extreme Right and the extreme Left, which goes to show how superficial these political creeds are. The U.S. which stands for the Right and abhors the Left, is naturally taken aback, as the following editorial

"The situation in Guatemala is too confused and fluid just now to draw any final conclusions, but two things are obvious.

"First, it is a great pity that the country as a whole has been subjected to such a serious setback. The assassination of President Castillo Armas on July 26 was a misfortune as well as a crime, but the way in which the army kept order, supported the constitutional First Designate as Provisional President, called for elections and held them in orderly fashion was wholly admirable. Guatemala seemed to be setting a fine example of the peaceful transition of power.

"Then came the second factor, the wilful, undemocratic and unpatriotic action of the losing candidate from the extreme Right, General Idigoras Fuentes. It was in the worst tradition of Latin-American military demagoguery. These are strong words to use, but one aspect alone would justify them. If General Idigoras really believed the election of October 20 was a fraud he could have had legal recourse to the electoral tribunals and to Congress. Instead, he called up the mobs of Guatemala City, and those mobs contained many former and crypto-Communists from the regime of Colonel Arbenz, now given new life by General Idigoras. The General received about 48,000 votes in the capital to about one-third that for the countrywide victor, Miguel Ortiz Passarelli. This was far more than there are extreme Rightists in Guatemala City, which means that General Idigoras had the extreme Leftist vote. This alliance of Left and Right is always dangerous, and especially so in Latin America, as was proved in Argentina under General Peron.

"Until the situation clears up one cannot judge the army's action. The three colonels who form the new military junta which has taken over were loyal to the Provisional Government and presumably they still are. The best one can hope or expect in present circumstances is that they will confine themselves to restoring order and waiting for the country to calm down, then calling new elections. But it will doubtless take time to recover the ground lost in these last few days because of the behavior of General Idigoras Fuentes."

The Future of Japan

In World War II, the two pivotal powers of the Berlin-Tokyo Axis, namely, Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, were smashed up by the Allied powers. The attempt to uproot and destroy the sources of the military might of those two nations, went far beyond the military destruction. Germany was dismembered and Japan was occupied, and the military heads of those two powers were tried, mostly in a farcical fashion, and vengeance was wreaked in the Assyrian way. It is little over a decade, and these nations are marching back to recovery with a speed that has astounded the world. But this recovery is partly real and partially illusory, as described by C. L. Sulzberger, the ablest of American political commentators, in the *New York Times* of October 7, which we reproduce below:

Tokyo, October 6.—Imperial Tokyo is now the world's largest city, having only during the past few months ousted both London and New York from claims to this dubious distinction. Eight and a half million people are crowded into the morass of dwellings mushrooming along the neighbouring river flats, and each year the total increases by another 250,000. A construction race is under way but it cannot keep up with the incredible human influx.

In these metropolitan statistics one sees a microcosm of the problems of post-war Japan, working industriously to survive within the confines of a geographical straitjacket and laboring once again to superimpose a modern industrial foundation on ancient and strongly perseverant traditions.

Upon its surface the capital presents an extraordinary aspect of boom and bustle. Tranquil inner-courtyards, sedate parks and even the chunky, gray-black Palace walls seem lost in the flurry of construction, the noise of reckless cars and cyclists, the hysterical pace of pedestrians.

Only twelve years ago, battered by bombardment, with 750,000 of its dwellings totally destroyed, this metropolis contained less than half its present population. Today, a curious amalgam of the very old and very new, it is the busiest boom town on earth; the intellectual, political and business center of Japan and of East Asian commerce.

During the five years since independence

was restored by treaty, Japan has leaped back along the road to recovery with an exuberance equalled perhaps only in West Germany. The index of national production is more than two and a half times as high as in 1936, the last year before war industries inflated normal economy. Exports have doubled since 1953.

This apparent miracle has been accomplished upon a curiously uneasy base. Japan was psychologically dislocated and physically ruined by a conflict which cost the country all of its overseas empire, part of its integral island realm, lives, treasure, pride and many of its usual commercial markets. Yet, here, loudly testifying to the triumph of vitality, is Tokyo itself spread out low along the marshlands, its inhibited skyline dodging the menace of earthquakes, humming with the machines of innumerable big and little factories and workshops.

It is difficult for the foreigner to contemplate this beehive and to relate it to realities of that old Japan which lies hidden behind far mountain mists. Only a Japanese can attempt the difficult task of explaining peculiar distortions and disharmonies obscured beneath the resurgent surface.

"Visitors from abroad," remarks a wise and liberal university professor, "are always surprised at the degree to which Tokyo resembles other cities in the world. They see large buildings on all sides, a flood of automobiles in the streets, and a tremendous number of people who are dressed in Western style. No wonder they think Japan is a flourishing country where the work of reconstruction goes forward energetically. Unfortunately, they lack the time to visit factory districts or the more distant agricultural areas. There they would find a complete contrast to urban life, which appears flourishing and prosperous. In the farming areas of the countryside and the industrial zones of the great cities peasants and workers live in extreme poverty."

In observing the phenomenon of Tokyo, where per capita income is 40 per cent above that prevailing elsewhere in the land, there is danger of being deceived by an economic, political and philosophical mirage. Rarely has any nation undergone such complete metamorphosis within so short a period.

Contemporary Tokyo shows what Japanese

energy can accomplish. But there remains the invisible legacy of antiquated agriculture, narrow geography, and an age-old habit of submission. Governing philosophy need not necessarily continue along a democratic path if world pressures open other avenues.

The late Professor Tomoo Otaka observed last year: "The Occupation was able to carry out its policy of democratization smoothly because the Japanese people, with their long training in obedience to authority, adapted themselves readily; in other words, democratization was successful because of a mental attitude which would hardly be called democratic."

This note of skepticism is shared by other Tokyo intellectuals while regarding the achievements registered by a decade of liberal economic and political administration. They acknowledge pride in the very visible successes of a Westernizing revolution comparable to that which followed Commodore Perry's arrival a century ago.

But they realize the need to sink beneath this impressive superstructure deep and firm foundations upon which the new society must rest. To accomplish this Japan still requires many years of peace, prosperity and above all trade. Only then can this venerable nation digest the experiment in a novel way of life symbolized by modern Tokyo.

The Far Eastern Stage

The end of World War II, left the Far East, particularly China and Japan, in an extremely unstable state of equilibrium. Both of these areas were under the control of the United States, but there was a difference. In China, the U.S. was an ally and the protector of the Kuomintang party of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. In Japan, the U.S. was in occupation, on the soil of a vanquished enemy. Barely a dozen years have passed and the scenes have changed in both areas. China proper, that is the real China, has passed into the hands of the People's Republic and its former overlord, Chiang Kai-shek, has formed an emigre government on the island of Taiwan, the former Formosa, which has been made into and maintained as a fortress with the aid of U.S. arms and dollars.

The position of Taiwan *vis a vis* the People's Republic, and the precarious balance, maintained by American aid, is clearly pictured

in the following despatch, from the able pen of C. L. Sulzberger, which we reproduce below, from the *New York Times* of October 19:

Taipei, Taiwan, October 18.—Twenty-five centuries ago that remarkable Chinese strategist, Sun Tzu, wrote: "Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." This would appear to be Mao Tse-tung's current objective when he looks across the Strait of Taiwan at his oldest enemy, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Peiping has changed its tactics. While maintaining powerful bases and armies on the opposite shore, it now subordinates hostile military gestures to undermining propaganda efforts. The Communists have created a "Work Committee on the Peaceful Liberation of Taiwan" headed by two former officials of Chiang's Kuomintang: Gen. Chang Chih-chung and Dr. Wong Wen-hao, once Premier of the Nanking Government.

Relatives of distinguished Nationalists, summoned to Peiping Radio, invite the emigres home. Agents are infiltrated when possible. Chiang's Chief of Staff an able officer who had graduated from both Virginia Military Institute and Purdue, had to resign in embarrassment when it was disclosed his aide was working for the Communists.

Clearly Mao calculates time is on his side. Various problems here are coming to a head. Political leaders are aging. Chiang himself is 70. Relatively few junior or intermediate officials fled with him here. The Taiwanese themselves, subjects of Japan for fifty years, have no tradition of governing experience. The next decade is bound to produce a leadership crisis.

Economically the future is uncertain. With our approval, Chiang maintains a disproportionately powerful armed force. This cannot exist without massive American aid. Three-fourths of Taiwan's income goes to defense.

This island's gross national product must be increased 5 per cent annually to keep economically afloat. That requires large capital investment. Chiang's, however, is in effect a one-party, semi-Socialist regime. Most key industries, such as aluminium, sugar and power are State-owned. Private investors are, therefore, not attracted. And our own Government is under political pressure to reduce foreign aid.

Furthermore, in theory, Washington favors free enterprise.

Finally, there is the matter of morale. During eight years confidence has been maintained by slogans promising return to the mainland. Their effect wears thin. More and more Taiwanese are being recruited into the army—at present about 35 per cent of all troops. They are less interested than the homesick emigrants in reconquering China.

Obviously Chiang is aware of these factors. For this reason, presumably, he presses us for a military decision. He insists an attack on the mainland "would not lead to a general war," although he adds somewhat contradictorily: "The only effective strategy against the Russian Communists' unlimited and protracted warfare is one of total war."

Chiang says: "If the democratic bloc should fail to make liberation its basic policy against communism and Communist aggression, then all discussions about strategy and tactics are plainly futile."

But is "liberation" American policy? Some years ago such indeed appeared to be the case. Washington proclaimed its faith in the mystic word—with all its belligerent implications. We boasted that Chiang had been "unleashed" against a crumbling Communist colossus. But now, in fact, the opposite is true.

If we preach "liberation" we practise "containment." Chiang has been leashed, not unleashed. In December, 1954, we induced him to give a written guarantee not to attempt invasion except with our prior approval. He could hardly move a division across the strait without our help.

The result is stalemate. In the long run Mao calculates this will favor him. Washington somehow reckons otherwise. We believe that existence of this Nationalist Army plus Syngman Rhee's South Korean force, achieves an East Asian power balance. Perhaps, we hope Peiping's evident internal difficulties will some day produce a less rigid Government with which we might be able to negotiate. Meanwhile, we don't want to relinquish any possible bargaining cards.

This complex statecraft is based more on faith than reason. Whatever we may think of Chiang's belligerence, there is at least logic in

his desire to gamble on war. He has little to lose. But our own policy is containment masking as liberation. It is compounded of strategic interest and political emotion.

Taiwan is an essential part of our Pacific fortress chain. And we have a guilty conscience toward Chiang. Once we saw him as our strongest Asian ally. Now we find him emperor of an oriental Elba and imagine ourselves responsible. Yet we fear to let him risk his Waterloo.

We are afraid to experiment with other ways of solving the impasse lest we might appear to be yielding. This produces paralysis. Chiang's logic is that of the bursting shell—somewhat audacious in this nuclear era. Ours is founded on paradox. Mao's on time.

Americans and Indians

An American named Daniel Bell recently had an occasion to pass through Calcutta. He is reportedly an associate editor of the *Fortune* magazine, a lecturer in sociology at the Columbia University. On his return he wrote a series of articles in the New York weekly, *The New Leader*, on his impressions of Asia. In the first article entitled "A Night in Calcutta" Mr. Bell makes some remarks which reminds one of the "Miss Mayo" tradition of scurrilous American journalism.

The man is evidently an uncouth "goop" with very considerable gullibility. He has swallowed, hook, bait and sinker, all that was flung to him by the adroit "extreme left" scouts of the Calcutta group. They are always on the alert for willing suckers from the U.S., who render their cause signal service by offending and alienating Indian intelligentsia.

This particular simpleton was told that the vast *maidan* with its hundreds of cricket, tennis, football grounds—which are dotted with tents and shacks—was "*reserved for demonstrations for Nehru*," the huge Victoria Memorial museum was the "Government House" built as a tribute to Queen Victoria and also the usual canards about sexual inhibitions of the people permeating their music, etc., and he has put forth the whole of it in the article, in the style of a small town scandal writer. Evidently he is a sociologist of the Little Rock Variety, and he may also claim kinship with Faubus in the matter of veracity.

This so-called professor opens his article with an anecdote that an Indian embassy official had hesitated to grant him a visa as he was a writer. We cannot but admire the official's great ability to sense such a "writer", who does not know the difference between a Bengali "modern" song and a classical song, but has the audacity to generalize upon Indian culture and who calls himself a sociologist but considers the experiences of a transit visit sufficient to enable him to manufacture sociological theories. India certainly has a moral right to stop the invasion of such, "journalists" and "sociologists."

In his second article, he touches Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan. He treats that, as one would expect, with the tenderness reserved for pet animals. Besides, Dacca being authoritarian, the vermin that fastened on this poor cretin in Calcutta, could not get the same hold on him there.

We are not surprised at the article. "Gullible Yankees" are not quite unfamiliar specimens even in these days. What we are surprised at, is that a journal like the *New Leader* should allow its pages to be soiled with such propaganda in this fashion. No wonder the U.S. is losing the battle, all along the line, in Asia.

New School-term in West Bengal

A new school-term has been announced for West Bengal schools. Henceforth annual examinations and promotions would be held in March instead of at the end of each calendar year as heretofore. The chief argument in favour of this change is that it would make for a better utilisation of time by the schools, how, of course, many do not understand. The change was first announced for Secondary Schools only. Now it has been extended to cover primary schools as well.

The change in the school term, if eventually it is put into effect, would, in our opinion, adversely affect education in the State. Heretofore the students would be free of their anxieties by the middle of December each year so that they could take part in production and sports. In villages, for example, December and January are busy months for many families and even their children have to share the task of harvesting the grains. For boys living in cities that is the best period for cultivating many of the seasonal games. The putting off of the date of annual

examination would in no way be able to influence these activities of the boys, but would in turn only tend to result in larger failures. Besides, with costs of books soaring high the best time for the purchase of new class books would be after the harvest, that is in January.

In short, the advantages of the change are not clear. The authorities have still time to think over the measure. One wonders whether in some respects our craze for change is not leading us too far.

The Problem of Housing in Calcutta

The acuteness of the problem of housing in Calcutta came to the fore recently with the announcement by the Calcutta Improvement Trust that it would consider applications for 24 one-unit flats. The Trust issued nearly seven hundred application forms for these 24 flats, yet it had to refuse double that number. On the occasion of the second-time distribution of application forms people lined up in queues since the evening before in order to be able to get a form the next morning. Even allowing for a few speculators who counted upon making some profits by selling the forms in the black market, the number of genuine candidates was unmistakably large.

The C.I.T. flats are above average and provide some of the modern amenities. A single-room flat contains besides a bed room, a kitchen, a closed verandah and a bath room and privy. Most of the old-fashioned buildings in Calcutta do not provide such facilities exclusively for each family. It may, therefore, be presumed that some of the people that swelled the queue were not in pressing need of flats. However, after all such allowances are made, the number of genuinely needy persons must be very large indeed. This view is also confirmed by the presence of a very large number of middle-class housewives in the queue. Unless their need was pressing they would not have come to take all the trouble attendant upon such occasions.

The gravity of the shortage of housing in Calcutta is also given by the finding of an official survey in which it has been disclosed that twenty-five per cent of Calcutta's population live in the bustee slums. According to another survey conducted by the Calcutta Improvement Trust many of the bustees are now full of middle-class people—whose family income in a

few cases is as high as one thousand rupees. One may argue that such people can certainly obtain and pay for better accommodation. The mere statement of the total income of a family may not mean anything unless the number of its members is also mentioned at the same time. It may be very nearly impossible for a large family to secure proper accommodation in a better place, for all its members, despite a monthly income of a thousand rupees. Even the C.I.T. flats are beyond the means of the average middle-class people few, if any, of whom can afford eighty rupees for two small (12 ft. × 10 ft.) rooms.

It has been quite clearly shown by Shri S. K. Gupta, Chairman of the City Improvement Trust, that the solution of housing problem in Calcutta cannot be achieved without generous aid from the State. Most of the building materials are dear and even scarce and are thus beyond the reach of the greater majority of the population, who cannot, therefore, be expected to make any appreciable addition to the existing number of houses. The fortunate few who have means to build houses even at such high rates usually do so as investments from which they hope to extract the maximum return in the form of rent. It is no wonder then that rents are exorbitantly high. On the other hand, there is no public housing board to build tenement buildings. The Trust, while doing valuable work in the field, has necessarily to concentrate upon other improvement activities. Moreover, its cost of construction also is very high for a number of reasons and the rate of rent, while not at all profitable to it, is well beyond the reach of the average Bengali middle-class man in Calcutta. All these factors have combined in the background of a rapidly growing population, to accentuate the problem still more and unless some concerted move is made to construct more house in a relatively short period of time, the situation may easily become completely unbearable.

Private landlords and their agents are now not only raising rents, by all the loopholes kindly provided by the new rent and tenancy laws brought in last year, but have evicted and are evicting tens of thousands of unfortunate families.

International Exchange of Books

A number of new facilities for the postal

despatch of books, newspapers and various other printed materials between the nations of the world were granted by the fourteenth Congress of the Universal Postal Union which was held in Ottawa with the participation of 96 countries. The measures, originally suggested by the UNESCO and scheduled to be implemented in October next year, would greatly promote the exchange of ideas and knowledge.

As summarised in the *United Nations Weekly Newsletter*, the proposed measure would enable "books to be sent in packets up to a maximum of 5 kilograms (11 pounds), instead of 3 kgs. at present. By special agreement between administrations, this maximum may be further raised to 10 kgs. Packets sent to the same address may be grouped in the same postal bag and in that case will be exempt from weight limits.

"In addition, books will enjoy the reduced airmail rate now conceded to newspapers. Publications for the blind will be exempt from all postal taxes and registration charges.

"The Congress also simplified the newspaper subscription scheme, which permits payment in national currency, at local post offices, for subscriptions to foreign newspapers and magazines, and their despatch at low rates.

"A further decision was the virtual abolition of customs clearance charges on books and other printed matter not liable to import duties. The Congress urged Member-countries not to impose custom charges on books, newspapers, magazines and book catalogues. This proposal was adopted on the suggestion of Brazil, which expressed its wish 'to co-operate with Unesco and Member-countries of the Union for the advancement of education and culture throughout the world'."

In India, the new import restrictions and the totally uncivilized activities of the customs department of this so-called Welfare State, have brought the import of books to a standstill. The high duties on imported paper and the excise duties on the indigenous product and the total inadequacy of the paper supply, due to the gigantic wastage of paper by governmental departments and the resultant blackmarkets, have rendered book publishing also very speculative. We, in India, therefore, can have only a passing interest.

THE RIGHT TO PUT QUESTIONS IN OUR PARLIAMENT

By M. M. LAL, B.A., LL.B., J.D.

"A Government is not democratic simply because it is voted into power by the majority. It is not democratic when it is required to vote for only one party. The test is whether it gives democratic rights to its subjects, if it allows freedom of thought, speech and association to its opponents."

—DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

THIS freedom of expression given to every member in a legislature promotes the cause of democracy. The right to ask questions is by and large the most effective weapon to exercise this freedom. The questions asked on the floor of the House elicit both valuable information and certain assurances for action from the Government. The extent to which this right is exercised or utilised is the yard-stick of the development and progress of democracy in a country.

This inherent right of members enables them to voice their grievances as also those of the constituents against the policies and administration of the Government. The Government on their part get opportunities to explain their side on important national and international problems. The Government can also feel, through questions, public sentiments and adjust their policies and actions accordingly. Any glaring instances of mal-administration, which might otherwise escape the eyes of a Minister in daily routine of office, receive his attention.

In an article published in *First Parliament—A Souvenir*, Shri M. N. Kaul, Secretary, Lok Sabha, has lucidly described how the position regarding admissibility of questions underwent a revolutionary change after Independence. The right of question by the members of the Central Legislature was, before the Independence, subject to many restrictions. The President of the late Central Assembly, for instance, could not admit a question which concerned Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications without the prior consent of the Governor-General. If a question was considered inconvenient or of an embarrassing nature, the Governor-General could withhold his consent. The reason was that the old Central Assembly was not a sovereign body and its Standing Orders regarding conduct of its business could be superseded by an order made by the Governor-General with

the approval of the Secretary of State. Immediately after Independence, these old rules which curbed the sovereignty of the Assembly were recast, and the scope of asking questions was liberalised.

Under the present rules of procedure, one hour has been earmarked for asking questions by members before the House starts its legislative business. During the question hour, a member need not catch the eye of the Speaker or solicit the patronage of his party whip. The Minister whose turn it is to answer a particular question has to stand up and answer it. He should be prepared to face volleys of supplementaries which may be thrust on him by members of the opposition, and it is here that he can exhibit to the best his parliamentary flair by not being entrapped into any kind of "unwary admission of facts or an assurance to take action." For this, a Minister is required to have an intimate knowledge of the subject under question and a ready wit.

Although a Minister harassed by supplementaries can resort to a reply that he required notice, this leaves the impression that he has little grasp over the subject. Such a situation, sometimes, is saved by the Prime Minister who comes to the rescue of the Minister by giving a suitable answer to the supplementary.

In case a Minister ignores supplementary, by saying either yes or no to it, he would invoke the indulgence of the chair.

There are three types of questions: starred, unstarred and short-notice questions. A starred question (indicated by an asterisk mark) is one which requires an oral answer. An unstarred question brings a written reply on the table of the House. While a member has the right to ask any number of questions for written answers, he is not entitled to ask more than three questions for oral answers on a particular day but he must give at least 10 days' notice. If the question is on a matter of an urgent public

importance, it can be asked as a "Short-notice Question." The reply is to be given within a shorter period, as its name indicates. This is not the end of the matter. If a member is not satisfied with the answer to his question, the rules entitle him to ask for "Half-an-Hour Discussion" on the matter. The average number of questions answered orally in the House is about 20-25 daily and the number of supplementary questions usually permitted to each main question is about six.

About 90 per cent of the questions which are given notices of in the Lok Sabha require oral answers. The Speaker has the discretion to downgrade a starred question to unstarred one, if he feels that the written reply will be most appropriate in the case. If the reply to a starred question involves a lengthy statement or information of a statistical nature, it is made available a few minutes before the commencement of the sitting of the House.

The Speaker as the guardian and custodian of the rights and privileges of the House generally admits questions, answers to which reveal injustice, discrimination or administrative inefficiency. In arriving at a decision in the matter, he is not swayed by any fear that the question might be embarrassing to the Government or land them in an awkward position. He has to judge for himself whether a matter to be raised in the House is in the wider national interest or not. For instance, a question may not refer discourteously to a friendly country or may not seek information regarding Cabinet discussions.

The Speaker has further to see that a question has a reasonable ground. It is disallowed if it is merely intended for mud-slinging. The Speaker has to be watchful that supplementaries do not turn into miniature debates.

Sometimes, the question hour can be suspended to take up Government business, but this measure is resorted to only in exceptional cases. Further, the question hour can lapse also, if the House adjourns due to some unforeseen circumstances. In such cases, the answers to the questions for the day will be made available to the members.

Where the Ministers give assurances to do a particular administrative act in answer to a question put by a member, those assurances are

turned into assurances to the Parliament and not merely to the member concerned. In order that these assurances are implemented in the minimum possible time, the Speaker has constituted a Committee called the "Committee on Government Assurances." In his inaugural address to the Committee on Government Assurances of the Second Lok Sabha which began its first sitting on 8th August, 1957, the Speaker Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar stated that out of nearly 5,000 assurances given by the Government during the sessions of the First Lok Sabha, over 4,000 had already been fully implemented.

A different procedure regarding questions is followed in the Rajya Sabha. When the Rajya Sabha met in May, 1952, provision was made for the question hour on two days in a week, but now this has been changed to first four days in a week. This procedure is unlike that prevailing in countries like Canada and Eire, where questions are not allowed in Upper Chambers, and is also more liberal than that prevailing in the British House of Lords, where only two days in a week are allowed to the question hour.

In addition to their usefulness in the development of Parliamentary democracy, questions have their lighter side also. They bring forth, sometimes, outbursts of laughter which keep the Members and the Ministers in good mood to resume the serious kind of discussion on Legislative matters. The public is much interested in the question hour, and enjoy to see the battle of wits in supplementaries. The repartees of some Ministers during the question hour can be gleaned through from the debates of the Parliament. In March, 1950, when a riot broke out in Delhi, as a result of a procession and a meeting, causing some casualties, an M.P. Mr. Kamath rose up and asked why the meeting was allowed at all. Sardar Patel who was Deputy Prime Minister at that time rose to the occasion and replied, "Well, if we had not given permission, Mr. Kamath might have moved an adjournment motion and asked, 'What about civil liberties'."

The Pressmen keep the columns of their papers nourished through the questions and answers.

Thus we see that with the passage of time, the right of asking questions has assumed a great importance in our Parliament. Its signi-

finance can be illustrated by the fact that notices of 87,675 questions were received in the Lok Sabha Secretariat during the 14 out of 15 sessions of the first Parliament, which came into being in May, 1952, and out of them 43,562 were asked and answered in Lok Sabha. Last year the number of questions reached the peak figure of 22,651. During the 15 sessions of the first five years of the Rajya Sabha, 22,793 questions were received. Of these, 19,979 were starred questions and 2,814 were unstarred questions. The admitted starred questions numbered 7,742.

Commenting on the Question Procedure in the Indian Parliament, Prof. W. H. Morris-Jones in his recent book *Parliament in India* says: "This institution is as highly developed in India as it is in Britain, and in this important respect the Indian Parliament is distinguished not only from those of Continental countries but even from some of the old Dominions. Sir Anthony Eden, in his tour of the Commonwealth, is said to have felt more at home in Indian Parliament's Question Hour than he had in the Australian Parliament."

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ANGLO-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS IN RETROSPECT

By PROF. ARUN KANTI DAS, M.A.

WHEN Sir Anthony Eden fulminated in righteous indignation to warn the British people against the fascist proclivities of "a plunderer whose appetite increased with feeding and whose word was worthless," it probably satisfied the political titter-bugs in the "Suez Group" and elsewhere, but the service rendered thereby to the nation was by no means one upon which he could look back with satisfaction. That a diplomat of the stature of Eden who was one among the first few to see through the designs of axis diplomacy and to denounce the policy of appeasement should be so blind to the realities of political life once again justifies the Hegelian dictum that the only lesson that history teaches is that history teaches no lessons.

To treat Nasser and Hitler on the same footing and with a high emotional fervour may be good rhetoric, but it is surely bad statesmanship. But the fact remains that Nasser is branded as an expansionist, who seeks to afford the colour of neutralism to his clandestine policy of territorial aggrandisement: who philosophises his own concept of Arab neutrality playing moral tune of it in the harmony of his secret dream of a Holy Arabic Empire. The causes of this almost telepathic realisation from Ankara to Karachi and from London to Paris are not far to seek. They lie in the position that Egypt holds in the Middle East. They are discernible in the long and chequered history of Anglo-Egyptian relations.

Owing to its geographical uniqueness the

Middle East commands the strategic approaches to the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, and the shortest and most convenient air and water-routes. It had traditionally been the contested ground between the seapower of the West and the landpower of Russia which desire access through this area to the warm waters and major commercial routes of the globe. Considering Soviet concentration of industry in the Black Sea-Ural region Russia is particularly vulnerable to attack from the Middle East, a fact that considerably explains the significance of the Truman Doctrine and the Eisenhower theory of power-vacuum. For Great Britain supremacy in the Middle East which was almost complete in 1818, is a paramount necessity as it is located astride the imperial life-line of the Commonwealth. Her volume of trade with the Middle East and share of traffic in the Suez Canal had been larger than those of any other country. Further the Middle East contains the holiest places of the Moslem, the Jew and the Christian, and, most important of all, in certain areas beneath the arid deserts lie the largest single reserve of oil.

From the political and cultural points of view the Middle East can be divided into two distinct regions. The Northern belt and the Arab core. The former consisting of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan is distinguished by the fact that it is ethnically non-Arab and that it has a direct boundary with Russia.

Egypt's Middle Eastern policy revolved

round the fact that she is the most advanced and wealthiest of the Arab states. In the years following the Second World War "the emergence of small new independent states in the Middle East and the ebbing of French and British control in Asia and Africa were creating a 'hinterland' to be dominated and unified by 'somebody'."—(Albert Hourani in the *Middle East Journal*, 1955). Her geographical position no less than her central position in the Muslim and Arab worlds, seems to offer Egypt the chance of becoming leader of the northern half of Africa as far as Arabic was spoken and Islam professed, of divided Arab area and perhaps the countries beyond.

Gamal Abdel Nasser himself said:

"We cannot look at the map of the world . . . without realising Egypt's position on the map and her role by the logic of that position . . . It always strikes me that in this area in which we live is a role running aimlessly looking for a hero to give it being . . . The role is not one of leadership or domination. It is rather a role of interaction . . . which involves making use of the tremendous latent strength in the regions surrounding us to create a great power in this area which will then rise up to a level of dignity and undertake a positive part in building the future of mankind."—(*The Philosophy of the Egyptian Revolution* translated by R. H. Nolte, p. 30).

This observation is quite illuminating and brings to the limelight a considerable portion of the Egyptian policy.

Owing, among other things, to the existence of El-Azhar University, the highest seat of Moslem learning, Egypt has always aspired to spiritual and political leadership in the Arab world. King Farouk, in sharp contrast to Mustafa Kamal of Turkey, believed in stressing Egypt's Arab and Mahomedan character as well as her links to the past. On the other hand, jealous of her leading position among the Arab States as she is, Egypt has consistently opposed the Greater Syria plan as likely to create a rival centre of power and influence. This opposition led to political friendship with Ibn Saud of Arabia, whose fear of the Hashimi

house of Iraq and Jordan made him co-operate with Egypt.

In the spring of 1951 Egypt endeavoured to bring about the conclusion of a regional Middle East defence pact that would include Turkey in addition to the Arab states. Egypt's idea was to create a neutral Middle Eastern Bloc, predominantly Arab but strengthened by the inclusion of Turkey. But it failed to evoke any enthusiasm in Ankara for Turkey at the same time was working hard to gain admission in the NATO. Although interested in the regional security of the Middle East Turkey was unwilling to compromise her status as a pro-Western state by adhering to a bloc dominated by a neutralist and largely anti-Western Egypt.

The Anglo-Egyptian conflict dates back to the beginning of the British occupation in 1882. It was an example of brute force—the bombardment of Alexandria, the landing of an armed expedition and the defeat of the Egyptian Army at Tel-el-kebir. At least until 1936 the British position in Egypt had no basis except that of naked power, and the fact determined the attitude of both the Englishmen and the Egyptians. The sense of subordination and servitude engendered in the Egyptian mind a deep, at first dumb, but unswerving and implacable resentment which impotence could mask but not destroy. That is why the Earl of Cromer observed in his *Modern Egypt* (quoted by Albert Hourani in the *Middle East Journal*, 1955):

"Do not let us imagine that under any circumstances we can ever create a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of the Egyptians akin to that felt by self-governing people for indigenous rulers."

Cromer, of course, introduced a policy whereby order was established in the otherwise anarchical condition of finance and administration. But the balance between the sense of resentment and the consciousness of benefit was always precarious so that by 1918 it had completely disappeared in the smoke of national revolution.

On December 18, 1914 Britain had proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt. On February 28, 1922 although she declared the independence

of Egypt virtual control over Egyptian administration was retained.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936 which replaced the Convention of Constantinople of October 29, 1888 had ever been odious to the Egyptian mind symbolic as it was of a considerable amount of State-servitude. The Anglo-Egyptian conflict had always struck the bitterest note on this issue. Art. VIII of the Treaty of Alliance of 1936 laid down :

"In view of the fact that the Suez Canal, whilst being an integral part of Egypt, is a universal means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt until such time as the High contracting parties agree that the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the canal, authorises His Majesty the King and Emperor to station forces in Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the canal, in the zone specified in the Annex to this Article . . . with a view to ensuring in co-operation with the Egyptian forces the defence of the canal . . . The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt."¹

It is not at all strange that this Agreement was repudiated twice by Egypt, first in 1947 and then in 1951 although unnecessarily. In October 19, 1954 this Treaty of Alliance of 1936 was replaced by "the Agreement on Evacuation of British Forces and Future maintenance of Suez canal Base" in order to establish Anglo-Egyptian relations on a new basis of mutual understanding and firm friendship. This was denounced by the Egyptian Government after the Anglo-French aggression on Egypt. In fact the Anglo-Egyptian tussle over these agreements is very illuminating and instructive for students of international affairs and international law. For want of space it is more convenient to concentrate on comparatively recent development.

Since 1945 a marked change was discernible in the social set-up in Egypt. By the middle of

1920 a middle class had emerged in Egypt. The population figure had reached the optimum but the standard of living was not rising. The surplus population was gradually pushed into towns and thus into poverty and discontent. The accumulation of capital by landowners together with the growth of the town population provided the conditions for the development of an Egyptian industry. The system of official schools had expanded greatly at primary and secondary levels and the University of Cairo was forming a new professional elite. From this emerged the new middle class of Egypt connected with industry which "wished for political power in order to use the machinery of Government to help the growth of young industries and looked upon Britain as a rival, whose goods filled the Egyptian market and whose Government used its influence in the interests of its own middle class" (Albert Hourani: *Ibid*). The peasantry was growing articulate and powerful; in the absence of a stable class structure people of peasant origin could rise quickly to wealth and authority while the system of education was producing an intelligentsia near enough to the root of the peasant life.

By 1945 these developments led to the emergence of new forces, powerful and resourceful, which could no longer be grouped around the two rallying points of the Wafd and the Palace. This contributed to the political instability in Egypt between 1945 and 1952. The communists and the Muslim brothers tried in their different ways to absorb this feeling until part of it, although by no means, all, was canalized for a time by the new military regime under Neguib. The year 1950 brought to a head the long-drawn-out controversy between Egypt and Britain over the canal zone and the Sudan question. Ever since the abortive Sidkey-Bevin agreement of 1946 the determination of Egypt to put an end to the British occupation had grown steadily in intensity and concentration of purpose. Britain for her part was increasingly concerned with the general problem of Middle East defence in which Egypt held a key position. But no possibility of reconciliation was there and when the Wafdist party came into power in Egypt in January 1950, the prospect was by no means bright. The conversation which took

1. See *Suez Canal—A Documentary Study*, Lok Sabha Secretariat publication, p. 50.

place in Cairo in the summer of 1950 on the subject of Middle East defence made it abundantly clear that "only if Egypt were actually attacked would she tolerate the presence of British forces on her soil" (Huge Schonfield: *The Suez Canal in World Affairs*, p. 134).

The British view was that Soviet Union expected war with the west and in that event Egypt would be one of the Russian objectives since he who holds Egypt holds the Middle East. If countries from the Middle East joined the U.K. and the U.S.A. the danger could be driven away from the Middle East. Hence Britain looked forward to defence arrangements with Egypt.

But Nahas Pasha insisted on evacuation and argued that it would only be the presence of foreign troops which would make Egypt the target of a Russian aggression, should there be any. Britain, he said, could easily transfer her troops from the canal zone to Palestine or Gaza. From there if need arose, they could be in Egypt within a week. Further if the existence of a threat of war was held to justify the maintenance of British troops in the canal zone the occupation would be permanent because the danger of war would never disappear. Neither Turkey nor Iran was occupied by foreign troops yet they were in danger of direct invasion.

But in London the Egyptian base was regarded as essential for Middle East defence. Hence Britain stuck firmly to the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. It is at this moment that Egypt decided on a show down and on November 16 she declared:

"The Egyptian Government believe that the 1936 treaty has lost its validity as a basis of Anglo-Egyptian relations and the decision is inevitable that it should be abrogated. It therefore becomes inevitable to decide upon the cancellation and arrive at new clauses based on other principles, namely total and immediate evacuation and the unity of Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown."²

In London the Egyptian declaration was not accepted as a challenge. On October 8,

1951 the Egyptian Government announced its intention of denouncing the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the Sudan Condominium Agreement of 1899. Two days later fresh proposals were presented by Britain and summarily rejected by Egypt.

The causes of this outright rejection are intelligible. For the proposals "exhibited not the slightest intention of complying with Egypt's requirements and putting an end to the intolerable tradition of occupation. What was offered was that several foreign devils should take the place vacated by one foreign devil."³ Egypt was invited to become a full and equal partner of an Allied Middle East Command to assure the defence of Egypt and the adjacent area. The British garrison in the canal zone, the proposal stated, would be replaced by an allied force composed of troops of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Turkey. On October 15, this proposal was rejected by Egypt and two days later the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson publicly declared full American support of British position and condemned Egypt. In the ensuing few weeks the plan for a Middle Eastern defence pact was hatched.

"The whole approach of Britain and her Western Allies was extraordinarily one-sided. They seemed to assume that they had the right to impose on the Middle East a defensive system favourable to themselves because of their fears of the area falling into the hands of a Power inimical to them."⁴

In fact it signified a basic departure from the position of the amended Suez Canal convention, that only Britain had a right to defend the canal in conjunction with Egypt in case of war and if Egyptian forces should prove inadequate.

The conservative Government which succeeded the Labour Government in Great Britain upheld the latter's action. Egypt formally declared on October 27 that her alliance with Britain had ended. Since then the whole story was one of mass fighting, guerrilla attacks followed by reprisals between Egyptians and the British forces in the canal Zone. On January 19, 1952

2. Schonfield: *Ibid*, p. 136.

3. *Ibid*, p. 141.

4. *Ibid*, p. 142.

Ismailia was the scene of a pitched battle between the 'Buluk Nizam' (Egyptian auxiliary police) and the English troop which occupied the Town. This led to the Cairo riots on January 26. On the 27th Farouk dismissed Nahas Pasha and appointed in his place a veteran statesman Ali Maher Pasha.

This state of political turbulence continued for six months and the palace-appointed anti-Wafdist Cabinets confronted either a bellicose Wafd-dominated parliament or after its dissolution on March 29, a dangerous Political vacuum.

This vacuum was suddenly filled up by the revolution of July 23, spear-headed by the Revolutionary Command Council led by Neguib.

The new regime inherited from the previous one two major unsettled issues, namely, those of Suez and the Sudan. With regard to the latter an agreement was reached with Britain on February 12, 1953 and subsequently the Sudanese Constituent Assembly proclaimed the independence of Sudan on December, 1955 and was promptly recognised by Egypt, Britain, the Soviet Union and U.S.S.R.

II

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT OF 1954

The new regime in Egypt came to a settlement with Britain on the Suez issue on October 19, 1954 when the parties concluded the Anglo-Egyptian "Agreement on Evacuation of British forces and Future maintenance of Suez Canal Base" providing amongst other things for the future maintenance of the base and its reactivation in the event of an attack on Egypt, any other member of the Arab League or Turkey.

On January 1, President Nasser abrogated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1954 with retro-active effect from October 31, 1956, i.e., on the date on which the Anglo-French intervention was launched. The Egyptian statement said that the British Government had "violated the treaty by its aggression against Egypt."* The British Government did not recognise the Egyptian Government's right to abrogate the treaty by unilateral action.

In view of the fact that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was twice denounced by the Egyptian Government and was brought before the Security Council for its pronouncement on the dispute, for example in 1947, the whole question merits a little investigation from the legal point of view.

The agreement of 1954 ostensibly designed "to establish Anglo-Egyptian relations on a new basis of mutual understanding and firm friendship," laid down as follows (the relevant articles are quoted):

"Art. 1. H.M. forces shall be completely withdrawn from the Egyptian territory . . . within 20 months from the date of signature of the Agreement.

"Art. 4. In the event of an armed attack by an outside power on any country which at the date of signature of the present Agreement is a party to the Treaty of Joint defence between Arab League States, signed in Cairo on April 13, 1950, or on Turkey, Egypt shall afford to the United Kingdom such facilities as may be necessary in order to place the base on a war footing and to operate it effectively. These facilities shall include the use of Egyptian ports within the limits of what is strictly indispensable for the abovementioned purposes.

Art. 12.(a) The agreement shall remain in force for the period of seven years from the date of signature. (b) During the last 12 months of that period the two contracting Governments shall consult together to decide on such arrangements as may be necessary upon the termination of the Agreement. (c) Unless both Governments agree upon any extension of the Agreement, it shall terminate seven years after the date of signature and the U.K. Government shall take away or dispose of their property then remaining in the Base."⁵

It appears to me that the Egyptian argument that the agreement has lost its *raison d'être*, seems to be validated by the principle known in International Law as *Rebus sic stantibus*.

Treaties may be terminated on numerous grounds and the termination depends on general legal principles partly influenced by the

* Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 1957-58, p. 15300.

5. For the full text, see *Suez Canal—A Documentary Study*. Lok Sabha Secretariat publication, pp. 55-53.

special nature of international conditions. In conformity with the principle "*Pacta Sunt Servanda*" a treaty is valid unless there exists a special reason for its invalidity.

The *Clausula rebus sic stantibus* is a very old and important doctrine of international law which lays down that "every agreement is concluded with the tacit reservation that it is valid only as long as there is no vital change of circumstances, which would make the performance of the treaty a serious danger to the party."⁶ As Oppenheim⁷ too observes, "It is an almost universally recognised fact that vital changes of circumstances may be of such a kind as to justify a party in demanding to be released from the obligations of an unnotifiable treaty" and so it is agreed that "all treaties are concluded under the tacit condition of *rebus sic stantibus*."⁸

The principle of course may be abused obviously. But its paramount necessity cannot be questioned. "The consent of a State to a treaty," says Oppenheim,⁹ "presupposes a condition that it is not fraught with danger to its existence and vital development."

Numerous judicial cases are advanced to explain why a change of circumstances may legally alter the obligations of a treaty. Of these two especially apply to the Anglo-Egyptian agreement.

Firstly, there is "the definition of the doctrine based upon the promotion of State interests" which states that "the obligations of a treaty terminate when, as a result of a change of circumstances, the interests of a party are injuriously affected by fulfilment of the treaty."¹⁰ This definition which is supported by Oppenheim is of considerable antiquity and can be traced to Machiavelli and is found as at least one element in definitions of Spinoza, Bynkershoek, Del Bon and Bielfield.

Secondly, some writers emphasise the nature

of the change of circumstances and contend that "the obligations of a treaty terminate in case of an intervening change of circumstances which is "essential," "fundamental or vital." Of these "essential" changes a few are "the violation of the treaty by one party, the change from a status of peace to one of war between the parties" and among the "non-essential" changes are "suspension of diplomatic relations, a change or revolution in the form of Government of a state party to that treaty."¹¹

The doctrine has been applied in numerous decisions of National Tribunals, e.g., in *Lucerne Vs. Aargau* (1882), *Thurgau Vs. St. Gallen* (1928), *Bremen Vs. Prussia* (1925), *Rothschild and Sons Vs. Egyptian Government* (1925), *Hooper Administration Vs. United States* (1887), etc. But whenever the doctrine has been invoked before an International Tribunal, the latter while not rejecting it in principle, has refused to admit that it could be applied to the case before it. The decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice on June 7, 1932 in the case of "*The Free Zones of Upper Savoy and the District of Gex*" is a good example. One arbitral award does recognise that the obligations of a treaty may be affected in case fulfilment of the obligations would be self-destructive of a party. In the *Russian Indemnities* case (1912) a Hague Arbitration Tribunal in an award of November 11, 1912, observed, in connection with the argument of Turkey, that she had an obligation to pay interest to damages to Russia for non-payment of indemnities.

"The Imperial Russian Government expressly admits that the obligation of a State to fulfil treaties may give way if the very existence of the state should be in danger, if the observance of the international duty is . . . 'self-destructive'." In this case the exception of *force majeure* was refused because it was concluded that the payment of the relatively small sums due Russian claimants would not "imperil the existence of the Ottoman Empire or seriously compromise its International or external situation."

In fact, a number of States invoked the doctrine of *Rebus sic Stantibus* by name. For

6. Alf Ross: *A Textbook of International Law*, p. 219.

7. Oppenheim: *International Law*, Vol. I.

8. Oppenheim: *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. C. Hill: *The Doctrine of Rebus Sic Stantibus in International Law*, The University of Missouri Studies, p. 12.

11. Hill: *Ibid.*, p. 13.

example, the termination of Capitulations in Turkey (1914-1923), the Dispute between France and Great Britain (Morocco) (1922) presented before the Permanent Court of International Justice, the abrogation by the Soviet Government of some treaties concluded by the Czarist Government, the termination of extra-territoriality in 'China' (1926), the termination of Consular Jurisdiction in Persia (1927-28), the Free Zones Dispute between France and Switzerland (1928-32) are cases in instance.

Art. 19 of the Covenant of the League envisages revision of treaties. As interpreted by the Assembly it permits the giving of advice to parties to a treaty "when the state of affairs existing at the moment" of the conclusion of a treaty "has subsequently undergone either materially or morally such radical changes that their application has ceased to be reasonably possible". This is sometimes interpreted to imply a recognition of the principle of *rebus sic stantibus*. The U.N. Charter has no analogous provision.

On July 8, 1947, Nokrashi Pasha accused Britain before the Security Council on two counts: (1) Britain was guilty of maintaining her troops in Egyptian territory against the will of the people. This constituted "an infringement of the fundamental principle of sovereign equality and is therefore contrary to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter" and that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of August 26, 1936 "cannot bind Egypt any longer having outlived its purposes besides being inconsistent with the Charter." Under Art. 35 and 37 of the Charter, Egypt requested the Security Council to direct: (a) total and immediate evacuation of British troops from Egypt including the Sudan, (b) the termination of the then administrative regime in the Sudan.

In trying to establish the legal invalidity of the treaty Nokrashy Pasha argued that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 "had been negotiated under international conditions that no longer existed," and on the understanding that its provisions were "of a purely temporary nature."

"Only in name did he (Nokrashy Pasha) refrain from invoking *rebus sic stantibus*."¹² The arguments he advanced were "all implicitly

based upon the assumption of such a doctrine of international law." For the United Kingdom Sir Alexander Cadogan sought to emphasise the principle of 'pacta sunt servanda' and observed that "the argument against the treaty of 1936 on *rebus sic stantibus* lines would seem to have no legal foundation whatsoever."

It is interesting to see that the representatives of Poland, the Soviet Union and in a sense those of Brazil and Australia recognised the applicability of *rebus sic stantibus* to the Egyptian view, but the last two maintained that if the Security Council were to accede to the Egyptian demand disregarding the provisions of a treaty still in force "it might establish a dangerous precedent likely to subvert the principle of respect for treaty obligations." They held that the Security Council should recommend a peaceful adjustment by direct negotiation, etc. The U.S. and the Syrian delegates suggested that the dispute being legal in character should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

On September 10, 1947 the Security Council adjourned further discussion on the question while technically retaining it on the agenda.

Herman W. Briggs¹³ observed: "It is not surprising that Egypt preferred not to rest her case on judicial arguments. She had no legal case." Had she taken the question before the International Court of Justice that Court, he says, could only have concluded: (1) that by Articles 8 and 11 of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, Egypt had authorised the British to station troops in certain portions of the Egyptian territory and the Sudan, (2) that the treaty was still in force, and (3) that it could lawfully be terminated only by agreement between the parties.

On October 8, 1951 again, as we have seen, Premier Nahas Pasha abrogated the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which was approved by the Parliament on October 15. His argument was based on *rebus sic stantibus*.

It appears to me that the situation in the Middle East has undergone changes after the conclusion of the Agreement of 1954, which are

12. H. W. Briggs in *The American Journal of International Law*, 1949, p. 769.

13. *The American Journal of International Law*, 1949, p. 768.

so vital, fundamental and serious in nature as to justify an application of the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* to the Egyptian abrogation of the Treaty on January 1, 1954. In fact the nature and gravity of the changes in the international situation are by no means comparable to those witnessed in 1947 or 1951. Even assuming that the trend of events in the Middle East and elsewhere did not quite justify the demand for abrogation of the treaty of 1936 on those two occasions it would be sheer travesty of truth as well as a misreading of the relevant rules of international law. If the same argument is advanced now. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1954 will prove itself an anachronism if studied in the light of Middle Eastern diplomacy.

To begin with, it is palpable that provision in Art. 4 of the Treaty of 1954 that the United Kingdom may in the event of an armed attack on Turkey or any other state which is a party to the Treaty of Joint Defence between Arab League states, the Egyptian ports will go under British control as the term "what is strictly indispensable" is extremely elastic in meaning and the decision in this respect will virtually lie on U.K.

But more important is the fact that until 1951 the Suez canal zone may at any moment by reoccupied by U.K. under the terms of this agreement.

No serious student of international affairs and history will deny the fact that the situation in the Middle East and elsewhere has undergone such a profound change that an adherence to this agreement will definitely jeopardise the national interest of Egypt. Let us examine this point.

When in 1953 the original Western plan to form a Middle East Defence Organisation failed mainly owing to Egypt's opposition, Washington and London devised a new formula which was to concentrate on the so-called Northern Tier, i.e., the chain of countries between Turkey and Pakistan which were conscious of a possible Soviet intervention and as such were expected to enter into bilateral or multilateral military assistance agreements. The results were briefly the Turko-Pakistan Military Assistance Pact (April 2, 1954) and similar agreements between Turkey, Iraq and Iran, and the U.S. military

aids to Turkey, treaty with Pakistan (May 19, 1954) and similar aid to Iraq.

When on February 24, 1955 Iraq under the guidance of Nuri Said and Turkey concluded the Turkey-Iraq Pact and Britain adhered to the same on March 30, 1955 it definitely antagonised Egypt and Saudi Arabia. On October Iran joined it.

In the second annual meeting of the Council of Baghdad Pact held in Teheran from April 16-19 and attended by Persia, Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Britain to which U.S.A. sent observers, the members decided, in consonance with its primary objective of "no relaxation of measures designed to strengthen the defensive capacity of the area" for the purpose of resistance to communism, to set up a permanent organisation to devise "methods of combating communist and the subversive activities in the Baghdad Pact area."¹⁴

In the Bermuda conference U.S.A. announced its intention to participate actively in the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact.

It is interesting to note how Turkey reacted to the Egyptian criticism of the Baghdad Pact. Mr. Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, in a broadcast from Radio Ankara on April 29, 1956 said :

"The Egyptian leaders are behaving like the last adherents of an imperialism which is going out of fashion ; they want to be the leaders of a group in Africa and the Middle East. Since they find it against their aims, they have not been able to restrain themselves from attacking the Baghdad Pact . . . Turkey and the other members of the Pact have displayed patience in the face of this campaign, but there is a limit . . ."¹⁵

The sentiment betrayed here requires no explanation. Turkey and Iraq have irrevocably aligned themselves, in sharp contrast with the members of the Arab League in favour of the West. And in spite of the repudiations of the Eisenhower doctrine as expressed in the Cairo "summit" meeting on January 18, 1957 when we take into account King Saud's hobnobbing

14. Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 1955-56, p. 14873.

15. *Ibid.*

with the U.S. as manifested during his visit to that country on January 29 and the joint communique declaring that "they had agreed on certain basic principles affecting the situation in the Middle East: that Saudi Arabia would continue its close co-operation with the United States and that the U.S.A. would provide military assistance to Saudi Arabia while being permitted the continued use of the Dhahran air field for another five years,"¹⁶ the situation must appear highly intriguing for Egypt. And we have to remember that Saudi Arabia's relations with the U.S.A. has almost always been cordial and intimate. This coupled with recent developments in Jordan have virtually isolated Egypt in the Middle East where she can possibly count only upon Syrian support. Even an entente cordiale between the not-very-friendly Hashimi House of Jordan and the House of Saud may be forged in the near future. In spite of occasional reiteration of faith in the highly fluxible association of sentiments called Arab solidarity the situation has radically changed for Egypt from what it was during the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1954.

Finally as a result of the open Anglo-French aggression on Egypt on October 31, 1956 the treaty of 1954 lost its *raison d'être*.

When on the ground of Israeli attack on Egypt on October 29, 1956 Britain and France sent a 12-hour ultimatum urging upon both the parties to stop fighting and withdraw their forces to a distance of 10 miles from the Suez canal with a clear note that Anglo-French intervention would follow in case of non-compliance, it outraged all principles of morality and law. It was not only an instance of machiavellian State-craft in which fidelity to covenants finds no place, but it was the most flagrant violation of the U.N. charter.

Art. 4 of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954 was not obviously invoked because in that case France could not be a party to that aggression. Consequently this British action could not be justified under Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. The big idea ostensibly was to forestall the possibility of war spreading

throughout the Middle East as well as to ensure smooth traffic through the Suez. It is on these grounds that Britain and France launched their attack on October 31 on Egyptian territory, ports and even on places which do not strictly fall within the ambit of target-area bombing.

In the face of universal condemnation Britain and France emphasised the righteousness of the task designed to reconcile "Egyptian sovereignty with the needs of the world" (Earl of Home in the House of Lords, November 1). Of course one need not be emphatic in order to be right and sheer jugglery of words cannot alter the material value of facts. It is difficult to understand by what logical tour de force two members of the United Nations can arrogate to themselves the sacred duty of reconciling at the point of arms the sovereignty of another nation with what they consider to be the needs of the world. Under the Charter only the U.N.O. can collectively intervene in the affairs of another country in matters which are not within the latter's domestic jurisdiction (excluding enforcement measures under Ch. VII of the Charter).

We have already seen that the Anglo-French intervention could not be justified under Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. Art. 39 of the Charter lays down that "the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Arts. 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security." Arts. 41 and 42 lay down the measures, non-forcible and forcible respectively, which the Security Council may adopt in order to restore international peace. In the clash between Egypt and Israel these functions of the Security Council were usurped by the Anglo-French Government. It is also a flagrant violation of Art. 4 of the Charter.

The whole behaviour of the Anglo-French bloc inside the U.N.O. and outside are not such as to enthuse the lovers of peace. The Anglo-French refusal to brand Israel as aggressor, as contemplated by the U.S. resolution, veto to the resolution of the Security Council and later on their attempts to dictate terms to the U.N. regarding the withdrawal of

16. Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 1957-58, p. 15450.

their forces, are too suggestive to require any explanation.

The whole episode was a part of a larger plan to oust Nasser from the seat of power and to enthrone some one who would be amenable to the Anglo-French arguments. The nationalisation of the Suez canal following the Anglo-U.S. refusal to finance the Aswan Dam project set the ball rolling.

The Anglo-U.S. refusal to sell arms to Egypt in the summer of 1955, the supply of British Sherman tanks to Israel through France as revealed in the British White Paper of January 19, the British and French supply of warships, tanks, bombers and fighter planes during May and June are all very significant. In fact this supply of arms to Israel were of such proportions that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd himself confessed on July 2, that the balance of military strength in the Middle East was "rather in favour of Israel."

After the nationalisation of the Suez canal, Eden called up reservists, moved warships to the Mediterranean and more British air power to Cyprus. The British Ambassador to Israel was asked to obtain guarantee from Israel of non-aggression against Jordan (due to the Anglo-Jordan mutual defence treaty), but there was no request, at least no public request, that Israel should not attack Egypt.

Numerous allegations were made in the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* "alleging collusion in military operations between the British, French and Israel Governments" against Egypt. Questions were raised by Mr. Swingle (Lab.) and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Lab.) on this point and denied by the Government. But there is a shrewd suspicion that in that mysterious meeting on October 16 when Eden flew into the sympathetic arms of Mollet in Paris and were closeted without aides for four hours, the whole plan was chalked out. This is all the more strengthened by the fact that the U.S.A. was kept absolutely in the dark about the nature of the decision.

George Lenczowski had observed¹⁸ that by

17. Keessing's *Contemporary Archives*, p. 15319.

18. George Lenczowski: *The Middle East in World Affairs*, p. 428.

the agreement of 1954 Egypt "made sure that any outbreak of hostilities between herself and Israel would not serve as a pretext for Britain's return to the base." But diplomacy does its job in many ways. This Anglo-French aggression as a result of which the relation between Egypt and Britain changed from one of status of peace to status of war obviously destroyed the agreement of 1954.

As Lenczowski himself admitted, by this agreement of 1954 Egypt "linked her security to that of Turkey and thus, however, indirectly, became involved with Western strategy."¹⁹ This realisation makes the whole Anglo-Egyptian agreement odious to all fair-minded people. In fact the whole Anglo-Egyptian conflict does not revolve round the Suez affairs alone. In this bipolarised world Egypt is a neutralist among the Afro-Asian group, with her sympathy in the present circumstances extending towards the communist world. On the Sudan issue too Britain and Egypt were at logger-heads. In regard to the North African colonies of France, Egypt feels strongly against Britain, France and even the U.S.A. Again, as Albert Hourani points out, both Britain and the U.S.A. moved partly by the desire to eliminate a cause of instability in the Middle East and partly by a sense of guilt, would like the Arab States to accept the existence of Israel but here the Egyptian and Arab intransigence is unyielding. An interesting point is that Israel's relation with Turkey is different. "Turkey, although she voted against partition, never manifested hostility toward Israel."²⁰ She was the first in West Asia to recognise Israel. By virtue of her more westernised outlook Turkey even had some affinities with Israel. That is why the Anglo-Egyptian rivalry is deep-seated. And when we consider the interlocking of the numerous defensive alliances like NATO, Baghdad Pact, SEATO, etc., the situation becomes highly dangerous for Egypt, especially when British fidelity to international undertakings and respect for the U.N. charter had not been very commendable. Turkey, for example, is a member both of the NATO and the Baghdad Pact, the defence of Turkey and Iraq is contemplated in the agreement of 1954, and

19. *Ibid*, p. 428.

20. Lenczowski: *Ibid*, p. 292.

Pakistan is a member both of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO.

It may be stretching the imagination too far, but it is by no means impossible that an attack by "an outside power," say on Portugal or on Vietnam may precipitate a chain of events as a result of which Britain may invoke Art. 4 of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954. Obviously fulfilment of the treaty would jeopardise the national interest of Egypt.

Judging from all these considerations, I believe that the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* may be applied to the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. It may be referred to the International Court for its pronouncement on the matter. Schonfield observed in connection with the Agreements of 1936 and 1899, "Perhaps it was more straightforward for Egypt to denounce the Agreements of 1936 and 1899, however illegal it might be to act unilaterally, because these agreements no longer correspond to the realities

of the situation, than for Britain to profess to uphold the Suez Canal Convention when it had demonstrably lost its validity."²¹ The same argument applies to the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954.

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SARVODAYA AND DECENTRALISATION

BY PROF. MADAN GOPAL BHASIN, M.A.

FOUR questions are fundamental to an exhaustive exposition of this subject. First is the definition of the ends and the means. Second is the nature of their relationship. Third, whether the ends justify the means or the means settle the ends. The fourth is in no way less important. It demands a decision between the two conflicting views: whether the ends are to be decided first or the means are to be settled first. The answers to these four questions have a vital bearing on Sarvodaya (the ends) and Decentralisation (the means). This analytical survey would facilitate and hasten evaluations.

The ends are synonymous with objectives, targets and the goals. This is the terminus or the end of the journey. The means, on the other hand, are popularly known as rules and regulations, principles and procedures. This is a *modus operandi*, and approach and a way to achieve the ends.

The two are organically inter-dependent. Their relation is like the two sides of the coin.

The end is the obverse side whereas the means form the reverse side. The two are bridged by human endeavours and sacrifices. This relationship, when borne in mind, gives a complete perspective, a panoramic view, and thereby enlightenment to the mind.

Both the ends and the means should be just, righteous, and universal in scope and extent, and not parochial, sectarian and limited. The latter would simply blur the vision or transmit inverted images. Vested interests defile, narrow outlook confuses, and indifference harms both the ends and the means. The two unfortunately are variously understood in this world torn with strife, hatred and selfishness. To confirm the foregoing statement one may focus one's attention on the last hope of peace, the U.N.O. Here is enacted a strange drama. The Russian plans and suggestions are rejected outright if not condemned by America or her allies. This may be said of the Russians as well. The heterogeneous units forget the fundamental fact

they have in common and that is the basis of human life. The physical differences, cultural traits, social mores, customs and practices vary widely. This is due to differences in natural environment and the nurture, that is, upbringing. This makes an Eskimo differ from the Bushman of Kalahari, civilised Europeans and Uncle Sam from the Negroes and the cultured Indians. Similarly, the Nordic race differs from the Mongoloid and the Negro race in the structure of the lips and the hairs, the colour of the skin, the height, and the social practices. Similarly, one finds the co-existence of various types and ways of life in this world. And this is the reason to be advanced to confirm the inherent unity in diversity. This is explained by the uniform basis of human life from the North Pole to the South Pole, and the Greenwich Meridian to the International Date-Line. This fact must enter and lodge in all human cells, so that the hostility between man and man is ended for all times to come. I know this emphasis would throw the entire blame on man, and, that is what has to be manfully accepted. His shortcomings, and his inability to create balanced environment and balanced personality is the point being stressed. How can he overcome his shortcomings is a challenge to the entire world, and not to the underdeveloped countries only.

Should the ends be decided first or the means be settled first? Opinions may differ on this as well. It can be due to sentimental and emotional attachment to personalities and ideologies. The decision carries the utmost importance and requires an open mind to adjudicate. In my opinion, the ends should be decided first. The aim, thus, becomes clear. The second step should be to explore suitable ways and means to achieve the objective. Therefore the means must be chosen dispassionately. Following Gandhiji, these should be just and righteous: the means should be based on Truth and Non-violence. Furthermore, the means should be speedier and not slow as tortoise. Delays in execution injure the cause and produce more often embitterments and embarrassments. It is here that one feels the weight of the old adage—that the wrong man at the right place and the right man at the wrong place has a nuisance value. To re-orientate social values we should

proclaim a statute that the ends and the means are inseparable and cannot be divorced from one another. Both should be as broad as the finite and expanding Universe and as deep as eternity. Both should be championed, as Gandhiji proclaimed, on vehicles of Truth and Non-violence thus cultivating a living faith in the above statute. These should be carried through fearlessly and selflessly. Lord Buddha, Gandhiji and Christ followed the same pattern and thus became immortal institutions. Their teachings overflow with warmth of affection, glory of Truth and Non-violence (Love). Above all, by their example of the sacrifice of self these heroic souls blazed the trail for all mortals. Lord Buddha's *Nirvana*, Christ's "Love thy neighbour as thyself" and Gandhiji's Sarvodaya programme are lasting contributions to posterity.

These answers must be understood in this context. The objective must be crystall-clear. The means to achieve it should be just and righteous. It is only then that we can take steps with confidence and faith.

DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF SARVODAYA

The term Sarvodaya was used by Gandhiji in January, 1948, and since then it has gained currency. Its meaning is very simple and clear. It is literally translated as the uplift of all, the welfare of all. This concept envisages the goal as a casteless and classless society. It ensures equal opportunities for all. Its message is all for each and each for all. It comprises the good of all—material, mental and spiritual. This concept of Sarvodaya is, in fact, an enlargement of the utilitarian philosophy—the greatest good of the greatest number.

This concept is as old as time. It has permeated in all ways of life—Dharma. Hindus, for example, daily pray in the Sarvodaya strain. They wish that all be at peace, that all have plenty, that all be diseaseless and that none should have unhappiness. This prayer exhibits the foregoing as ordinary human weaknesses. Likewise one sees the same type of prayers in other religions like Christianity, Islam, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Jainism, etc., etc. Sarvodaya, the welfare of all, in my humble opinion, is the very essence of all religions and philosophies. These ideals are written with

indelible ink in bold relief on transparent surface.

God, in the words of Bhagvad Gita, created Man together with material wealth for his nature and ordained him to share it justly, each with his fellows, to the extent of his just needs so that he reaches a full and purposeful life. The material wealth is in abundance. The bowels of the Mother Earth contain inexhaustible resources which can suffice the needs of growing populations. This view is realistic and cannot be rated as illusory or over-optimistic. The various parts of plants, animals and inorganic elements can be converted into limitless articles of use. The opposite view to this is parochial and limited. Man in that case makes an ambitious assertion that he is a know-all. He has got to eliminate this weakness. He should know that the present cry of shortages and extinction of resources is primarily due to the unwise use of land and colossal wastage of virtual resources.

The Sarvodaya concept, *whensoever translated into practice*, would bring the Kingdom of Heaven on earth and the Ram Rajya of Gandhiji's dream. The concept at that time will not be a fancy or a hallucination. It is practical and History chronicles it in our glorious periods.

The scope of Sarvodaya is not confined to a region or a country. It covers in its extent the two hemispheres, nay, the finite and expanding Universe. It lays emphasis on a stateless society, a wall-less environment, and balanced personalities capable of self-government. This would produce best results. Its end-products will be life-giving commodities and not money. Man will lead a free, happy and fuller life. This type of economy will be known as bio-technic economy and the way of life will be termed as *Biosophy*. The Stateless state would be a Service State. It will evolve balanced personalities and balanced environments. Thus the body, the mind and the spirit would be in equilibrium and bring Heaven and Earth together. To cite an instance, why should a man, having obedient wife, loyal children, a sincere servant, a good house to live in and congenial work to do should think of going to Heaven? This concept has to be specifically introduced in all cells of our organic life. Then the man will become Man and the *Sana-tana Dharma* will be the Heaven on Earth.

Poverty, ignorance and disease will not be in the dictionary of human beings and the need for fighting elections and struggling for power would cease simultaneously.

IMPEDIMENTS

The objective is fixed as Sarvodaya. The roads leading to the goal are now to be explored. It is true that all roads lead to Delhi and that the earth is an oblate spheroid in shape. The goal can be achieved by following the various doctrines, dogmas and the isms. But it can be achieved and, three different things are required for its adoption. An open mind is needed to make a healthy decision. It is useful to recall that the prejudiced mind simply accelerates the crisis. The means should be *swadeshi*. The approach should be natural. The means, as Gandhiji outlines, should be just and righteous, self-denying and self-sacrificing.

The success achieved by centralised society to banish hunger, disease and poverty is partial. It is motivated by selfish strivings and the result is colonisation, grafting of indigenous culture with alien and various complexes. *Robber* economy and raw material economy have thrived and produced inequalities among the inheritors of Mother Earth. This has made differences among the equal-born. It suggests all the more that man has not been evolving on right lines. His path has to be changed, that is, his social ideals are to be revised and the economic structure has to be pruned on the basis of Sarvodaya.

The Technological Era has ushered in the big three problems corroding our major asset—the human family. These are (i) inflation—slow and fast; (ii) unemployment, under-employment—educated as well as uneducated; (iii) co-destruction.

The foregoing discussion necessarily leads us to accept this challenge and frame a fresh plan for the reorganisation of human relationships. The Science of Human Relationships is just in the dormant stage. This, whensoever, it receives attention, will cover the three fundamental conflicts of man and man, Man and Nature, Man and his own self. The need to study this has never been so great and essential, as we find it today. Therefore, it is necessary to

catalogue obstacles which are likely to sidetrack the devotees of Sarvodaya.

1. Power State and Centralised Society;
2. Living Faith in Material or Money Economy;
3. Belief in "Every thing is well that ends well" and thereby less attention is paid to ways and means;
4. Desire has outrun the ability to deserve;
5. Individual Centralisation, that is, individuals overburdening themselves with responsibilities, thereby limiting opportunities for others;
6. Taking pleasure in wooing shadows, shouting slogans and becoming vociferous, thereby increasing frictions among people.

THE BASIS OF RE-ORGANISATION OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

If Centralisation is the root cause of all troubles, then Decentralisation is the panacea. Decentralisation is the reverse of Centralisation. It means spreading from the Centre, thinning the Centre, or lightening the Centre.

The philosophy in support of it is scientific, natural and practical. It relates just needs and just wants. It is natural like the Sun radiating heat, light and actinic rays to all planets, satellites and comets. The latter group take these according to their just needs. Furthermore, the excess of heat received by the various cosmic bodies is radiated back at night. It is given back because it is in excess. This property of the Sun known as insolation makes it self-luminous unlike the Moon. Similarly, the movement of air is from high pressure to low pressure; the rivers follow the gradient; the roots take the nutrition from the earth and despatch it readily to various parts of the plant. This shows the organic inter-dependence in the Cosmos. Nature abhors vacuum; hence no vacuum exists in Nature, in the absolute sense. The natural tendency, as recorded by various scientific instruments, is to flow towards areas relatively vacant, less favoured and underprivileged.

The analogy above, when substituted for human relationships, will make room for a few questions.

1. What is to be decentralised?
2. How should it be phased?
3. Who should bell the cat?

The answer to these pertinent questions must be given to face the issues arising out of Decentralisation. This will be steamrolling of doubts and confusions.

What are centralised are to be decentralised. The economy is to be built anew from top to bottom, from high to low, and not vice-versa. The teacher teaches and the student learns; the father asks and the son obeys, this is what I mean. The centralisations are of four types: (i) Political Centralisation; (ii) Economic Centralisation; (iii) Religious Centralisation; and (iv) Individual Centralisation.

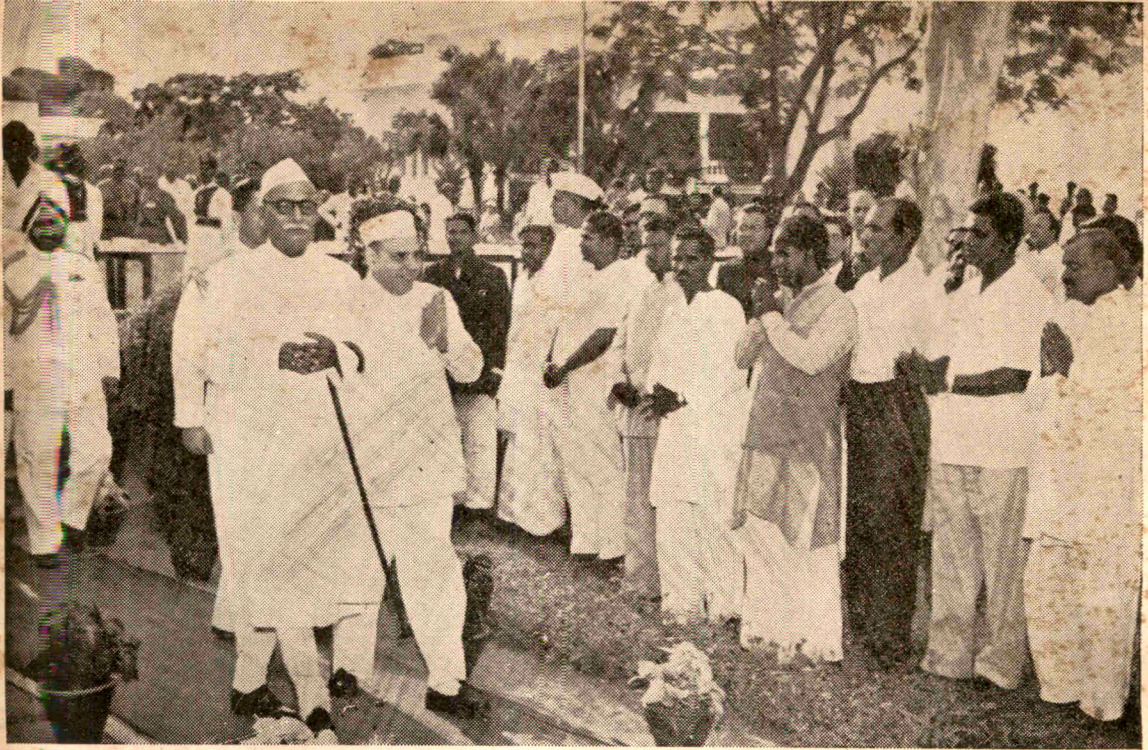
Next, where do we find these centralisations? *Well, all these are found in the culture of cities.* The cities are the points of maximum concentration and over-centralisation. Such places are popularly termed as metropolis, megalopolis, and tyrannopolis. The local self-government is successful enough in safeguarding vested interests in more ways than one. The units of local self-government like corporations, municipal committees, notified area committees, etc., are divorced from the adjoining rural areas. This administrative set-up finds pleasure in forgetting the uninterrupted demographic and economic drain of resources from the countryside. Furthermore, the continuous urban areas are also partitioned (separate municipalities in a continuous urban areas). These points indicate egoistic tendencies. The city area is what the countryside makes it. In fact, the two are to be termed as the poles of a region. The city is at the zenith and the countryside is at the nadir. Both are problem areas. The city suffers from congestion and haphazard development, whereas the countryside is either undeveloped or underdeveloped. In both the areas diversity runs rampant. Everything is unequal. City culture is based on egoism and exploitation. It is the culture of unemployment. It is thus that we have congestion, high urban rents, blighted areas, slums, beggars, delinquency, malformed personalities and an artificial way of life. The city is like a giant rose with no fragrance. The countryside is kept by the city in perennial



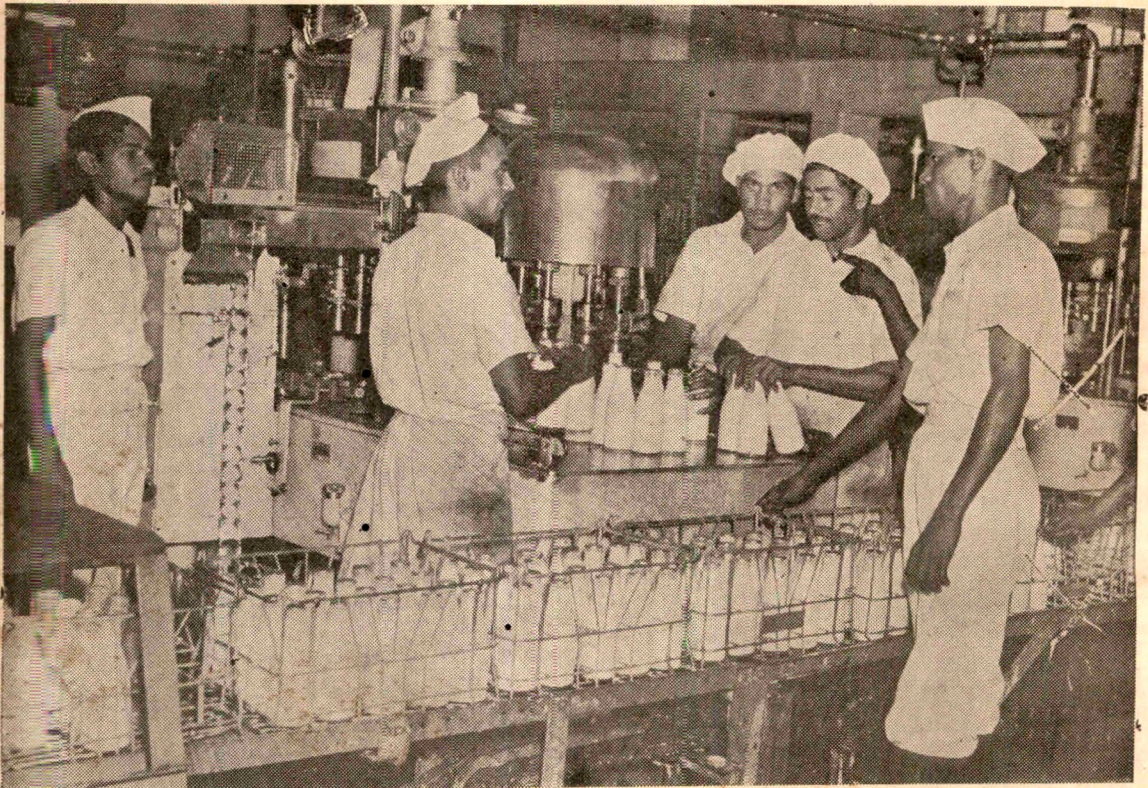
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru laying a wreath at the A-bomb Victims Memorial at Hiroshima in Japan



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru being presented with a bouquet of flowers by a Japanese girl at the Haneda Airport in Japan on October 4



During his visit to Hyderabad, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad attended an At Home given in his honour by Shri Chandu Lal Trivedi, Governor of Andhra



Aarey Milk Colony, Bombay: Bottle-filling plant at the Central Dairy

dependence. Therefore the countryside always looks up to this giant rose for help and guidance. But, as usual, this sympathy is not forthcoming.

Over-concentration and over-centralisation has almost multiplied problems. To relieve the pressure of population decentralisation has a panacea to offer. This decentralisation has to be carried through by means of just, righteous and approved plans. The planners and administrators should neither be impelled by favouritism nor by profit motives.

Decentralisation has come into limelight only recently. Suburbanisation and extension of cities is just one diluted form of it. It requires to be properly understood. Comprehensive planning at this stage is all the more essential. The basis of decentralisation has to be determined and thereafter to be translated into practice. In my opinion, decentralisation should be planned on geographical or what is popularly known as the regional basis. The region, that is, a homogeneous territorial unit is the only composite unit, capable of solving various problems confronting the community. Decentralisation on regional or geographical basis would make available the most appropriate land, use and harmonious functioning of community life. To make this possible a few decisions must be arrived at by all concerned on:

- (i) Limitation of the population of the city;
- (ii) Limitation of the size of the city;
- (iii) Limitation of the density of population in the city regions.

Without fixing a ceiling limit on these basic questions it is next to impossible to handle situations in an ideal manner. Failing this approach, humanity will always groan under the weight of unwieldy behaviour pattern of the city culture.

The philosophy of decentralisation on the regional basis is scientific, natural and practical. It means equitable distribution of resources. It implies biosophic and biotechnic economy. It indicates that too much of everything is bad. Excesses result in failures. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. This happens due to false notions of dignity because of the false social values. *The remedy to this is the philo-*

sophy and practice of decentralisation on regional basis. This would open a wide vista of opportunities. This will enable the community to live and help live. This will relieve congestions and stop the corrosion of our major asset—the human family. There will be generated a reverence for life and a true democracy.

Decentralisation on regional basis is the only way to appreciate diversity in unity. The search for this objective should be detached and dispassionate. One has constantly to bear in mind that the land and the people are geographically conditioned. Therefore, the people should not be made victims of uniformity by regimentation. Each region has its own personality, and our efforts should be to re-build and re-animate life in that region. This means that the decisions are to be made on the respective merits of each region. This policy is akin to the policy enunciated and adopted by Nehruji as regards foreign affairs of India.

Decentralisation on regional basis is not a weak slogan. It envisages re-adjustments and re-adaptations. This point is very simple. If the entire quantity of milk cannot be held in one can, it is always better to use other cans. If the cans are not there, these should be either immediately procured or manufactured. Similar is the case with cities. The major slice of population should not be allowed to concentrate in the cities for many reasons. First, it limits opportunities for a well-balanced environment and well-balanced personality. Second, it plagues city areas with congestion and problems arising out of congestion. Third, there is a colossal waste of resources both human and material. Fourth, it hastens disintegration in the community life. Fifth, it is ready for co-destruction.

Decentralisation on regional basis means re-distribution of population on geographical basis. This is all the more essential in the under-developed economies of countries like India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan.

The culture of cities is without real roots. The life in cities is thoroughly shaky and artificial. Hence the adjustments are ill-balanced and would remain so—until and unless the citizens do not re-orientate themselves in these directions. Sarvodaya—the welfare of all—will be no more than a cheap slogan. Sarvodaya demands decen-

tralisation on regional basis as a practical step to be taken to achieve the goal.

Decentralisation involves four types:

1. Political Decentralisation.
2. Economic Decentralisation.
3. Religious Decentralisation.
4. Individual Decentralisation.

POLITICAL DECENTRALISATION

Decentralisation can be initiated with political Decentralisation. It means dispersal of all institutions performing administrative functions and housing political power. This will eliminate local jealousies and establish harmony among various communities. The dispersal has to be phased in a well-defined comprehensive plan. This will increase and strengthen the fundamental unity inherent in diversity. This would considerably reduce the chances of corrupt and illicit practices. The unity will be expressed through the press, the radio and the cinema; and the means of transportation will make possible the organic inter-dependence from region to region and person to person. Failing this approach, disintegration will hasten and history will repeat itself. To cite an instance, Delhi has been the capital and nerve centre of India in all historical epochs, and the downfall of Delhi was always accompanied by the disintegration of the country and foreign rule. This policy of decentralisation on regional basis has other benefits as well. It will make room for the realisation of latent talents and skill available in various regions. It will make available better and healthier accommodations for offices and for residential purposes. It will relieve congestions in the cities. This policy is practical and we can adopt it without fear or doubt.

ECONOMIC DECENTRALISATION

It means that all eggs should not be placed in only a few baskets. This policy is gaining currency gradually; but it is too slow. This policy demands the dispersal of existing industries on resource-distribution pattern; new industries to be located at new places; there should be no economic specialisation. There should be reorganisation of labour, capital and

management relationship on Sarvodaya basis. This policy would automatically bring about better conditions for the emotional integration of the people. There will be neither strikes nor fraudulent practices. Bio-technic economy would replace money-economy and full employment would be a reality. The new social order would pay a tribute to the old social order, and all will have a happy, healthy, and a freer and fuller life.

RELIGIOUS DECENTRALISATION

Dharma and religion has dominated the stage for many a century now. The enthusiasts and the devotees have been able to centralise God in institutions like the Church, the Temple, the Pagoda and the Mosque, as if the Almighty God is cabined and enthroned only at these places. Not only this, some religious devotees have found pleasure in partitioning God and thereby have divided the loyalties of the people. Thus true religion and true religious outlook could not thrive.

God is present everywhere and we call Him by various names. A living faith in Him is a pre-requisite. True religion, as I understand it, comprises realisation of the self and the true expression of this self-realisation to others. Meditation and Sangha are the basic necessities in the realisation of true religion. This message has to be conveyed uninterruptedly from top to bottom, from the true clergy to the laity so that may get the opportunity of realising himself. This means an abiding faith in *reverence for life* and realisation of the fact that we are God in evolution.

INDIVIDUAL DECENTRALISATION

It is the prop of the above-mentioned three types. Unless the individual becomes the beacon light, a self-luminous personality, Sarvodaya as the goal can never be achieved. He has to enlighten his own self first and then help others in illuminating others. Gandhi, Buddha and Christ kindled with the fire of self-sacrifice self-denial and love for Truth and Ahimsa insured for men *bliss, Ananda and Nirvana*. They became institutions by themselves. But the people at large have simply followed them and after their disappearance from this mortal world they have started paying lip-sympathy to

them and their ideals. They have not been evolving their own personalities in their own way. It is because of this we have hero-worship and not worship of the self. We resort to flattery and exult in propaganda and advertisement. We are hungry for portfolios, that is, positions of high office and dignity, flattering addresses and adulation.

Gandhiji has outlined the attributes for a Sarvodaya worker. These qualities have to be adopted by all and not by a few. It is then that we achieve our goal—the Sarvodaya. It would mean that the responsibility and the powers

have to be functionally decentralised so that group functioning ceases to exist and the individual has ideal working condition. I feel that this would enable him to take personal interest and pleasure in the work assigned to him.

Decentralisation on religion basis in the political and economic field and functional decentralisation in religious and individual spheres would lead us to satisfy our physiological, psychological and spiritual wants and needs in a positive and creative manner. When this is so, we have Sarvodaya—the welfare of all, the uplift of all.

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RESEARCHES AND EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY PRINCIPAL J. LAHIRI, M.A., B.T., DIP-ED., (Lond.), W.B.S.E.S. (Rtd.).

LOST KNOWLEDGE IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

KNOWLEDGE grows apace through research, which adds to the scientific knowledge of subjects. So rapid has been the increase of knowledge within recent years that the gap between theory and practice particularly in the field of education tends to widen. Again hundreds of research workers engaged in digging holes in the field of education have produced theses, the large majority of which are being irreverently interred in the farthest recesses of University libraries instead of being made available to the field workers in the interest of further progress. It is true that in the field of education some of the theses deal with problems remote from those which are encountered daily by those responsible for controlling and guiding children in schools on account of the fact that there is yet too great a gulf between the research worker in the erstwhile segregate Training College and the teacher, which is now being happily bridged up by the more recent Institutes of Education with their Extension Departments. These theses deserve to die but there are undoubtedly many others which are rich in original thought and new knowledge and which throw light on the solution of real class-room problems. These should be publicised and made available to teachers for real progress in educational methods. It is a truism that man progresses by handing on

discoveries from generation to generation so that each generation builds on the foundations of the previous one. So the failure of our Universities and Post-graduate Training Colleges to make the results of educational research readily available is a virtual betrayal of the responsibilities of the authorities for building up education on the solid bed-rock of research for the real advancement of learning, for it betrays a lack of national efficiency for which there seems to be no valid excuse.

HOW TO RETRIEVE THIS LOSS

A synthesis of previous researches in a specific field of enquiry has been woefully neglected by our Universities which should not only publish comprehensive titles of theses but also give details. Now that Bureaus of Psychological and Educational Research are being attached to Institutes of Education, it should be possible for these bodies to place their entire resources at the command of the individual researcher. They should have all references properly filed and made readily accessible to workers. All records of previous researches should also contain suggestions for further research, bibliographies and lists of follow-up investigations on kindred problems. Without a thorough acquaintance with statistical procedure no research worth the name can be fruitfully carried out. So it is up to these bodies to lend the individual researcher the services of trained statisticians and a panel of experts to whom the

Bureau could refer. The Bureau should make available the results of educational research in a form suitable for direct application in the school room. An agreement should be made between Universities on the interavailability of these so that any thesis can be studied in the students' own University library.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION DEMANDS CLOSE LIAISON BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND TRAINING COLLEGES

Scientific education demands the application of research on day-to-day class-room problems. If education is controlled by constant research it should produce results of outstanding importance in a few years. Hence the need for developing a close liaison between a school and a Training College. Today there are few things so important in any Training College as the presence of a group of research workers, drawn partly from the profession and partly from University graduates with education or psychology as one of their subjects and with a flair for research digging holes in the almost virgin field for research in education in this country. Indeed today so great has been the increase of modern advances in educational theory and practice that no sooner is a man trained for the profession than he needs a refresher course to bring his training up-to-date.

VALUE OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

Research is basically a frame of mind—an attitude of inquiry which alone can confer on the teaching profession a dignity and—an enlightened procedure, for the professionalising of the teachers' calling rests on the capacity for original research displayed by field workers in education. Research economises effort, prevents wastage, increases efficiency and reacts to vitalise and dignify the work of the teacher. It helps inspectors, educational administrators and supervisors to adopt a scientific attitude towards the work of appraising results through age and grade norms in scholastic subjects. It will put an end to the *a priori* criticism of newer methods of teaching by teachers of the old-school clinging to the old ways of doing things. Old ideas die hard. Research develops faith in new methods and points out to old-time conservatives that a man without faith is really dead. Where there is no vision, the people perish. Teachers

must have faith in the future of their profession and vision to guide it inevitably to its rightful destiny.

WHAT THE AVERAGE TRAINED TEACHER CAN DO

It may not be given to the average teacher to take in hand some research work worth the name. He may not have the time, facility and scope for carrying out an ambitious research programme, for a mere collection of data without precisely formulating the problem and applying statistical formulae for interpretation of valid results, does not constitute research. But it is certainly his business to embark on experiments with the help of standardised tests and scales and the application of statistical procedure. When a teacher applies such a procedure to his class and derives from it a result which is valid only for that class, such an effort can hardly be called research deserving publication, although for the teacher himself it may be profitable. He should also give every facility to research workers in education to take tests. If the average teacher stands aside and refuses to help them, they will only have themselves to thank if newer methods, the efficiency of which has been tested by research, are imposed on them from the results of experiments which they do not care to understand, which are really applicable to their day-to-day teaching work and in which they have to share.

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE CLASS ROOM

The marriage of education and psychology is sure to have valuable effects in spreading, for instance, the understanding of individual difference in the organisation of opportunity classes for the brilliant who should be given supplementary assignment and be excused from the general drill meant for the average, and of adjustment classes for the slow and the backward, in providing efficient vocational guidance and in numerous other ways. From the point of view of social and educational maladjustment the position of the teacher is thus most strategic. The higher the professional consciousness of the teacher and the greater his sense of responsibility to maladjusted problem children, the more positive his contribution to human salvage and social progress, for through guidance the teacher may facilitate personality adjustment in order to help the child to assume

in due course the fuller responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

EMPIRICAL CHILD-STUDY—A SHEER NECESSITY

Again the knowledge of the pupils is the very foundation of all methods of education which is basically the bringing together (*en rapport*) of the two poles, viz., the subject and child and the way in which teachers seek to make the subject a part of the child's life. Unless, therefore, the teacher understands the workings of the child-mind by studying each child entrusted to his care—the way in which his personality develops and grows—the emotional difficulties he has to contend with in the way of his adjustment and balanced development free from stress and tension—the effect of his social environment on the child, etc., the teachers' methods will be simply blind gropings in the dark. "Every child is a creature of loves and hates, jealousies, aspirations, fears and disappointments." This work of empirical child-study will, of course, add but one more task to the already overburdened teacher; but it is a task which must be tackled resolutely and with vision if a great deal of the value of the teachers' work is not to be lost.

HOW THE NEWER TRAINING COLLEGES CAN HELP IN DIFFUSING A NEW SPIRIT IN EDUCATION

While we welcome the beginning of a new spirit in education brought about by a frame of mind which refuses to accept anything as valid unless established by researches and experiments in a few progressive schools in this country, the large majority of untrained teachers in the rest still remain impervious to new ideals and methods. It is only in the few progressive schools that the idea of the child as a passive recipient of information handed out by the teacher is dying, the "activities" by children themselves are assuming greater importance and the extended use of visual aids is making learning more vivid and enjoyable than before. It will not therefore be extravagant to say that the large majority of schools and teachers still remain unaffected by the changes brought about by the new psychology and researches in the field of education. The child leaves school far too often lacking the essentials of a sound education, the foundations of which are not

being well and truly laid because teachers still continue to be ruled by blind tradition. In spite of the mounting cost of education can one honestly say that the individual child is receiving a full share of the teacher's attention and the parent adequate surrender value for the money spent by him on education? Certainly not. The situation can improve only if adequately trained teachers on adequate pay-scales are made available to the schools. Research will make the office of the teacher more dignified and with it the role of the amateur in education will decline and ultimately disappear. The newer Institutes of Education should as a normal part of their work conduct research work in various important aspects of pedagogy and establish close liaison with the general body of teachers and through them with class-rooms problems so that teaching and research may go hand in hand resulting in contributions of the greatest significance for the improvement of education.

TWO PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION REQUIRING

URGENT RESEARCH

Two of the problems that need urgent research in education may now be discussed. A new curriculum for the higher secondary schools has been constructed by a panel of experts but the framers have made it perfectly clear that it is only tentative and that it should be constantly reviewed, reshaped and readjusted with new accretions of facts, truths, processes, principles, etc., as new facts emerge with the everwidening expansion of frontiers of knowledge. It is 'up to the Training Colleges and the State Bureaus of Educational Research to embark immediately on curricular research to settle details finally after experiments conducted on lines similar to those in Western countries. Then there is the problem of examination and evaluation, which urgently calls for a solution, for "in no branch does badness of design even in small and apparently trifling details of the machinery affect so profoundly the whole psychology from the school upwards to the University." To reform the traditional system of examination we need to devise 'objective' tests, based on the technique of intelligence tests which will have the merit of validity, reliability, comparability, wide coverage, and of testing the application of knowledge to specific life situations. The

results of these tests are to be supplemented by cumulative records to be maintained by each teacher. In this way our examination system must be completely readjusted to meet the new angle of approach. In order to do this, teachers will have to use a number of tests, such as, intelligence tests, achievements tests, aptitude tests and such other tests. It is up to the newer types of Training Colleges and State Bureaus of Psychological and Educational research to prepare the forms of cumulative records by research and to standardise tests and scales. The Training Colleges should organise short courses of training to train teachers in the administration of these tests and the maintenance of the cumulative Record Cards. The newer types of Training Colleges should send out teachers in whom has been created an enthusiasm for experiment and research with knowledge as how to conduct them, and should initiate, supervise and co-ordinate experimental work in schools, instead of maintaining their present "ivory tower" attitude of splendid isolation from the schools.

OTHER PROBLEMS CALLING FOR RESEARCH

Research is also needed in the history of education to reinforce progressive ideas, in philosophy to evolve a real and satisfactory philosophy of education that takes into account the most up-to-date contributions of modern science, in educational administration, e.g., cost of education, function of inspection, wastage, selection at 11 plus and 14 plus for diversion of children into secondary schools or into diversified courses, etc., in educational organisation e.g., age of entrance, size of class for teaching, relative efficiency of collective and individual teaching, aspects of examination, etc., in curricula, e.g., principles or criteria for selection of subject-matter, etc., in comparative education, in moral education, e.g., nature of character, personality studies in lying, stealing, deceit, juvenile delinquency, etc., and in methods of teaching, e.g., relative merits of two methods of approach, measurement of school subjects, such as, handwriting, spelling, reading, composition, scales, etc., with age and grade norms.

THE TECHNIQUE OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

'Technique is to research what method is to teaching or logic is to thinking.' Educational

problems, unlike problems of natural science, are usually complex, elusive, unpredictable to a certain extent, and, as such, artificial isolation of data for elimination of irrelevant factors tending to vitiate the validity of results, is often very difficult, if not impossible. Besides in all educational investigations we are faced with variations on account of age, grade, time of the year, heredity, maturity, training and social status. Owing to these difficulties the technique of equivalent or parallel groups (i.e., the control group and the experimental group) are sought to be equated with the help of the application of statistical formulae, such as, mean, standard deviation and correlation has been devised. For example, if we are to determine the relative efficiency of two methods of teaching, we can divide a class of 40 children into two equivalent groups after ensuring that the mean and the standard deviation (or mean of deviations from the mean) are the same for two groups on the results of intelligence and scholastic tests. The control group is the group which is not to participate in the new teaching technique but is to be taught according to the traditional method whereas the experimental group is to be taught according to the new method. As under such an arrangement the control group is unaffected, we can easily determine by the results achieved in the control group whether the initial and final tests have been of equal difficulty.

TOOLS OF RESEARCH AND HOW TO APPLY THEM

The tools of research are intelligence and scholastic tests, standardised for age and grade. Such tests are now being standardised in India. With the help of the normal frequency curve we can pass judgement on faulty teaching or unsuitability of tests, as distribution of abilities in a randomly selected sample invariably conforms to the bell-shaped curve. It is, therefore, important for the teacher and researcher to be familiar with the mathematics of the normal frequency curve and the administration of standardised tests and scales. Intelligence tests, group or individual, constitute a very important psychological tool for researches and experiments, for reclassifying a class into homogeneous groups, for more effective teaching, for

educational and vocational guidance; for differentiating the course of study as regards both content and methods, etc. A reasonable homogeneity in the mental ability of pupils who are taught together, is a *sine qua non* of efficient teaching. A school's first task should be to find its gifted children—the potential leaders, inventors, research scientists, etc., of a nation and to set them tasks more commensurate with their ability, for it is of greater value to society to discover a single gifted child and help in his proper upbringing than to train a thousand dullards. An example to illustrate the technique of research may be relevant here. Let us suppose we are to find out the efficiency of Basic schools as compared with the traditional primary schools. The first step will be to construct a battery of objective tests on scholastic subjects, based on the technique of intelligence tests and the principles of the new-type examination. Indeed the most notable contribution to the technique of educational research is the standardised "objective" tests in which the marks awarded to candidates for their performance in school-subjects by the same judge at different times or by different judges at the same time should be the same. All we need to do is to collect some 4000 questions from Heads of the two types of schools, Basic and Primary, on scholastic subjects, such as, mother tongue, arithmetic, social studies, etc., and then transform them into batteries of objective tests after applying the principles of the new examination and testing them on children of both types of schools. Then some standardised tests or scales in spelling, reading, composition, handwriting, etc., may be chosen from the Training College of the area. Thus equipped with the necessary tests, they should be administered on boys of two types of schools randomly selected, care being taken to ensure uniformity in setting the tests, the conditions under which the boys do the tests within a fixed time-limit and the assessment of their performance and in weeding out irrelevant factors calculated to vitiate results. The next process is statistical, viz., evaluating the results and their interpretation with the help of statistical formulae such as mean, standard deviation and correlation.

LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

In mental measurement we have to deal with ultimate and imponderable values—things of the spirit which are not amenable to statistical evaluation and which are variable, indeterminate and unpredictable to a degree, unlike phenomena in natural science. To give an example, can any kind of examination test the imponderable values of literature, a subject "so full of suggestion, of delicate half-lights and shadows"? To substitute statistics for creative thought will be to court disaster. There are the dangers of carrying a research to an extreme length (e.g., having more in the conclusion than the premises warrant) and of sweeping generalisation (e.g., when the data are derived from a very restricted field of psychological or pedagogical investigation). We must not be carried away by our craze for precision, for mathematical exactitude through the application of statistical formulae when we have to reckon with ultimate values where non-statistical methods are applicable. We must not forget that man can not only meet a situation but also can create a new situation, and that this "creativity" of man and his conduct as determined by motives, ideals, sentiments, etc., are really beyond the scope of a behaviourist psychology, based on a mechanistic view of life to explain. We must have the imaginative insight to be able to look beyond the present to behold the vision splendid. "If this vision should fade into the light of common day, not only will the people perish but research itself will become but a sterile futility."*

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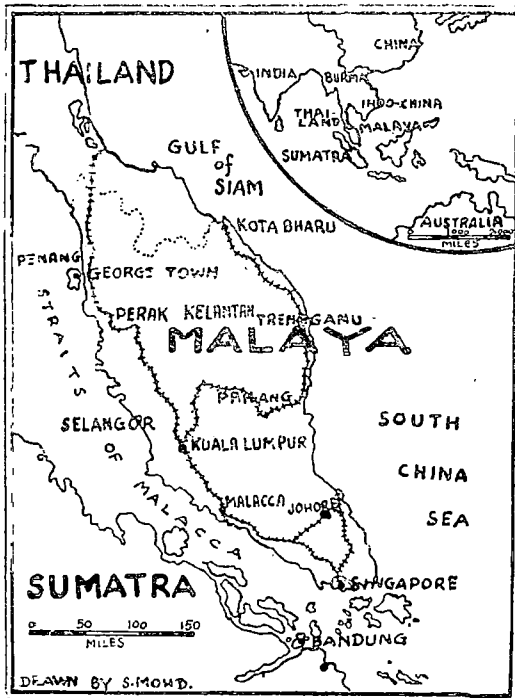
* Being a summary of lectures delivered to teachers at the Institute of Education for Women, Alipur Calcutta in October, 1956.

MALAYA STEPS INTO THE REALM OF FREEDOM

By Z. H. KAZMI

On August 31, 1957, the British have pulled out of their richest colonial possession, and the last of the foreign-dominated Asian nations—barring, of course, a few strategically important pockets—has cast off the shackles of slavery and triumphantly stepped into the realm of freedom. Malaya, the latest country to have successfully trodden the path to independence within the Commonwealth, has chosen to be a democratic Federation.

The achievement of freedom by 55,00,000 people of Malaya reflects credit on them and on the untiring efforts made by their farsighted, sober and popular Prime Minister, Tenko Abdul Rahman.



Situated in the strife-ridden South-east Asia and bordered on the north by Thailand (Siam), Malaya is a peninsula known for its rich rubber estates and fabulous tin mines.

About the size of Kashmir, the country has the usual tropical climate and is well

watered by numerous rivers and rivulets streaming down its high mountains. The land is very fertile and abounds in dense forests, flora and fauna. The palm-fringed coast-line provides fishing industry. Rice and fish form the staple diet of the people. Rubber, tin, copra, rattan (cane), palm-oil, gutta-percha, pine-apples, damars and gambier are the chief produce and main items of export.

All the people whether Malays, Chinese or Indians who have settled down in the country are known as 'Malayans'.

Malays, the main inhabitants, are Muslims. They belong to the Mongolian stock and are said to be the descendants of the migrants from Central Sumatra, once the home of an early civilization.

Gentle and courteous, Malays are of easy-going disposition. They are liberal in thought and accommodating. Before their conversion to Islam in the 13th Century, they were either Buddhists or Hindus. Some of their customs and rituals still reflect Hindu influence.

The Malay dress consists of 'baju'—a loose-cut coat and a *sarong* or *pyjama*. A *sarong* resembles a *tahband* or *tahmat* used by a section of the Indian Muslims. Their headgear, called *songkok*, is a piece of silk or cotton cloth. *Sarongs* of lovely texture and designs worn by the women, are produced locally.

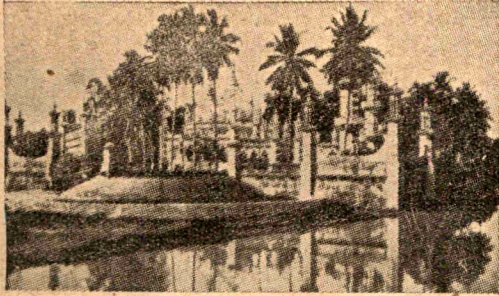
Cultivation of rice and fishery are the mainstay of the Malays, yet a large number of them depend for a living on cloth-weaving and making of baskets, mats, ropes, canes, bamboo fish-traps and such other articles of daily use.

Modest and bashful, the Malay women enjoy a wide range of freedom and do not observe 'purdah.' They are graceful and healthy, and fully share the burden of the outdoor work with their menfolk.

The Chinese who form the second largest community, are mostly businessmen and technicians.

The population of the Malayans of the Indian origin is about 5,00,000. Most of them

are the descendants of the Indian migrants who settled in Malaya during the 19th Century as labourers in coconut plantations and in spice, tapioca and sugar-cane gardens. Now they are found in all walks of life of the country.



Surrounded by the cocoanut and palm trees this magnificent mosque at Kuala Lumpur stands on the bank of the river Klang

The thirty thousand aboriginal people of Malaya are divided into three tribes—Jukuns, Semongs and Sakais. These fastly dying-out aborigines generally reside in the jungles and observe queer customs and rituals. They are good hunters and live on meat, fruits, roots and barks. Their method of hunting is, however, different from that followed by their counterparts in other countries. They put the poisoned arrows in long wooden pipes, take aim and then blow the pipe forcefully by the mouth. The arrow hits the target—whether a bird or an animal—and brings it down in a moment.

Their way of disposal of the dead is also unique. Contrary to the common practice of burial or cremation, they tie the corpse in a pole or a tree in some remote part of the jungle and, believing that even the dead feel hunger and thirst, leave some food and drink near the dead body.

The matrimonial custom prevalent among them is nonetheless strange and interesting. When a young aborigine expresses his desire to marry, a tribal feast is arranged to which are invited all the prospective brides. The bridegroom chases the girl of his choice. If he catches her in the first attempt, the girl becomes his wife otherwise he cannot sue her again. But the marriage does not bind the bride to live only

with her husband, for the tribal custom allows her to cohabit with any number of men of her tribes. She is also at liberty to leave her husband permanently.

These primitive tribes follow no particular religion. Their beliefs and rituals are essentially pagan.

Before the advent of the British in Malaya (1820 A.D.), the political condition of the country was more or less the same that was obtaining in India during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. When they were establishing themselves there as traders, the various Malayan states—Johore, Malacca, Negri, Semblan, Selangor, Pehang, Perak, Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, etc.—were engaged in mutual destruction. Finding the country ideal for colonization and the situation favourable for its occupation, the British diplomats started intervention in the internal affairs of the embattled states.



A smiling Malay girl dyeing a sarong

Alarmed at the rapidly growing influences of a foreign power and impending danger of enslavement, the rulers of the native states awoke from deep slumber. The people rallied to their call. Despite their exhausted military strength, the patriots made repeated heroic attempts to get rid of the common enemy. But the much superior arms and strategy broke their power and by the end of the last century the whole of Malaya was virtually annexed to the British Crown.

Although defeated militarily, the freedom-

loving Malaysians did not submit to the alien rule tamely and continued to offer stubborn resistance to the intruders. Forced by circumstances, the British Government had to introduce political reforms from time to time until they decided recently to finally part with the jewel of their empire.

Varied and complex are the problems facing this young nation. The grim and gruelling guerilla warfare waged by the Malayan communists and the devastating devices adopted by the British authorities to crush them, have completely shattered the economic structure of the already poverty-stricken country.

Eradication of poverty is the first and foremost problem before the first independent national Government of Malaya and the Malaysians look to their resourceful and revered leader T. Abdul Rahman for its early solution.

Kuala Lumpur, the bustling capital of the Federation, is situated on the river Klang. A network of roads and railways connects it with the rest of the country. Palatial private and government buildings, fine homes and official residences, luxurious hotels and cafes, metalled roads flanked by well-laid avenues and modern vehicles are the main features of the fast-expanding Malayan metropolis. Johore Bahru, Malacca, George Town, Kota Bahru, Kuala Trengganu are among other notable cities.

Constituted recently into a separate state, the world-famous and strategic city of Singapore

hangs like a pendant at the southern tip of the Malayan peninsula.

Relations between India and Malaya have been close and cordial for the last two thousand years. A definite step towards the cultural intercourse between the two countries was taken in the 3rd century B.C. when Emperor Asoka the Great sent religious and cultural missions to Malaya and other Asian countries. Sometimes

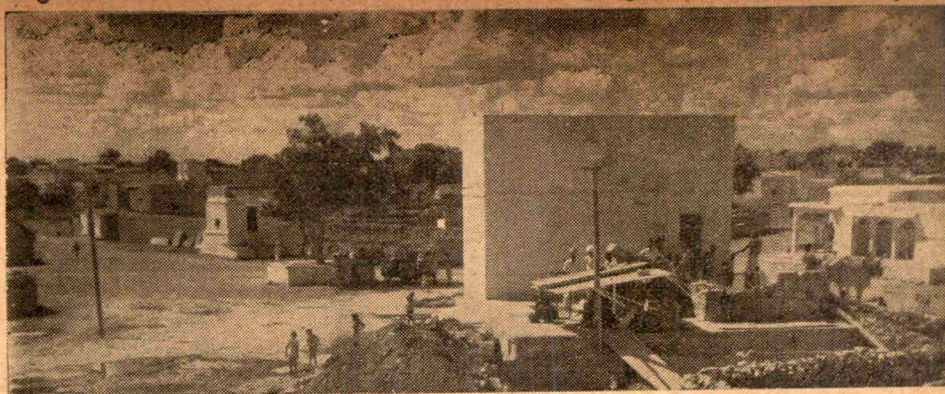


Malayan towns are generally situated on the banks of the country's numerous rivers

later, they were followed by the Indian pioneers and missionaries—both Buddhists and Hindus. A large number of temples, statues and stupas built by them have of late been unearthed at various sites. A reference to Malaya is also found in the Ramayana.

With the emergence of an independent democratic Malaya these age-old ties of friendship will be further strengthened.





A view of Borunda, one of the most progressive villages in the Bilara Block

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Bilara Community Project (Rajasthan)

GOING around a Community Development Block in Rajasthan is like travelling in Time. There, in the small setting of a single village, you could find juxtaposed two different periods, two different philosophies and ways of life. In no other place, perhaps, could one get so clear and direct a picture of the change that has come over India's countryside in the course of the last three or four years.

There was a variety of manner in which this situation presented itself to us during the time we spent in visiting a few villages in the Bilara Community Development Block, about 50 miles from Jodhpur. Wherever we went, the contrast between the old and the new dominated the view.

In Borunda, a village with a population of more than three thousand, situated at a distance of about 12 miles from the Block Headquarters, we noticed this contrast in the distinctive personalities of its youthful Sarpanch, Shri Chandi Dan, who presided over one of the most efficiently run and progressive Panchayats in the entire Bilara Block; and of a seventy-year-old farmer who had gone out of his village only twice in the last 20 years and who sat sullenly unmoved by the movement that was slowly changing the face of his village.

The contrast deepened as we moved into the interior of the Block. In Bhavi, for instance, we saw groups of women drawing water for drinking and cooking purposes from the dirty rain-water-filled pond outside the village, while

the bright new stone structure of the Panchayat well stood nearby. On the other hand, we found the same women displaying an amazing degree of social awareness and self-reliance in running a novel and highly ingenious small-savings scheme in their village.



Panchayat leaders at Bhavi discuss their development needs with the Block Development Officer of Bilara

• What happens is that every morning, when the housewife sits down for the familiar corn-grinding routine, she takes a handful of corn to be put aside in a gaily decorated earthen pot, specially kept for this purpose in every house. This is her family's daily contribution to small-

savings. By the end of each month, the pot is full and the money realised from the sales of the corn so collected, is invested in small-savings certificates. In one month alone, we gathered, Bhavi collected a sum of more than two hundred rupees—truly a large sum for a small village.

well; give the Bilara farmer water for his field and win his heart for ever."

The Block Development Officer illustrated his point with the remarkable case of Borunda. The Bilara Block came into being in April, 1954, and Borunda was made the headquarters

of a Village Level Worker three months later. After introducing normal agricultural extension services in the village, the major portion of the development potential of Borunda was spent on the construction of an elaborate water-supply system.

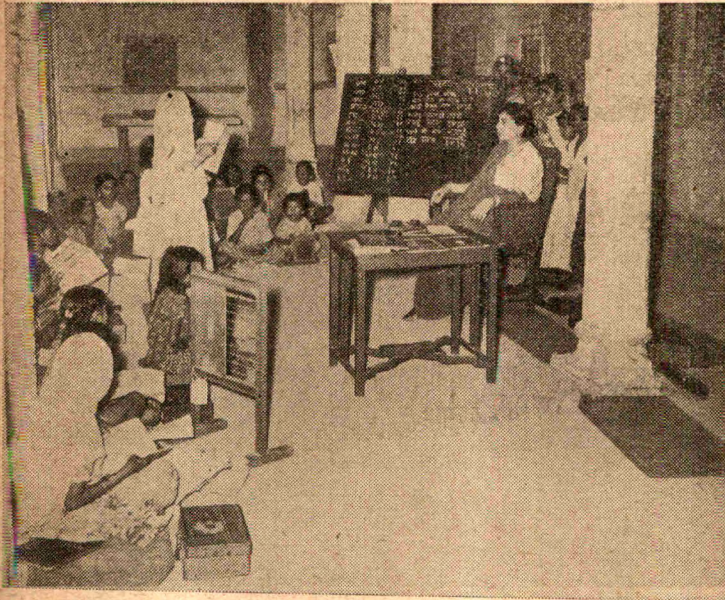
Today, after two years of planning and effort, Borunda boasts of a full-fledged rural water-supply apparatus. Water from three power-fitted, more than hundred feet deep wells, is carried by large pipes to a huge reservoir, which dominates the village scene like the colossal image of some tribal deity.

The reservoir, besides serving the irrigation needs of the surrounding fields, feeds a wide network of pipelines, with taps fitted in every street and a large number of houses. This rural water-supply in the heart of the desert-land of Rajasthan is slowly changing the face of Borunda, turning it into one of the most prosperous and progressive of the two hundred and odd villages that comprise the Bilara Block.

BORUNDA SHOWS THE WAY

Encouraged by the success of their programme in Borunda, the Block Development authorities of Bilara are following the same pattern of development in other villages. Agriculture and irrigation, of necessity, overshadow all other aspects of Community Development, such as adult education, women's welfare and the setting up of information and community centres. Barring a few exceptions, these activities could not gather much strength. The membership of the Khajerla Mahila Mandal dropped in three months from twelve to three. Adult education classes functioned effectively only in a few places.

This was, obviously, a failure in education. The reasons for this failure are many.



A Girls' School at Khajerla

NEW IDEAS FOR OLD

Instances like these could be multiplied. In practically every village, that we visited, we discovered among the people a strong prejudice against sending young girls to school, existing side by side with an equally strong desire for securing some kind of education for the male children. Impressions gathered lead up to one major suggestion: that people are slow in catching on to new ideas, but once they have caught on to it, there are no limits to their enthusiasm and desire for change.

The Block Development Officer of Bilara, a benign middle-aged man, who bore genuine affection towards the people of his Block, seemed well aware of the promise and the problems inherent in this situation.

"The important thing in our work," he said, "is to put first things first. There is such a thing as an hierarchy of needs . . . Take my Block, for instance, nothing excites the people here more than the idea of a new

"How can you make the villagers conscious of a need which they do not immediately and directly feel?"—said a Village Level Worker, whom we questioned on this matter. "The villagers," he added, "are enthused only by those programmes and works which could be shown to produce immediate and visible benefits. They are contented if they can have water, seeds and fertilisers, which increase the yield of their fields. Programmes like community listening to radio broadcasts, adult education, music, etc., appear to them as somewhat remote from their situation."

The Block Development Officer, on this point, confessed that, while they have succeeded in building up the physical frame-work of a new



A free village dispensary at Bhavi

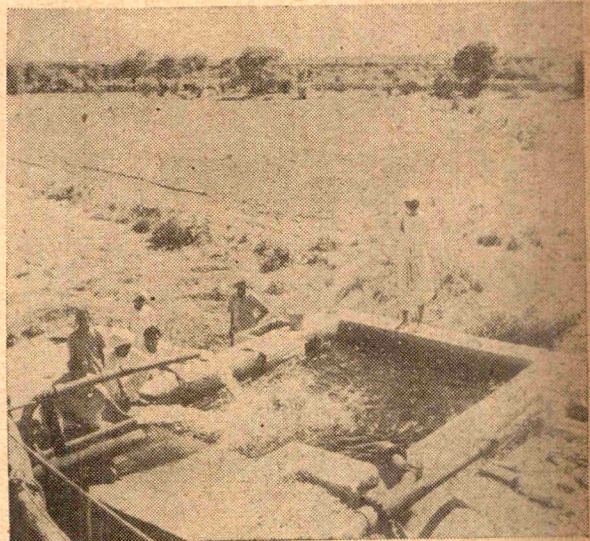
life in many places, they have not been equally successful in adequately convincing the masses of the superiority of the new ways over the old.

INNATE OPTIMISM

But the Block Development Officer was hopeful.

"When the benefits of the progress made in the first few years of the programme become widely available and secure, the change in outlook," he said, "will come automatically."

Looking at the manner in which the benefits of Community Development in the Bilara Block were spreading themselves out gave some cause for qualifying the optimism expressed by the Block Development Officer. In Borunda, Bhavi as well as Khajerla, small communities of non-agriculturists, chiefly cattle raisers, weavers and cobblers, felt themselves somewhat left out of the immediate benefits of this development, which they believed to be biased in favour of agriculture. "We all know that agriculture is our life and wealth and everything," complained Jessa Ram Raika, head of Bhavi's small community of cobblers, "but you will agree that it is not the cultivators of land alone who need money, implements and guidance to improve their lot."



One of Borunda's three power-fitted Panchayat wells

These benefits, we found, were also rather slow to reach the villages that were farther removed from the Block headquarters compared with the villages that were more easily accessible.

Consciousness of these difficulties and failures does not, however, seem to have dimmed the innate optimism of the people. Said Chandi Dan, the Sarpanch of Borunda, when we went to take his leave:

"It is only a many-sided programme of Community Development that can benefit all the villagers and sections of people equally."

We have given the people wells and seeds and new implements. It is alright. We should now give them new ideas and values. We are bound to run up against prejudices. But then, that is part of the perennial conflict between the old and the new. It is only the beginning and we have not done so badly.

"Look at the number of young village leaders that are coming up, look at the increasing power and prestige of our Panchayats, look at the decrease in the fear of authority among ordinary people, and the new spirit of self-reliance that is coming up; and above all, how could we have so many new buildings for schools and Panchayats and so many new roads without the willing participation of the people. Come again after a few years and you will see for yourself what I mean."

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME COMPLETE FIVE YEARS

Within a short span of five years the Com-

as many as 272,756 villages and a population of nearly 15 crores.

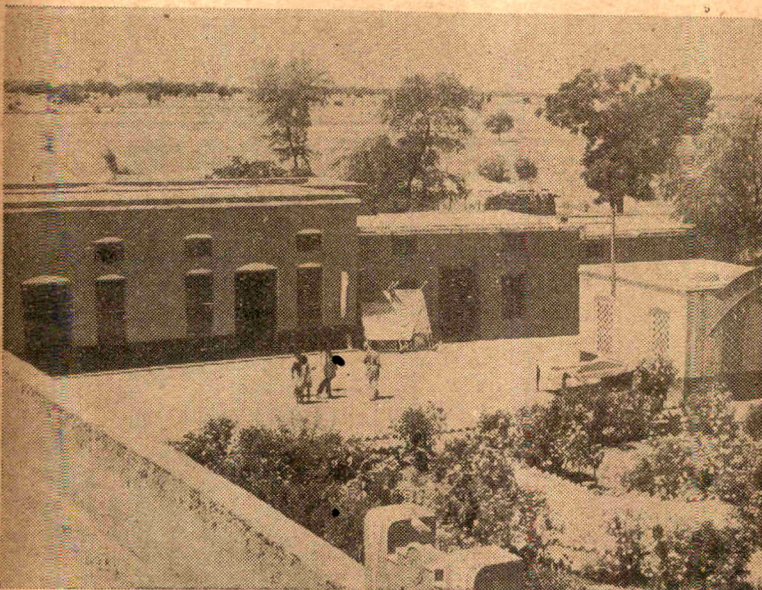


A happy young farmer from a U.P. village displays with pride part of a bumper crop of wheat, made possible by improved agricultural practices

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the organisation of the National Extension Service will spread over the entire country and not less than 40 per cent of the National Extension blocks will be converted into Community Development blocks where more intensive work will be undertaken.

The achievements of the programme spread over many fields from the development of intensive agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives and cottage industries to building of houses, roads and health and welfare centres. On a rough estimate, more than 80,000 new schools and adult education centres have been built and nearly 55,000 miles of new roads constructed in the rural areas since the beginning of this programme.

Success of the programme, however, is not to be measured in terms of physical and tangible results alone. What has been equally important is the influence which the programme has exercised over the minds and psychology of the people. Vast reservoirs of creative energy in the people have been tapped and powerful urges for



A view of an airy, spacious and clean new house in a Punjab village

Community Development Programme in India—started in October, 1952—has grown into a mighty movement for the revitalisation of Indian villages. Today, the programme covers

is the influence which the programme has exercised over the minds and psychology of the people. Vast reservoirs of creative energy in the people have been tapped and powerful urges for

constructive activity released. There is a new enthusiasm among the people and a new awareness of their role in the great task of national reconstruction.

Everywhere people are coming out in hundreds and thousands to participate in the Com-

munity Development Programmes by voluntarily offering land, labour and cash for its implementation. People's contribution in cash, material and labour in the Community Development areas accounts for more than 60 per cent of Governmental expenditure.—*PIB*.

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MINDS' CROSSROADS

Meeting Ground for International Scholarship

ONE of the great traditions of the scholarly world is that men from many places congregate at times to pool their intellectual resources and to work with leaders in their fields.

One day each week this year's group meets with their colleagues and Dr. Fritz Machlup, Abram G. Hutzler professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins, and one of their number

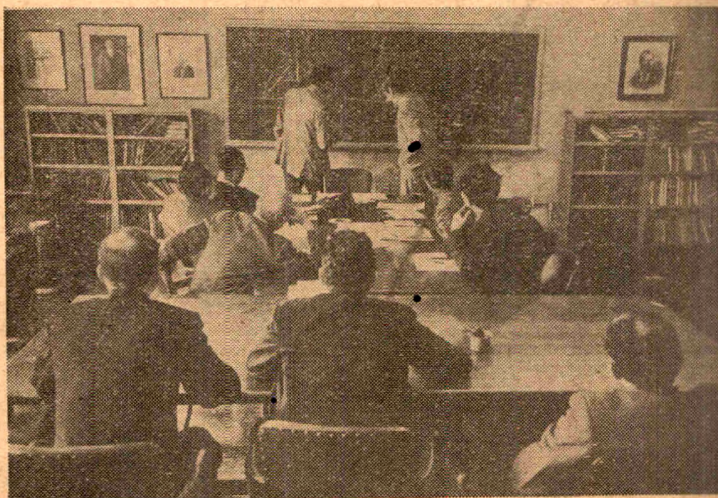
presents a paper relating to his research. At these seminars everyone has an opportunity to comment on the work being presented, so that the scholar is benefited by the suggestions of his colleagues. It is for such exchanges of ideas that the university exists.

The Johns Hopkins University is unique among universities of the United States in that it began its existence almost a century ago with a graduate school—the School of Higher Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy—as its major concern. Today it continues as predominantly a graduate institution, though it also offers



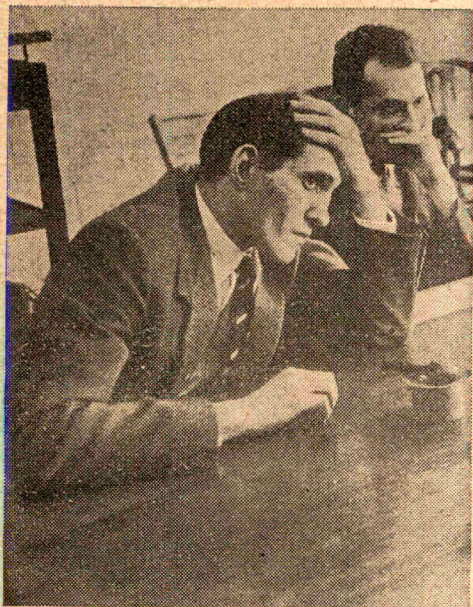
The talk is on economics. Three professors are listening

At Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, the Department of Political Economy every year invites between eight and ten post-doctoral research fellows from other universities, mostly from other countries, whose only responsibility is to carry on research of their own choosing. These visitors come on various kinds of fellowships—from such private foundations as Ford, Guggenheim and Rockefeller or by government and university grants. These fellows do not teach; they may sit in on staff meetings and they are permitted maximum independence.



The ten scholars at this seminar represent five nations

undergraduate education in its College of Arts and Sciences, School of Engineering and School of Business.



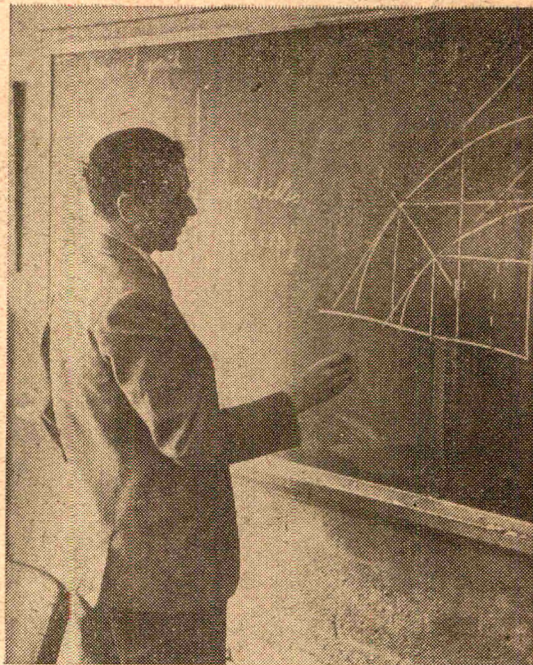
An Australian and an American research fellow concentrate on a presentation by a seminar college



Dr. Willy Kraus, a German scholar, at the Johns Hopkins seminar

The University was founded by a Baltimore merchant, Johns Hopkins, who, mindful of his

own lack of schooling and the medical needs of his city, resolved before his death to leave the bulk of his fortune for "the good of humanity." He was determined to establish a university, and a great hospital with a medical school and a training course for nurses in connection with it. The University, including the famed School of Medicine, Hygiene and Health, is the realization of his wish.



Paul Streeten, Don at Balliol College, Oxford University, England, uses the black-board in discussing his to-be-published study

It was the declared intention of the first trustees of the University to found an institution which would be characterized by academic freedom and mature scholarship rather than by inflexible curricula designed to prepare students for a particular calling or to give them general knowledge. While sharing with the traditional college the obligation of transmitting the intellectual heritage of the past, the University recognized the additional responsibility of expanding the bounds of knowledge through research. Emphasis is placed on graduate research and particularly on research which is coordinated and conducted with the keeping in close touch and sharing the research on co-operation of other universities in the United States and throughout the world.—USIS

THE SCIENTIST AND THE POET

By JITEN SEN

DEEP friendships between great men transcend the privacy of personal relationship, grow immensely beyond the boundaries of two individual lives, and the family of man is enriched and ennobled. Such friendships are usually formed at an early age, between childhood companions, and deepen as they grow up—seldom between grown-up men, men of experience and outstanding intellect, whose minds mature at a much earlier age. When such a phenomenon occurs, one has the feeling that it had been so ordained, by him who guides our destinies, for a definite purpose of His own. Two comets, moving in their own orbits through eternity, have been destined millions of years ago to come together for a short while at a particular moment in history chosen with care by the Supreme Being. What His purpose is remains unknown to most but the world witnesses a glory it is but rarely its privilege to see.

Writing of Napoleon's first meeting with Goethe, Emil Ludwig says:

"... (it) shows the godlike kinship of a genius with his brother genius. It is as if two elemental forces hovering on high had recognised each other through a rift in the clouds, and had, despite themselves, stretched out arms to one another until the tips of their forefingers had met; then the mists of time once more rose between them."

Such was the friendship between Jagadishchandra Bose and Rabindranath Tagore. But in their case not only had "the tips of their forefingers met," their souls also fused into one, inasmuch as they had more in common with one another than had Napoleon and Goethe. Men of a stature difficult to comprehend today, pioneers in their respective fields, all their work—and themselves—dedicated to the land of their birth, they met almost at the turn of the last century, when Jagadishchandra was about forty and Rabindranath three years younger.

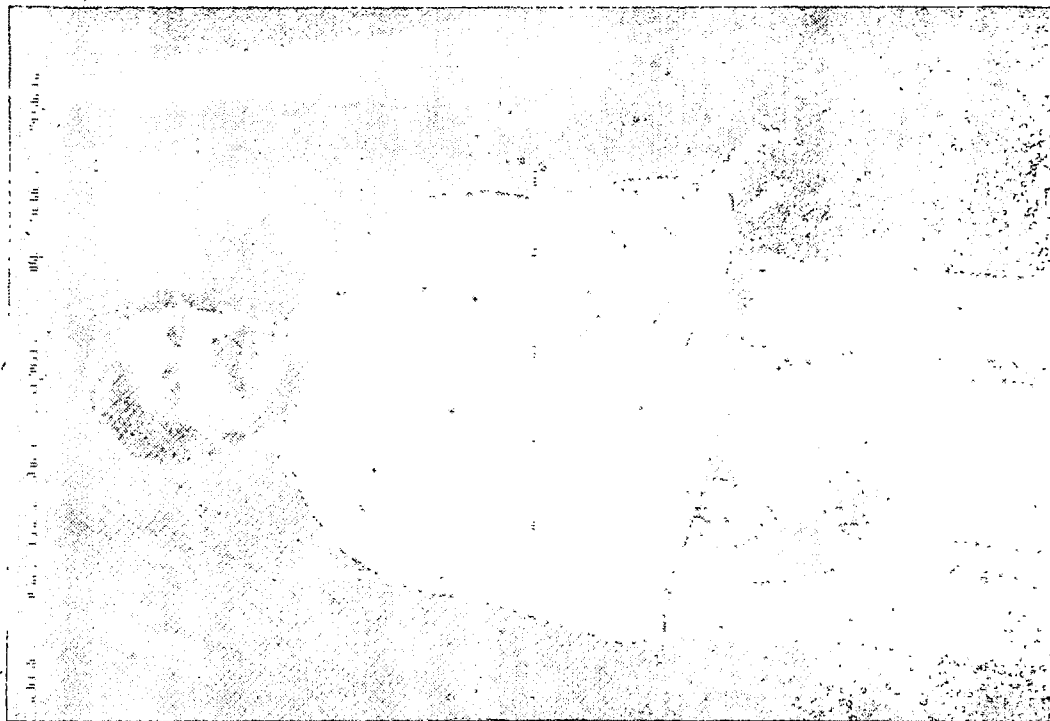
The renaissance in Bengal had already started, and whichever way one turned one met a man who was writing the history of the country in the history of his own life. Amidst them the poet was searching wistfully, and sometimes frantically, for the *rishi* of old, the *jnanatapasvi*,

who would lead the country once again to the heights it had once attained—supremely unconscious of the fact that he was himself such a *rishi*, and that time was waiting expectantly to set the stamp on him. Meeting the man of science he felt that his search had ended. Thus began a friendship that was to last thirty years, till the death of the older man.

The saga of that friendship is told in *Chithipatra 6*, recently published by Visva-Bharati. Thirty-six of Rabindranath's letters to Jagadishchandra and seven to his wife, who was his ministering angel, have been included. The 170 pages of notes and appendices contain letters from Jagadishchandra, Romeshchandra Dutt and Sister Nivedita to Rabindranath, also the poet's writings on the scientist, including two articles on his discoveries published in *Bangadarshan*. The notes contain exhaustive and valuable data, giving the background, and supplement the main letters, making the volume a complete whole. Sri Pulinbihari Sen, who has compiled and edited these, has given many proofs of his resourcefulness and devoted and painstaking work. It is well known that his researches have brought to light many unknown facts about the poet's early life. The present volume is another example.

Rabindranath writes of the friendship (p. 125A):

"Years ago when Jagadishchandra, in his militant exuberance of youthfulness, was contemptuously defying all obstacles to the progress of his endeavour, I came into intimate contact with him, and became infected with his vigorous hopefulness. There was every chance of his frightening me away to a respectful distance, making me aware of the airy nothingness of my own imaginings. But to my relief I found in him a dreamer, and it seems to me, what surely was a half-truth, that it was more his magical instinct than the probing of his reason which startled out secrets of nature before sudden flashes of his imagination. In this I felt our mutual affinity but at the same time our difference, for to my mind he appeared to be the poet of the world of facts that waited to be proved



Jagadish Chandra Bose in England (1901)



Jagadish Chandra Bose and Rabindranath Tagore

can there be common between the man of real facts and the man of the dream world? Ordinarily none. But what the poet has said above and the man of science on many occasions, prove that it is not so fantastic after all. There was no dearth at that time of outstanding men in Bengal. Why, then, this fusion of spirits of two whose fields of work are usually considered so different? Rabindranath's love for science is well known. What is not so well known is Jagadishchandra's literary talents. His book *Avyakta* and his letters to Rabindranath reveal surprising gifts in the field of literature. When Jagadishchandra started making his mark in Europe, Rabindranath read up a few scientific books and wrote two articles on the former's

[illegible]

discoveries in the resurrected *Bangadarshan*. Their lucidity and the grasp of intricate scientific problems they showed earned high praise from Jagadishchandra. It is also not generally known how the man of science inspired many of the poet's works, how avidly he read them, how they in his turn inspired him, and what infinite trouble he took, in addition to his own arduous work, to get them translated and published in England. This was possible because the two, supreme in their own respective fields, transcended them and met where absolute truth prevails.

This is not the proper place to evaluate

The lengthy quotation was necessary to explain the strange friendship between the poet and the man of science, and the best way to do so was to quote the words of one of them.

There is another explanation. He believed, Jagadishchandra once wrote to Rabindranath, that there was no such person as the world's greatest scientist or the world's greatest poet; such a person could be born only when the scientist and the poet were merged into one. This, at first, seems a fantastic theory. What

Jagadishchandra's scientific discoveries, nor is the present writer competent to do so. It is also not possible to review the life of this remarkable man in the short space of a magazine article. But certain incidents must be narrated, if only for a proper estimate of the volume. A scientist cannot, by the very nature of his work, expect the same large audience as a poet. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jagadishchandra's name is known to only a few. But Jagadishchandra was not only a man of science, he was a patriot, he was a fighter. And it is painful to find that when we are reminded of India's "tradition" on every occasion, and by anybody who can find a pre- or, not one word is said about this man who embodied in himself all that was highest and most sublime in the India of the past. It has also become the fashion among a sect of writers to call Rabindranath an unrealistic poet. Whether he was so or not can be discussed elsewhere. That he was among the most realistic of men is shown by the fact that it was he and he alone that went to Jagadishchandra's aid when the latter was in very great financial trouble, when the Government of the day was putting all sorts of obstacles in his way, and when most of his countrymen were supremely indifferent.

The man whose discoveries the whole scientific world acknowledged as epoch-making could not get leave from his professorial duties in Calcutta because the Government thought that the college work would suffer! Rabindranath urged him to take leave without pay and even resign from the post, as his researches in England were of far greater importance than his teaching work. Not content with mere urgings and advice, he collected twenty-five thousand rupees from the Maharaja of Tripura, with a promise of more to come, and sent the money to Jagadishchandra in England. Seeing his plight Rameshchandra Dutt wrote to Rabindranath urging him to come to the scientist's aid. He could have written to others but did not, for obvious reasons. Not being content with financial aid also, Rabindranath wrote to Sister Nivedita for details about Jagadishchandra's work. Her reply (p. 187) is a revelation of his genius and how this genius was "subjected to continuous annoyances and petty difficulties—with the evident earnest desire of

those who were about him to end his distinction which was personally galling to them."

It is a sad irony of fate that while the Government in India refused to extend his leave because his teaching work would suffer, he was offered a chair in a famous British University. His startling theory on the living and the "non-living"—that the latter also responded to shocks—had unsettled the work of many top scientists in Britain. They naturally refused to give in without a fight. One of them, Professor Lodge, was later so impressed that he said to Jagadishchandra:

"You have a very fine research in hand, go on with it."

Then abruptly:

"Are you a man with plenty of means? All these are very expensive and you have many years before you, your work will give rise to many others all very important."

Jagadishchandra, who was then in great financial straits, avoided all talks of finance. But Lodge and other scientists, would not be baulked. Next day a colleague of theirs, Professor Barret, told Jagadishchandra:

"We had a talk last night (Lodge was one of us). We thought your time is wasted in India, and you are hampered there. Can't you come over to England? Suitable chairs fall seldom vacant here, and there are many candidates. But there is just now a very good appointment (a newly-created professorship in a famous University) and should you care to accept it, no one else will get it."

Another, Professor Waller, the great physiologist, was so excited by Jagadishchandra's work that, from being an antagonist, he later said:

"It appears that your work will probably upset mine. Truth is truth and I don't care a d— if I am proved to be in the wrong. So come and work; I shall place my laboratory at your disposal. Teach me or let us work together."

Jagadishchandra refused both offers because teaching would take a lot of time off his research work, and because he was longing to return to the land of his birth. But what a difference between the reactions of great minds, whose lifetime of work would be proved useless by this man's theories, and those of the petty men by

whom he was "subjected to petty annoyances," because his distinction was "personally galling to them."

Another aspect of Jagadishchandra's work was his refusal to allow his researches to be used for commercial purposes. At the time when he had great difficulty in paying the wages of his research assistant in England, he was informed by Dr. Muirhead, of Messrs. Muirhead & Co., well-known manufacturers of electrical goods, that the Company had greatly benefited by his researches on wireless telegraphy. Dr. Muirhead requested him to keep his later discoveries secret, so that his own company could reap all the advantages, and offered Jagadishchandra a share of the profits. The struggling and almost starving *jnanatapasvi* curtly refused. At that time came a request from the International Congress on Wireless Telegraphy, then in session in Rome—Sgr. Marconi's country—for Jagadishchandra's advice on wireless telegraphy and details of his latest discoveries which he gladly gave.

A very sketchy attempt has been made above to present a picture of a great man, whom his countrymen have almost forgotten, and his deep friendship with another great man. It

would be a mistake to look upon that friendship merely as "kinship of a genius with his brother genius." It went deeper than that. The two men were throw-backs to the ancient days—not in their outlooks, which were modern—but in their attitude to life. They represented perfection in *niskam dharma*, the *rishis* of the ancient *tapovana*, the *jnanatapasvis*, the seekers after truth, in this world but not of it. The friendship was also very beautiful and homely. Rabindranath's letters to Jagadishchandra's wife, admitting his very earthly weakness for her cooking, Jagadishchandra's solicitude for Rabindranath's tiny daughter, whose suitor he declared himself to be; all these present one with a picture of undescribable sweetness—particularly in one who soared at such terrific height. It is expected that more will be written about Jagadishchandra, not to discharge our debts to him, but to acknowledge them.

Chithipatra 6 has broken new ground in that it not only gives a picture of the poet's life only belles letters can give, it also throws light on some of his activities hitherto known to few. Visva-Bharati Publishing Department have earned the gratitude of all by editing and publishing this deceptively small volume.

TRIBHUVAN RAJPATH—AN EPOCH IN INDO-NEPAL HISTORY

Army Engineers' Magnificent Achievement

A new chapter in the history of India and Nepal has been opened with the successful completion by Army Engineers of the 72-mile long Tribhuvan Rajpath, the first national highway linking the two countries. The new road is an outstanding achievement of the Army Engineers since Independence. Having handed over the road recently to King Mahendra, Army Engineers who have wound up their establishments have finally returned to their normal duties in India.

Named after the late King Tribhuvan, and described as one of the most picturesque hill roads in the world, it connects Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, with the existing land communication to the Indian border at Raxaul. A regular motor traffic up to three-tonners can

flow along this road almost all the year round. The distance from Raxaul to Kathmandu is about 140 miles of which Tribhuvan Rajpath is 72 miles. Keeping up a moderate speed, a motorist can easily cover the entire distance in about 9 to 10 hours.

Prior to May, 1955, that is, when the Tribhuvan Rajpath was cut to its full formation width, there was no road communication to Kathmandu from outside world. The existing means of communication was difficult and fairly complicated. The last town on the Indian border is Raxaul from where the Nepal Government Railway takes off and terminates at the rail head of Amlekganj, about 40 miles inside Nepal territory.

An all-weather 30-mile long road connects

Amlekganj with Bhimphedi, the existing road head. Between Bhimphedi and Kathmandu, there exists an electric ropeway which can only be utilised for transporting stores and cannot be used in its present form for carriage of passengers. Bhimphedi is also connected with Thankot (a place six miles west of Kathmandu), by a bridle path, which crosses two mountain ranges at heights of 6800 and 7200 feet. Till the opening of Tribhuvan Rajpath, this bridle path was the only land route between Bhimphedi and Kathmandu and all stores which could not be

rugged hills, the task of initial reconnaissance was entrusted to the Army Engineers.

Early in 1952, two reconnaissance parties were sent to Nepal, who surveyed possible routes for a period of three months or so. These parties had to carry their own rations and other requirements for the whole period of the survey and lived on whatever fresh supplies that were available locally. It was a stupendous task, trekking through this wild unknown country, however, with typical and traditional spirit that these Army Engineers always possessed, they surmounted all the difficulties and found a possible route to open up the valley of Kathmandu from the southern plains and link up with the Indian border.

At a conference at which the representatives of Governments of Nepal and India were present, it was decided to accept the Western alignment as this offered the best possible route for opening up and developing the country and also for connecting Kathmandu with the southern plains. The task of constructing this road was entrusted to Indian Army Engineers who started work on it in October, 1952.

The Nepal road project was the first large-scale civil engineering project to be undertaken

completely by our Army Engineers since Independence. The original plan was to construct the road from both ends, the major effort, however, was to be concentrated at the southern end only, as it was then considered impossible to transport construction and other plant to Thankot over the existing bridle path. A scheme also existed to airlift two D4s (bulldozers) to Kathmandu. After a thorough reconnaissance of the bridle path, it was found that it was possible to take over it bulldozers, however, the risk involved was considerable. The bridle path in parts is sheer rock, and even laden ponies and mules cannot easily negotiate them. The gradient in some portions is 1 in 1; and the slightest error in judgement would mean certain death to the operator and total destruction of

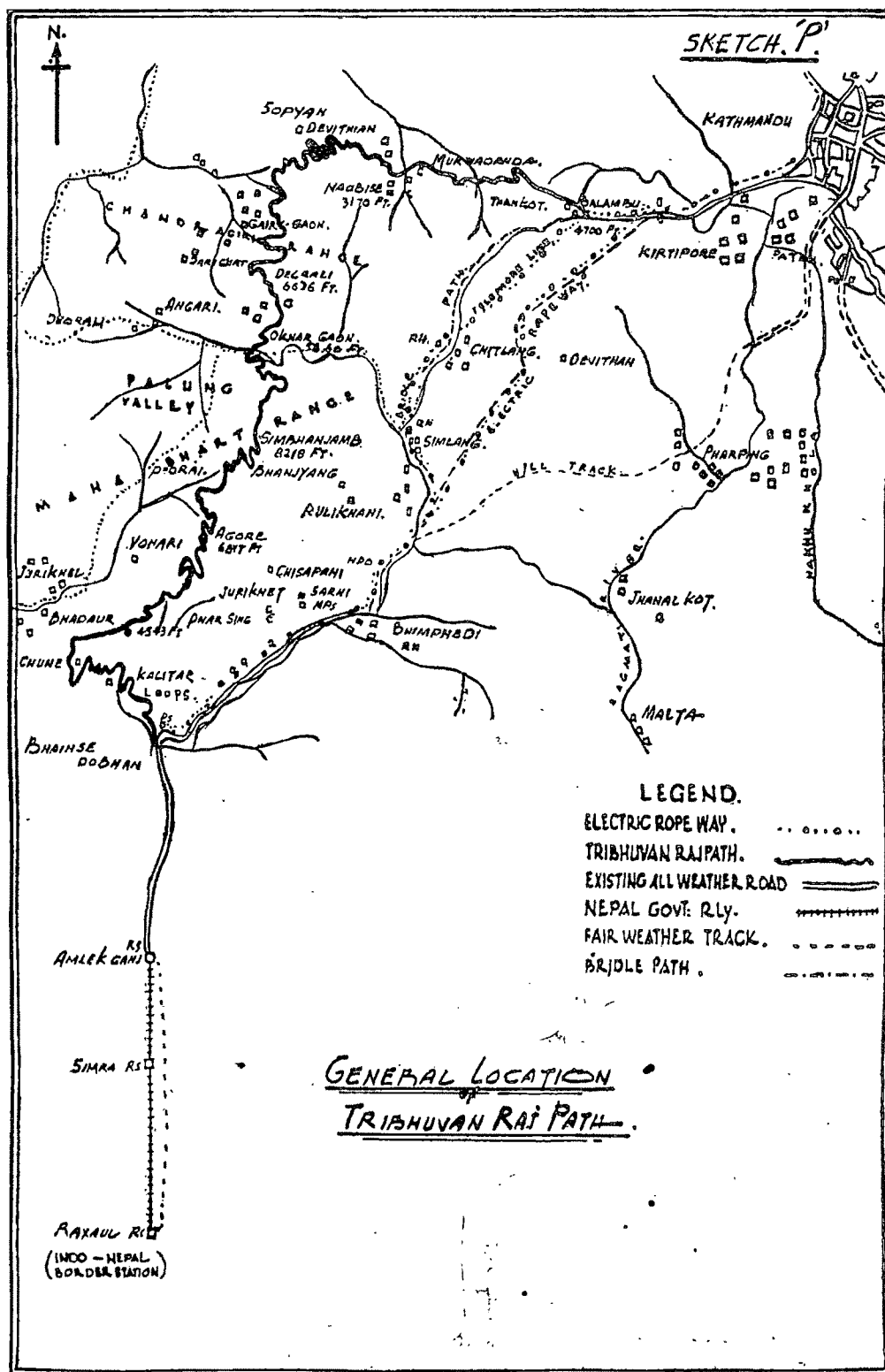


Army Engineers dynamiting granite rock for the construction of Tribhuvan Rajpath, the first

National Highway of Nepal

transported over the ropeway, had to be man-handled across this path. The first air route to Kathmandu was established when a detachment of Indian Army Engineers arrived in Nepal in 1951 and constructed a temporary runway at Gaucher, about five miles from the town of Kathmandu.

The necessity of a proper road communication to connect Kathmandu and other places in Nepal with outside world had been long felt. It was towards the end of 1951 that the Government of Nepal came up with a request to the Government of India for the construction of a road which will ultimately link up Kathmandu with the existing road between Amlekganj and Bhimphedi. Due to the difficult nature of the task in finding a possible route through the



his machine. In November, 1952, however, the decision was taken and orders issued to transport dozers on their own steam across the bridle path. It was with great risk, the dozers were driven along the bridle path, a risk which could only be taken by the Army operators under such circumstances. This immensely accelerated the road construction work and by early 1954 Kathmandu was linked with India with a fair-weather road.

The monsoon of 1954 brought havoc to that country. It partly damaged the newly-cut jeep track, washed away vast portions of the existing Amlekganj-Bhimphedi road along with a number of large bridges on it. Communications to the life-line of Nepal were completely cut off. Nepal's supply-system got completely paralysed. Typical of Army Engineers, they came forward in aid of the people of Nepal to fight with this natural calamity. They worked round the clock for days and within a short period they brought the situation under control.

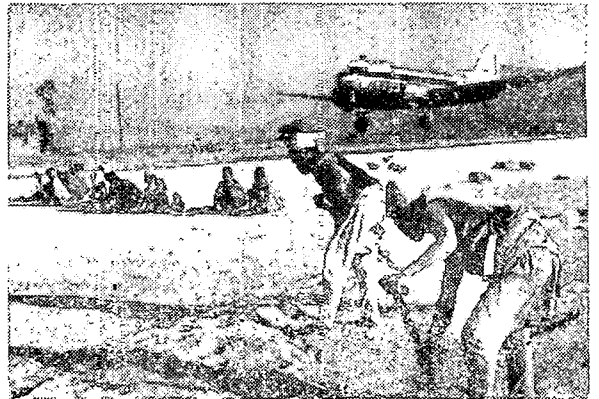
Work on the widening of the jeep track started in full swing during October, 1954. It was at this time that more Army Engineers moved into Nepal to repair the existing Amlekganj-Bhimphedi link road which had been badly damaged during the flood of 1954, and also to construct a permanent runway at Gaucher in Kathmandu.

By May, 1955, the new jeep road was cut to its full formation width, and side by side with this Amlekganj-Bhimphedi road was also completely repaired and the permanent runway at Gaucher completed.

During May, 1955 (though the road was not opened till then to public traffic) two convoys of 20 three-ton lorries each, drove along this road for the first time in the history of Nepal, carrying rice as gift from India for their monsoon stocking in the valley. Thereafter from October, 1955, till December, 1956, when the road was completed in all respects, hundreds of other vehicles have gone along this road all the way to Kathmandu, carrying food, machinery, commercial goods, petrol, oil and various other necessities for the people of Nepal which otherwise would have taken months and years to reach them to Kathmandu, although the construction was still in progress. The construction

of the road was completed by the end of December, 1956, as scheduled.

The Indian Army Engineers conquered the ranges of Himalayas, shook the mountains by blasting it with solid granite, cut the road through rocks, boulders and jungles, over the Mahabharata range and Chandragiri ranges at heights of 7,000 to 8,000 feet and built a road, a road which represents the friendship between the two countries, a road which has created a landmark in the history of Nepal and also of Indian Army Engineers, a road which has opened up a country which had hitherto remained cut off from the rest of the world, isolated and undeveloped. A magnificent achievement! Hereafter a pilgrim proceeding to



Building a permanent air-strip at Gaucher

Pashupatinath or a visitor desirous of seeing a country in its true perspective with valleys covered with carpet of greeneries, with ranges and peaks all round covered with silver-white snow all over, may take a drive on this Tribhuvan Rajpath, through the loops of Kalitar and Scpyang, over the ranges of Mahabharata and Chandragiri, along the Maman ridges and across the rich fertile valleys of Naubise and Polung and will have nothing but praise for the magnificent scenery all along the road, a pleasant and interesting journey.

It is also worth mentioning here that the construction of Tribhuvan Rajpath is not the only work executed by the Army Engineers during the period 1952 to 1956. They also had undertaken other engineering work during this period. They repaired the damaged road between Amlekganj and Bhimphedi by constructing a

large number of retaining and other protective works, replaced the washed-away bridges, piers and abutments. About 30 miles of this road was brought into a serviceable condition within a period of six months only. Construction of a permanent airfield at Gaucher in Kathmandu was completed by 1955 by the Army Engineers which was six months ahead of schedule. One of the interesting features in the construction of the airfield was that all the construction plant, stores and vehicles were airlifted and while the aircrafts were landing on half portion of the temporary runway, the permanent work on the other half continued. At Gaucher airfield the Army Engineers also have constructed a modern terminal building, freight shed, hard standing ground and taxi tracks.

Within the valley of Kathmandu the Army Engineers also repaired the badly-damaged road from Thankot-Kathmandu and from Kathmandu to the old city of Patan. This 8-mile road, which was to be completed with black-top surfacing was taken in hand in the early part of 1956 and handed over to the Government of Nepal before the coronation of King Mahendra on May 2, 1956.

A short narrative of this nature gives only a brief outline idea of the nature of work executed by the Army Engineers in Nepal. One has to go to Nepal to understand and realise what tremendous hardship our Army Engineers underwent in fulfilling a stupendous task which will always remain a monument of Engineering skill.

Addressing the Army Engineers at a reception at Kathmandu on July 3, 1957, Shri P. Ghosh, the Communication Minister of Nepal, said:

"We will ever remember with gratitude the manner in which the Government of India has helped us by building this road for which it spared hundreds of its exports under the able leadership of some of its most experienced officers like Col. Ratnaswami and Lt.-Col. Grant.

"We remember also with pleasure and pride the 5,000 to 8,000 Nepali workers' contribution of their labour and blood to this achievement. The sacrifice of nine Indian and twenty-two Nepali lives in this sacred and noble effort will ever be a beacon to guide us in the path of duty."—*PIB*.

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CARPENTRY INDUSTRY

By S. R. UPADHYAY

A co-ordinated development plan of the carpentry trade of West Bengal will be very timely. Carpentry is the oldest of the crafts. It has been practised for more than three thousand years. The form of tools used by the artisans is almost the same throughout the length and breadth of West Bengal although the products differ according to local needs and customs. An average village usually contains a house or two of carpenters for village needs (such as bullock-cart, ploughshare, door-frame, shutter, etc., and also toys and inlaid furniture which require skilled artisans).

A close study of the production, procurement and working of the carpentry trade usually reveals that the timber used is local, that the

products are made to order, and the working condition is most ill-proportioned. Timber is scarce as both the road-side trees and the forest reserve are speedily dwindling. The products made are also pre-dated as they do not meet the changing taste of the present age. The working tools and workshops are inadequate for planned production or for better products.

The new C.D.P. and N.E.S. Blocks have a very good picture of the local timber trade and it has been found that every block desires to have with it some sort of aids or aiding institutions to improve and co-ordinate the products of the carpenter who is found in every village of the unit. There is a complete possibility of creating small co-operative units of carpenters

who are born artisans and who if given proper help will definitely improve the trade earlier than an outsider in this craft. These co-operatives can easily tackle the problems of raw materials (timber), working funds (from industrial loans) and better workshop conditions with improved hand tools (achieving multi-purpose operation in simpler efforts). There can be a system of collecting orders from potential buyers and distributing the same to the members of these co-operatives. The products may also be delivered back in the same way.

These co-operative units will need, not of course a training centre (carpentry) attached to it, but essentially the services of some trained persons who will be in a position to demonstrate and give shape to the underlying idea in the use of materials from the co-operative pool, in the use of better and modern hand tools, and in the production of standard articles as far as practicable, besides producing to orders.

The timber industry being in the hands of village carpenters as already shown is not very apparent to the common eye. It lacks in the spectacular bigness of the large-scale industries like that of cement and steel. But a scrutiny as regards the uses of different materials will show that timber ranks with iron, steel, coal or cement inasmuch as no project can do without it.

Recent years have seen a tremendous progress in the Ply Wood industry which is but a branch of the timber industry. Modern machinery is in free use in this branch, whereas the main industry is, more or less, in the hands of the artisans.

It has been felt by one and all that the scarcity of timber resources is alarming and something must be done to stop the wanton devastation or arbitrary use of the precious raw material. This calls forth for standardisation of products including the timber of quality of particular products, channelling the production in a scientific manner ensuring efficient use and stepping up production of standard components

by planned output through modern timber workshops.

It has been felt by the furniture trade of this State that in case no standardisation is reached the consequences will be disastrous. It has been further held that if the components of standard furniture can in any way be made interchangeable the whole trade will get a nucleus or a starting point of mechanical production. In the field of furniture the tendency of a man to possess articles of special feature is inborn and hence the diversity of products. But this tendency can always be channelised to the use of standard furniture if proper manufacturing becomes possible. In the first instance the standardisation of size, dimensions and quality is to be achieved. Then it is to be decided how many of the components can be made interchangeable. And, lastly, the economic manufacture and distribution of these items throughout the State to make them available even to a remote worker for assembly, is to be made feasible. The work of standardisation has been taken up by the Indian Standard Institute in many respects. The existing industrialists can also help in the research of tabulating the interchangeable parts, and a well-laid modern Timber Workshop can always produce articles to specifications. These done, the ordinary trader will always find interest in serving as stockists of these parts.

The salient features emerging are:

(1) Creating of co-operatives for village carpenters to introduce better working methods, better procurement and distribution, and better production, thereby raising the standard of living.

(2) To start with definite intention of standardisation of products both as regards material and quality and to effectuate a source of continuous supply of standard products throughout the State.

For success of this programme it should be based on a policy of gradual development, with the closest co-operation of the administration and the executive.



INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION

1757 to 1920

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

WITH the victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757 the East India Company became the *de facto* sovereign of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. They set up and pulled down puppet Nawabs at their pleasure. In the trial of Radha Charan, the Vakil of Nawab Mubarak-Daula, the Supreme Court in Calcutta refused to recognise the sovereignty of the Nawab over the provinces calling him a 'phantom' and 'a man of straw' with nothing left to him but 'an empty name'.

Since the East India Company assumed the rights of a ruling power its activities were subject to scrutiny from time to time by the British Parliament and every renewal of its Charter was preceded by an inquiry on behalf of the British Government. The great interest evinced by Edmund Burke, Sheridan and Fox in the last quarter of the 18th century served to focus public opinion on the Indian problem. Although the impeachment of Warren Hastings failed in its objective it exposed the oppression and the tyranny to which the Indians were the unfortunate victims.

Admittedly Raja Rammohun Roy was the prophet of Indian Nationalism and the father of Modern India. Rammohun Roy stands in history as the living bridge over which India travelled from her immeasurable past to her incalculable future. He was the mediator of his people harmonising in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of an immemorial tradition and an inner enlightenment. We find that he led the way from the orientalism of the past not to, but through, western culture towards a civilization which is neither Western nor Eastern but something vaster, nobler and larger than both. He preserved continuity throughout by virtue of his religion which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained as well as widened and impelled was religion. During his voyage to England he chose to sail by a French ship from the Cape of Good Hope so that he might be able to pay homage to the Flag of Liberty.

The British Indian Association in Bengal

was started in 1851, for securing the right of greater participation in administration for the children of the soil. Ram Gopal Ghose assisted by some land-holders and wealthy men founded this first political organisation of our country. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra and Ram Gopal Ghose carried on public work for decades. The Bombay Association had a shorter career with a vigorous record to its credit under the leadership of men like Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai and Mr. Naoroji Furdunji. It owed its origin to Dadabhai Naoroji and Jagajjadha Sankar Seth. The East India Association, however, superseded this body in the seventies of the last century.

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 contrary to its name was no mere revolt of a disgruntled army. The episode of the greased cartridges was simply the spark which exploded the vast powder magazine of popular discontent which had long been accumulating. The constitutional significance of it was that it demonstrated to the British people once for all the impossibility of governing India without associating Indians with the administration in some way or other. Emperor Bahadur Shah, the last scion of the Moghul Dynasty, became the focal point for the country-wide rebellion. The heroic exploits of Nana Saheb, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Tope and Kunwar Singh are unforgettable. Even according to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the fundamental cause of the Mutiny was that the Government had no means of knowing the wishes of the people.

Again in Bengal the Indian Association was founded in 1876. The moving spirit of this body was Surendra Nath Banerjee and the first Secretary was Ananda Mohan Bose. By that time there were as many as 475 newspapers mostly in Indian languages. Surendra Nath Banerjee attended the Delhi Durbar in 1877 and conceived the idea of organising a gathering of the people and princes of India. In 1878 he toured Bombay and Madras Presidencies to stimulate public opinion on the reactionary policy pursued by Lord Salisbury in reducing the age-limit for the Civil Service Examination to 19 years and to

present an All-India Memorial to Parliament on that issue.

In South India public life was really inaugurated by the *Hindu* which grew from strength to strength and has now become a great organ of public opinion with a reputation extending beyond the frontiers of our country. Its founders were Messrs. M. Veera Raghavachariar, Hon'ble Rangayya Naidu, G. Subrahmania Ayyer and N. Subbarao Pantulu. In 1881 the Madras Mahajan Sabha was started. In Poona the Sarvajana Sabha which sprang up about the same time as the *Hindu* was started was the medium through which public life was carried on by men like Rao Bahadur K. L. Nulkar and S. H. Chiplanker. The Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj Theosophy and the Ramakrishna Mission contributed their quota to speed up the national evolution. Swami Davananda Saraswati, founder of the Arva Samaj, enunciated the concept of Swaraj in 1875. Swami Vivekananda who made history by attending the Parliament of Religions in Chicago was regarded as a Political Sanyasin. Even his British disciple, Sister Nivedita, became an object of attention of the Police and the C.I.D. All these movements were really so many threads in the mighty rope of Indian Nationalism. It is said that the idea of founding a national organization was conceived in a private meeting of 17 men after the Theosophical convention held at Madras in 1884.

Mr. Allan Octavian Hume who had been a British Civil Servant in India for 30 years came into possession of seven volumes of reports of seething revolt incubating in various districts based upon the communications of the disciples of the various *gurus* to their religious heads during the seventies of the last century. Hume resolved to open a safety-valve for the unrest. The story is that when Hume went to Lord Dufferin the then Viceroy of India to get his blessings for the project, his Lordship suggested that the movement should have a political basis on the ground that the Government required a loyal opposition.

Intelligent interest in public life and nationalism as a co-ordinated and concerted force came to the fore with the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Well-meaning and sympathetic Britishers like Yule, Sir William Wedderburn, A. Webb, Sir Henry Cotton and

Dr. Arnie Besant presided over its deliberations in 1888, 1889, 1894, 1904 and 1917 respectively. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who later became the Prime Minister of Britain, would have presided over the Congress in 1911 but for his wife's death. The royal reception given to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh in 1889 at the Congress was considered to be the pride of kings and the envy of Prime Ministers.

In this connection it is meet and proper that we should recall the honoured names of our British friends. William Ewart Gladstone got repealed the vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. He directly approved the Congress movement in 1888. Eardley Norton, the son of Sir John Bruce Norton, a well-known public man in South India, whose portrait is still hung in the Pachayappa's hall at Madras, is a famous figure. The younger Norton who dominated the Bar in Madras and Calcutta and held his own against every Judge spent the best part of his early life in India and laboured like his father for India's uplift. Though he was the Prosecuting Counsel in the Alipore Bomb Case in which Sri Aurobindo was successfully defended by Deshbandhu C. R. Das, he made history by attending the Congress year after year. He joined the Congress deputation which visited England in 1890 to impress on the British public and their leaders about the necessity of liberal reforms. He moved the Congress resolution for self-determination, with a moving speech at the Oxford Union. Mr. H. Morgan-Browne seconded a resolution at the 10th session of the Congress for an enquiry by the House of Commons into the finances of India. Mr. John Adam, a well-known educationist of Madras, stood by the Congress in the earlier days. General Booth, urged a scheme by which the poor destitute multitudes could be settled on the waste land of the country. Captain Banon and Captain Hearsay respectively proposed and seconded a resolution at the Congress in 1888 to stop procuring women for the British soldiers in India. John Bright entered Parliament in 1847 and evinced continued interest in India till 1880. W. S. Caine, the great temperance reformer, Mr. Samuel Smith, Dr. R. V. Rutherford and Dr. Clark, all M.Ps., visited India. This list is merely illustrative and not in any way exhaustive. But the Congress remained basically

loyal to the British regime. In fact, resolutions affirming loyalty to the British Crown were passed at the successive sessions of the Congress.

The Congress passed through all the stages. Beginning as an annual gathering of flourishing lawyers and the landed aristocracy, it gradually opened its doors to the middle-class intelligentsia. It endeavoured to prevail on the powers-that-be by all possible means. It supplicated, prayed, petitioned, protested, argued and demonstrated. Up to the Surat Session in 1907 stalwarts like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha dominated the organisation and moulded it according to their lights. In the meantime, the intransigence of the imperious Curzon, the partition of Bengal and the consequent revolutionary upsurge caused a great stir. Lokamanya Tilak in Maharashtra, Bepin Chandra Pal in Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab and Kasturi Ranga Ayyengar in Madras thoroughly understood the impulses that brought about this upsurge. They wanted the Congress to become active and effective. Hence at Surat Lala Lajpat Rai, the sturdy patriot, was pitted against Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the self-sacrificing lawyer politician, but the next session at Madras witnessed the unrivalled reign of the latter.

In spite of isolated acts of political terrorism indulged in by some emotional and misguided youths, Nationalism was geared to constitutionalism. Though Lokamanya Tilak proclaimed that Swaraj was his birth-right, his creed was responsive co-operation. Later Mr. N. C. Kelkar preserved and propagated the ideals of the Lokamanya, with the zeal of a missionary to the last breath of his life. After the partition of Bengal had been annulled, Bepin Chandra Pal practically retired from active politics. Sri Aurobindo who loomed large as a stormy petrel in Indian Politics during the Swadeshi Movement retired to Pondichery to meditate on the higher values of life. The *Hindu* of Madras became the exponent of moderation and caution in the pursuit of nationalist ideals. Lala Lajpat Rai as the President of the Calcutta Congress in 1920 could not persuade himself to believe in the desirability of the Gandhian creed of non-violent resistance. But he stood by the nation during the boycott of the Simon Com-

mission and became the victim of a brutal lathi-charge and died as a consequence of it.

The part played by Dr. Annie Besant in India deserves special attention. We have had a number of distinguished persons, undoubtedly famous, great in their own way, in their own times and in their respective fields, but small in stature when compared to this dynamic personality. She touched life at many points. She was a free thinker, an orator of international reputation, a prominent politician, an eminent journalist, an ardent social reformer, a great educationist, a connoisseur of art, an ambassador of our culture, the foremost leader of religious thought, and what not. Her whirlwind campaign to secure Home Rule for India was the first All-India Movement for Self-Government here and now. Her internment endeared her to the people. With her, ideological differences never led to estrangement of personal relations. She had the greatest respect for Gandhiji. Her attachment to the Congress was not diminished by her disapproval of its later-day policies and programmes. When the Congress Working Committee was banned in 1930, she was grieved and as an ex-president announced her membership of that body. Her spirit of renunciation was unique. After developing the central Hindu College at Benares, she cheerfully handed over the same to a staunch Sanatanist like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviva who transformed it into a University. Like William Blake, to her religion was politics and politics was brotherhood. In spite of the fact that during the later part of her life she became the object of vilification and misunderstanding (Mr. Khaparde of Maharashtra went to the extent of describing her as a Putana—the demon who wanted to suckle Sri Krishna with her poisonous breasts), she loved India and her people to the last breath of her life. In the words of Dr. Md. Alam, "She was the mother of Mother India." "The memory of the magnificent services rendered by her to India." in the words of Gandhiji, "will live as long as India lives." "Her radiant spirit," observed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, "rekindled India's faith in her own ideals and destiny."

The role of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in spite of the brief span of his life was eventful. He was the youngest President of the Congress. He was the first public man in India who

interested himself in the plight of Indians abroad. He tackled the varied problems of the country with exceptional ability and constructive statesmanship. He was noted for his clarity and correctness. His speeches are still read with interest by students of public affairs. He was the first to recognise the necessity for an organisation of whole-hearted and wholetime public workers. Taking the idea from Mahadev Govinda Ranade, he founded the Servants of India Society at Poona. This brotherhood of selfless workers continues to function unobtrusively even today under the lead of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, President of the "Indian Council of World Affairs." The traditions are kept alive and the precious heritage is preserved with meticulous care.

It may not be out of place to describe in brief the distinguished roles of men that guided rationalism in the nineteenth century and the early part of the 20th century. W. C. Bonnerji, though occidental in his habits from the buckling of his shoes to the lighting up of his cigarette and spent the latter part of his life in England, presided over the first and the eighth sessions of the Congress and paid his homage to Mother India. Dadabhai Naoroji was by common consent the Grand Old Man of India. He presided over the 2nd, 9th and 22nd sessions. Dadabhai Naoroji who came to be known as the Grand Old Man of India was the most respected and best loved publicman of his generation. Scaling over the communal barriers built by no less a person than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of Aligarh, Baddruddin Tyabji, Ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court, Nawab Sayyed Muhammad, E. M. Siyani, and Hassan Imam presided over the 3rd, the 13th, 28th, and the 33rd Sessions. Sir Pherozshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of Bombay, who brought into vogue walk-out as a form of political protest, presided over the 6th Session. P. Anandacharlu of Madras with no props but aided by sincere workers presided over the 7th session. Surendra Nath Banerji, the trumpet-voice of India, presided over the sessions of the Congress held in 1895 and 1902. Of the other Presidents of the Congress Sir Sankaran Nayar was a curious amalgam. He resigned his membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1919 as a protest against the atrocities in the Punjab. Like a boomerang

which bursts no one knows where, his attacks were unexpected, and for his book *Gandhi and Anarchy* he had to pay Rs. 3 lakhs as damages and costs to Michael O'Dwyer, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab. Romesh Chandra Dutt was a prince among his peers. His superiority was observed in every gathering he adorned with his presence. Yet this distinguished civil servant, such was the reactionary tendency in those days, never rose beyond the position of an officiating Commissioner of a Division, though the Maharaja of Baroda appointed him as his Prime Minister after retirement. Bhupendranath Basu enrolled himself as a volunteer in the 2nd Session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1886. But the young volunteer, the newest recruit in the service of the Congress, had the Field Marshal's baton concealed in his knapsack and in 1914 became the President of the Congress. He was one of the central figures in the anti-Partition and Swadeshi Movement in 1905. In 1916 he was elected as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and in the following year he was selected by Lord Chelmsford to fill the vacancy in the India Council where he became the central figure and brought about a transformation. The stiffness of the bureaucratic mien disappeared. His room was the rendezvous of the Indians. An Indian having any business at White Hall or in the neighbourhood would tumble into his room, stay for a few minutes and relieve the strain of the hard life by a quiet chat with its occupant who was all things to all men in the best sense ready to advise and assist. Lord Sinha who presided over the Bombay Session in 1915 was the first Indian to get all the honours and positions that were hitherto denied to Indians. But when he found that he would have to order the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, he resigned the Governorship of Behar on the plea of ill-health. A. C. Mazumdar, the first historian of the Congress, presided over the next session at Lucknow. Ananda Mohan Bose, Pandit Bishen Dhar, Chandravarkar, D. E. Wacha, Lal Mohan Ghose and Madholkar were noted for their erudition and grasp over public problems. Pandit Motilal Nehru presided over the Amritsar Session in 1919, described as the twilight of the Gandhian era in the wake of Rowlatt Act, Jalinwalabag Massacre and the Khilafat agitation.

On the eve of the parting of the ways, Mr. C. Vijaya-Raghavachariar of Salem presided over the Congress in 1920 at Nagpur, when Gandhiji became the undisputed leader of this organisation and moulded it according to his lights for nearly three decades. The only Congress veteran who never faded away was Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya. This Sanatanist and sweet-tongued orator held the Congress audience spell-bound for hours year after year. Gandhiji very rightly respected him as his elder brother. He was indeed an invaluable link between the older and the

younger generation. He did not hesitate to court the rigors of jail life during the Ganakian era in spite of ill health, advancing years and the incidental infirmities. The fact that he was chosen to preside over the two banned sessions of the Congress in 1932 and 1933 at Delhi and Calcutta during the dark days of repression proclaims the esteem and confidence he enjoyed. Differences he always had with the official policy of the Congress, but he never deserted the organisation which he built brick by brick and in whose service he grew grey.

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A PLEA FOR STATISTICS

By PROF. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.COM., LL.B.

"NATURE's great book is written in mathematical language," said Galileo. For a proper understanding of nature, its laws and phenomena it is necessary, therefore, to know this language of mathematics, which in its essence consists of various systems of methods of measurement. One such system among others is statistics. Numbers and their manipulation for use in practice form the central theme of this science. Its scope is, consequently, co-extensive with the potency of numbers to represent ideas in any field of knowledge. Statistics substitute definiteness for vagueness in our ideas; or as Dr. Guy puts it:

"The *sometimes* of the cautious is the *often* of the sanguine, the *always* of the empiric, and the *never* of the sceptic: while the numbers 1, 10, 1,000, and 10,000 have but one meaning for all mankind."

On a wall of the Biometric Laboratory at University College, London, where much of the present science of statistics has been developed, is written the following motto:

"When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers, you know something about it, but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind."—LORD KELVIN

The growth of statistics is coeval with the growth of national organization. As soon as tribes were united into coherent confederacies or distinct nations, it became necessary for the ruler to collect facts concerning his domain for

the purposes of apportioning land, levying taxes, classifying the inhabitants and determining the military strength. The Ancient Egyptians had a centralized form of government administered with the aid of systematic statistical knowledge of the economic conditions of the country (e.g., regular returns were made of the level of the Nile, on which the prosperity of the country so much depended). In India, numerical data were compiled as long ago as 300 B.C. during the rule of the Maurya kings, and subsequently during the reigns of Asoka, of the Guptas and the Moghul rulers. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is replete with statistics of land, prices, wages, population, etc., collected during the Maurya rule (300 B.C.) and *Ain-i-Akbari* with those relating to Akbar's reign (1556-1605).

For over a decade, the Indian economy has been subjected to exceptional stress and strain. The accelerated growth of population, the relief and rehabilitation for never-ceasing influx of displaced persons, shortages of raw materials, of essential consumer goods, of avenues of employment and of housing, the low level of nutrition and of the standard of living of our countrymen, the menace of devastating floods, of pests and locusts to agriculture, our industrial backwardness—all constitute the immediate problems for which we must provide an answer. Further, in finding solutions to these problems, considerations of social justice and the need for a progressive reorientation of the country's economy along the lines suggested in the Constitution have to be borne in mind.

Within this broad perspective, there is the further problem of choice between competing objectives. Maximum production, full employment, lower prices, greater equality of incomes—all these—cannot, under certain conditions, go together. Each one of these objectives is, in itself, desirable, and there is, therefore, need for a balanced emphasis on each. The task of economic statesmanship is, therefore, to work in terms of a scheme of priorities as between these objectives, laying more stress on some and less on others. This problem of balancing competing objectives is implicit in all economic decisions and is brought out to the fore in the planning perspective of our under-developed economy.

Viewed against this background, the role of statistics in reconstructing India in the post-freedom era is no less significant. They affect everybody and touch the life of the nation at many points.

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Some one has said that when the history of modern times is finally written we shall read it as beginning with the age of steam and then progressing through the age of electricity to that of statistics. This may be only a pardonable exaggeration on the part of an over-enthusiastic statistician. But the fact remains that, consciously or unconsciously, a large part of modern business is being organised around systems of statistical analysis and control.

With an urge to industrialise the country during the Second Plan period, the problem of industrial statistics has also come to the forefront. In most of the advanced countries, industrial statistics are collected under the following heads:

1. Capital—(a) authorised, issued and paid-up capital; (b) fixed and working capital.
2. Labour—(a) number of heads employed, their race and sex; (b) wages and salaries paid.
3. Cost of production—(a) quantity and value of raw material consumed; (b) other items.
4. Output—(a) quantity and value of the main product; (b) quantity and value of the bye-product.

5. Power used—details of consumption and cost.
6. Contribution of each industrial unit to the national income.
7. Factors influencing industry in the country.

Such detailed statistics are indispensable for every long-range planning by the Government or the industrialists. They are also required by every potential investor who not unnaturally wants to shed his fears about the concern in which his savings are going to be locked up.

The modern entrepreneur lives in an environment of prices. This world of prices in which the businessman functions constitutes a coherent, consistent, well-articulated system of interdependent parts, a system which encompasses all the business activities of the entrepreneur. Since the system is beyond the control of the individual he must adapt himself to it, and must base his activities upon as complete an understanding of the system as he may obtain. Intuition can no longer be the basis of business judgment. Under intuitive or rule of thumb methods of administration it is impossible effectively to control large business units. Questions of expanding production, increasing inventories, raising prices, developing new markets and the like may all be answered statistically. For this hit-and-miss methods must necessarily yield place to planning. Thus, for instance, the output of machines can be compiled with a view to obtaining a "standard of output" to act for all machines working under similar conditions. Variations from this standard would then be disclosed and can be enquired into with a view to adjustment thus leading to greater efficiency from both plant and workers. Tabulated results of advertising will show the best type of advertisement, the best medium or media in which to advertise, the district or town from which the best results are obtained, and even the best days on which to advertise. Census statistics will supply a wealth of information as to the likely areas in which to develop a market, for all other things being equal, the best districts upon which to concentrate the efforts will be those which have the greatest density of population. From the data showing the occupations of the population, it

will be possible to estimate the quality of the markets available in the different areas. The occupational lists will also show the apparent supply of labour both skilled and unskilled available for different industries in the various districts. Similarly, the report showing the distribution of the population by age and sex will be useful for studying the problem of future labour supply.

Financial institutions such as Banks and Insurance Companies can only carry on their business by the intelligent utilisation of the past experience. The extent of reserves necessary to be maintained in order to meet normal calls made upon the bank and the premium and death tables are all based on statistics.

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN ADMINISTRATION

Statistics are useful in administration in providing raw materials for planning and legislation. In the development of a plan, statistics in the first place, call attention to and describe the nature of economic and social problems. Secondly, they measure the importance of these problems and place them in a proper perspective. In the absence of this function, an individual who does not easily take an impersonal view of things, can make a mess of democracy. For instance, the views of a Member of Parliament are coloured by his knowledge of his constituency; a businessman tends to view all economic problems from the standpoint of his particular industry; a slum-dweller sees good housing as the most urgent, and a comfortable inhabitant of a prosperous town thinks there is nothing much wrong with the world. In all these circumstances, it is due to the strength of statistics that they paint a broad, impersonal picture. Lastly, statistics act as a guide to policy, i.e., they point out solutions to the problems described. Is a policy of embarking on public works the best way of curing unemployment? Is a protective tariff really good for industry as a whole? Answers to all such questions can be given statistically.

The budget which is awaited so eagerly in these days of heavy taxation would be impossible of production were it not for the work of the statistical sections of the various departments concerned. Similarly, local authorities need statistical information to enable them to adjust their supplies of various public services to the

needs, both immediate and future, of the districts they serve. When building a new housing estate for example, water, gas, electricity, sewers, schools, transport, and so on, have to be provided in quantities that are sufficient but not excessive.

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN OTHER SCIENCES

The science of economics is closely dependent on statistics. Economic laws refer to mass or group phenomena. The laws of demand and supply, for instance, refer to the behaviour of the mass and not to that of an individual who may behave in an unpredictable way. In studying this mass behaviour numerical data or statistics spring into being.

The connection of statistics with biology is almost as close as with economics. In all biological tests and experiments, two important questions have to be asked: "What is the most economical way of arranging the tests to give an average result of required accuracy?" and "How many tests must be made to attain this accuracy?" Statistical methods provide the answers.

Of late, statistical ideas have also been imported into physics and chemistry. The old conception of matter as an aggregate of elementary particles, *viz.*, atoms contained nothing statistical, since all the atoms were alike. When, however, the particles were given different characteristics the aggregate became a statistical proposition and the laws of its behaviour statistical laws. The statistical approach is not often necessary if the physicist is interested only in the properties of matter in the mass, i.e., the behaviour of the aggregate of elementary particles, but it is necessary when he attempts to relate such properties to observations on the elementary components.

Vital statistics, epidemiology and public health are rightly regarded as being statistical, since they are concerned with masses of people. In agriculture, correlation methods have been used to determine what factors influence such things as the quantity and quality of crops and the weight of cattle. Similar correlation and sampling methods are employed in many engineering tests of materials and articles.

An occasional application of statistics to literature is also not infrequent. Frequency distributions of the lengths of sentences have

been used to characterise one aspect of the style of authors. A striking and most interesting statistical investigation in the literary sphere is a study of Shakespeare made by the late Prof. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon and described in her book *Shakespeare's Imagery*. She presents tables of the frequencies of various types of images used by Shakespeare in five of his plays and in

certain writings of Bacon and other contemporaries. In the Preface of her book, Prof. Spurgeon asserts that "... in the case of a poet ... it is chiefly through his images that he, to some extent unconsciously, 'gives himself away'." She reaches this conclusion among others that there are two minds behind the works of Shakespeare and Bacon.

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BEAUTIES OF THE MOGHUL CAMP

A Paradise on Earth

By BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI,

Hony. Fellow, The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

THE Moghuls have no longer the former glory. The sun of their power is set for ever; but its glamour is all afresh in history.

Their love of power is proverbial. Their administration might have been sound or not but their sense of beauty and pageantry is almost unequalled in world's history.

A nation of sturdy soldiers bravery was bred in their bones and they had, moreover, an innate eye for the picturesque and grand marked by a critical instinct for details and proportion.

Their Tajmahal is thus a dream in marble, while their magnificent edifices of pointed spires and cupolas are just reckoned as wonders of architecture.

Hunting or travelling excursions of the Moghuls were wonderful, too.

Astrologers came from far antipodal points of the empire to the capital, counted rosary or carved signs and figures and then, prophesied the prospect of the imperial itinerary. If the forecast was a favourable soothsay, the emperor started on his venture; if it rang ominous he would abandon it complacently. When he happened to embark on journeys throughout a vast and far-flung kingdom, huge concourse of people comprising army, sentry, police, footmen, attendants, accompanied him with mobile units like munition store, muniment room, commissariat—all clustering the imperial procession.

A foreign traveller like a Niccolao Manucci is therefore just and tacit when he says: "The Moghul Camp is almost a huge Delhi."

Besides the above, the emperor often had immensely varied equipments, dress and fit-

ments for personal comfort and use. He had also a sort of drapery chamber moving with him during his sojourn. This chamber contained all valuable, rich and gaudy dresses, clothes and robes used by members of the royal family.

Hundreds of camels, horses and elephants were required for their carriage from station to station.

Then, there were mammoth pavilions, tents and camps specially to be carried on the back of pack mules.

Fancy goods like porcelain, glass, emerald wares, toilet, scents, ornate drawers, polished reflecting tables, luxury-furniture, gilded diamond-set looking-glasses were conveyed on shoulders by a large train of royal porters.

After the drapery-chamber had reached the proper site, the army officer would see to it that every care was taken for its safety and security.

Then, began the task of clearing of weeds and stubbles from the chosen locality for the royal camps. For this, the service of lance-corporals had got to be requisitioned. The royal camping ground would sometimes be an oblong or square having a perimeter of about ten miles or so.

A wall of canvas or twilled stuff eight to ten feet high circuted round the borders of this ground. In the mid-way of the wall of this camping ground stood an arch-way similar to that of the Delhi Fort. Miniature parapets, minarets, towers, and steeples would also be improvised for decoration of this camp city.

In the vast ground would be pitched hundreds of pavilions and tarpaulin sheds on a very sound, sanitary and engineering plan.

The central or the main pavilion was meant for the emperor and was called "*amkhas*." In the yard of the *amkhas* was laid out soft pliant carpets, while overhead hung canopies set in gold, silver, tinsel, and brocade; whereas in the middle was placed the dazzling gold and diamond throne—all wonder and enchantment to the bewildering eye.

In this hall the emperor took his seat and consulted or held discussions with the ministers. The traveller Bernier says that the emperor would twice come over there during the day and hold inspection into records to see how justice was done, judgement delivered, and fairness maintained.

Such a gathering as would put in appearance before the emperor-in-council was called—"mokam."

Not far from the *amkhas* or the durbar-chamber was the *gosalkhana* meaning the rest or *siesta*-house, where the emperor, after the strenuous rigour of a hard day's work lounged in glossy, cosy sofas aglow with gold and pearls, smoking fumes of soothing tobacco vapours wafting all around an elysium of heavenly aroma and peace from a gorgeous pipe, or heard appeals from chieftains, government officials or the public.

With the approach of dusk, the whole camp-city would be ablaze in wondrous illumination of chandeliers and flamboyant torches like a fairy city.

Next to *gosalkhana*, came the secret-chamber called *kalabatkhana* where all confidential intelligences were being properly attended to or despatched by the officers.

This was, of course, a whit smaller than the former ones but it was perhaps the most important seat of administration; and hence no one except a high official could gain an access to its precincts without let or hindrance.

Far away from the secret-chamber were the royal pavilions in rather gorgeous and glittering ensemble of stately but picturesque sight. Silk, muslin, cotton and golden laces were hung on their sides and fringes whereas huge silver-decorated door-mats and shimmering velvets in mauve and pink composed floor-coverings and furnishings.

Then came the *rangmahal*, the colourful pleasure 'salon' of the Moghul emperors with all its varnish, aroma, glamour and brilliance running riot in varied gamut and patterns.

This had nice screens hung on silken cords and supplied the most dainty relish of music, dance and pleasantries for which the Moghul palate was just so proverbially fastidious.

The Moghul queens as well as the Begums were very keen and captious about toilet and used rather a peculiar face massage and pomade, perhaps the best amongst the cosmetics of the time, and also used scents mostly preserved in caskets having silver lock and key.

Beautiful streets ran through this camp-city in neat and orderly fashion: each having been lined up by rows of tents. A few paces off the main gate, stood the music-stand, where veteran royal pipers would often play the tune of an enthralling song.

A little ahead of this place was built the sentry-box where every officer of the army kept an incessant round of watch and ward every hour by rotation.

A majority of tents would be occupied by officers, soldiers, servants and other menials; while munition, food and essential records were kept in well-protected tents.

Curiously enough, the Moghuls were very fond of pet animals and hence, large varieties of beasts and birds would accompany them during their tours. Thus, in their camping city specially made tents were erected for the upkeep of elephants, steeds, dogs, buffaloes and cats.

These would help the emperor during hunts or in the display of a kind of mock-fight to the amusement and fun of the royal dignitaries.

This vast camp had its market held in spacious halls of canvas within its enclosures. There were small restaurants that supplied drinks, medicated syrup, delicious fruit-chips, varieties of condiments and confectioneries.

The Moghul Emperor was very fond of the Ganges water, that was often boiled, filtered, cooled with ammonia and finally preserved in cold storage.

The procession that accompanied the emperor on the occasion of his visit to any province or city was singularly charming.

He rode either a horse or a well-caparisoned

elephant; sometimes, his throne would be carried on shoulders of gorgeously-dressed bearers.

Elephants decked in a motley of varied ornaments, painted in sandal, offered a majestic fore-ground of the imperial train. The *howdas* or enthroned seats on elephant-back would look like so many little golden castles in colour, design, magnificence and opulence. Only royal members would be seated on these glittering *howdas*.

At the four corners of each *howda* were erected small columns of gold and silver, over which floated a canopy of the finest velvet with pearl-sewn tassels.

When the procession started, the prominent officials and the princes would follow it up on horse-back.

There would be at least a hundred elephants in a State-procession. In front would proceed

the foot-men carrying what are called *assasotas*, long thick clubs of silver, each on every foot-man's shoulder. At the upper ends of these rods were soldered effigies of various animals like fish, crocodile, etc., etc.

Then followed the band of musicians—*nakibs*—blowing trumpets and singing sweet imperial anthems. Behind them came the commanders, called *mansabdars*, each on his charger with lieutenants following close upon their heels.

Then, paced up in rhythmic gait or trot and majestic canter, squadrons of cavalry and infantry with a panoply of mails and drawn-up swords, displaying grandeur. Thus, looking at the camp of the Great Moghuls, one would be reminded of the beautiful motto in Persian calligraphy on the wall of the interior of the ever-memorable Dewani Khas: "If there be a paradise on earth, it is this; it is this; it is this!"

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue 1956): Vol. I. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 10.

The twenty-six papers comprised in the special issue of this well-known Indological Journal cover the fields of archaeology, history, literature, religion and philosophy. For lack of space it is possible to notice here only the most important of these contributions. Under the head 'Archaeology', special mention should be made of the article No. 18 (*Significance of Buddha Images on Ancient Indian Coinage* by S. V. Sohoni), in which the writer, after identifying the figure on a much-discussed coin of Maues and the Buddha figures on certain types of Kanishka's and Huvishka's coins, throws out the ingenious suggestion of the origin of the Buddha image in the indigenous scroll-like nar-

ative reliefs from which the figure of the Master was taken over by the Scythian rulers and used in the new medium of stone or metal. This furnishes a vindication, by a completely new argument, of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's view of the indigenous origin of the Buddha image which was disputed by Dr. W. W. Tarn. Mention may be made also of No. 19 (*Chakra in Brahmanical and Buddhist Scriptures* by B. R. Sharma) giving a learned account of the significance of this symbol from the Rigvedic times onwards and leading to the conclusion that "the symbolism of *chakra*, the conception of *chakravartin*, and the phrase 'turning the wheel' are definitely pre-Buddhist" (p. 244). Reference may also be made to No. 13 (*Sites in Rajgir associated with the Buddha and his disciples* by D. N. Sen) giving an exhaustive list of identifications of those sites by a veteran student of the subject. Another interesting paper

is No. 1 (*The Botataung Pagoda, Rangoon*, by Maung Ohn Ghine) containing the story of discovery of the relic-casket inside the old Buddhist *stupa* which was destroyed by British bombing during the last War, the antiquities comprising a unique terracotta plaque with the figure of Buddha and an inscription (of which however we have unfortunately the briefest notice). On the other hand, one fails to understand why the old papers of V. H. Jackson on the identification of two ancient sites in South Bihar (No. 20) and the identity of the so-called Bodh-Gaya plaque by the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, Vincent A. Smith and Sten Konow (Nos. 21-23) should be reproduced in full without any fresh light being thrown upon the problems concerned. Under the head 'History' we have the useful paper No. 15 (*A Revaluation of Buddhism in Bihar and the Uttar Pradesh*, c. 635-1197 A.D., by Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar) bringing together epigraphic and literary evidence (part of the latter being repeated simultaneously in No. 3) to indicate the survival of Buddhism in those areas down to the 12th century A.D. The painstaking account (No. 2) of Buddha's wanderings in Anga and Magadha derived from references in the Pali canon by B. C. Law may also be mentioned in this connection. Under the head 'Literature', we may notice No. 11 (*Cultural importance of Sanskrit literature preserved in Tibet* by A. S. Altekar) containing an unnecessarily prolonged description of the Sanskrit MSS. recently discovered in Tibet along with a detailed account of three MSS. in the collection of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna. This is usefully supplemented by No. 16 (*Jnanasrimitra and his works* by Anantalal Thakur) containing an important notice of the works and teachings of a great Buddhist philosopher hitherto known only from quotations, which are comprised in the collection last-named. The remaining papers mostly come under the head 'Religion and Philosophy', the least satisfactory being No. 25 (*Magical beliefs and superstitions in Buddhism*) containing a long and rambling account disfigured by numerous printing mistakes in the spelling and transliteration of proper names. Mention may be made lastly of the thoughtful paper No. 14 (*Influence of Buddhism on Indian thought and culture* by Satkari Mookerjee) covering, though not comprehensively, a very wide and important field.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PROGRESS OF A PILGRIMAGE: By Suresh Ramabhai. Akhil Bharat Sarv Seva Sangh. Rajghat, Benares. Price Rs. 3-8.

"Six years have since passed. Now all those who take his (Gandhiji's) name, all those who received his love bounteously, all of them like me are on trial"—said Acharya Vinoba Bhawe on the sixth death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi (January 30, 1954). The Acharya understates. The nation as a whole fathered by the departed great is on trial.

Vinoba's mission of begging land for the landless from village to village is called Bhoodan (Land-gift). From this majestic parent stem have sprouted such noble branches as 'Sampattidan' (property-gift), 'Buddhidan' (Intellect-gift), 'Shramadan' (Labour-gift), 'Jeevanadan' (Life-gift) and 'Gramadan' (Village-gift). Like Gandhiji, whose disciple and follower he claims to be—and he is so in reality—Vinoba pours out his ideas in his post-prayer discussions every day and these discourses are a record of the development of Gandhian thought since the Mahatma left his mortal coils. A record of Vinoba's 'Pada Yatra' (trek) from village to village is "a record of the progress of the unique moral and social revolution he has set in motion."

Vinoba launched the 'Bhoodan' movement in violence-shaken Telengana six years ago when Ram Chandra Reddy surrendered his land demanded by the landless Harijans of the Pocham-palli village. The wiseacres maintained that this first land-gift and those which followed immediately "had been made because of the background of Communist terror." Subsequent events, however, showed that people responded to Vinoba's call even when there was no communist or other terror lurking in the background. Doubting Thomases now took the field and argued that enough land for the country's landless millions could not be obtained by begging. Vinoba decided to make Bihar a test-case and an example. From the Uttar Pradesh he crossed into Bihar on September 14, 1952 and left the State for West Bengal on the New Year's eve, 1955, after a stay of 839 days. He had fixed Bihar's quota of land-gift at thirty-two lakhs of acres. More than twenty-two lakhs of acres (22,32,474.36 acres) had been collected before he left.

The Bhoodan movement, in Vinoba's own words, is "essentially a moral movement." "Mine," says Vinoba, "is not so much to pro-

wide food to the hungry as is to bring it home to the people that before they take their food, they must share it with others. I want to create an atmosphere of *giving* in this age of *taking* so that *non-possession* and *co-operation*, in place of *ownership* and *competition*, may be the basis of life." What is Vinoba's ultimate objective? In his own words, "Through Bhoodan I want to bring equality in the *political, economic* and *social* spheres. I want that every village must have its own arrangement of education, industries and crafts, land-distribution, defence, marketing and every village should have a *Mandal* to decide about the things to be sold or purchased from without. This is what I call *Sarodaya*. This is also the foundation of *San-ya-yogi Samaj*."

Will the objective be achieved? Will Vinoba's target—collection of five crore acres of land by 1957—be reached? They may. They may not. But Vinoba, the "man of meek majesty" will yet go down in history as one of the great Indians of all times. He is one of the very few, who enables us to retain our faith in humanity, its sins of commission and omission notwithstanding.

Suresh Ramabhai gives in simple English a thrilling account of Vinoba Bhave's progress through Bihar. He and his associates are all pilgrims in the truest sense of the term. The shrine of '*Sarodaya*' (good of all to the fullest extent) is the cherished destination, Vinoba's trek through rural India is a unique pilgrimage and a more apposite title for the book under review could have been hardly thought of.

The book bears the impress of the author's sincerity. Maps showing the "pilgrim's progress" through Bihar, a chart showing districtwise the total land-gifts collected in Bihar, an index and a few well-reproduced photographs add to the value of the book. Printing and binding are quite good.

MAHARANA PRATAP: By Sri Ram Sharma. V.V.R. Institute, Hoshiarpur. Price Rs. 2-8.

The volume under review is the reprint of an earlier edition and shows that it has been received well by the reading public. Maharana Pratap Singh of Mewar (1572-1597), who took a vow to make his "mother's milk resplendent," is one of the great immortals of history. The learned author faithfully narrates the life-story of his hero and rightly concludes, "A great general, a brave warrior, a successful organiser,

a prince among men, a generous foe, Pratap's name is sure to be honoured wherever these virtues are respected." The simple language and the lucid style of the book make it pleasant-reading. An index, an exhaustive bibliography, and a number of pictures, among others, add to the charm and usefulness of the slender volume under review.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION: By M. K. Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1.

An *ashrama* as Gandhi conceived it is a social laboratory away from the madding crowd but ever in touch with society, where social problems are studied and solutions offered by detached spirits. To read these pages, therefore, is to see a great soul in his social laboratory. Gandhi says:

"The reader has, perhaps, now seen that the *ashrama* set out to remedy what it thought were defects in our national life from the religious, economic, and political standpoints."

As with the individual so with the nation, character is the foundation of all progress. So, in order to build sturdy characters who would be leaven to society he insisted on the observance of certain rules of conduct by *ashramites*. The book relates the nature and way of observance of these rules of conduct.

Here is a pilgrim on his march with his associates. The reader may join the company.

There are three appendices. The first narrates the object of the *ashrama* and the observances necessary for the fulfilment of that object. "Gandhi on the Observances" is the head of the second. The third gives the rules for Sevagram Ashram.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

MAURITIAN AFFAIRS: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 32-34, Vir Nariman Road, Bombay-1. May, 1957. Price Rs. 2.

This booklet is intended to be an introduction to the present state of affairs in Mauritius. The island has a remarkable record of corporate life, and with the march of events it seeks more and more to strengthen its position, and in the present volume we are presented with reproduction of articles on the subject of Mauritius. Culturally, politically and historically there is a bond between India and Mauritius, and we may hope that this bond will grow

stronger and stronger in course of time. The booklet is a link, or is supposed to supply a link in addition.

One wonders if a continued narration of the events in the 19th and 20th centuries would not have contributed more to the understanding of the problem which the Mauritians have faced and which they will solve.

P. R. SEN

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDUISM

—A Philosophical Study: *By Satish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University. Published by the author and to be had of Messrs. Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 178 + xiv. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, the esteemed author of the book under review, is an experienced lecturer in Indian Philosophy and the learned author of three important works on the same subject. His excellent introduction to Indian philosophy has been widely appreciated and already translated into Hindi by Jha and Misra. In the present volume the author gives a philosophical interpretation of Hinduism as a religion in the light of Western thought, since he keenly feels an urgent need of such a study in our times. "The object of this book," observes the author, "is to present the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Hindu religion with its philosophical background, partly implicit in the religion itself, but more fully and explicitly stated in the different systems of Hindu philosophy. Those who are not conversant with Hindu philosophy are, therefore, apt to misunderstand and misrepresent Hindu religion."

This book divided into twelve readable chapters with an index and a bibliography, of fifteen valuable works referred to, is meant to serve the purposes of the University students as well as general readers interested in Hindu philosophy and religion. In the first chapter the thoughtful author attempts a decent definition of Hinduism and the Central teaching of its original scriptures and observes that it is a monistic religion. "Hinduism may thus be regarded", the author rightly remarks, "as a unique form of monotheism which believes rather in the unity of gods in God, rather than the denial of gods for God." In the following chapters the nature of God, conception of self, theory of the world, doctrine of rebirth, law of Karma, doctrine of bondage and liberation,

Raja-yoga, Bhakti-yoga, Jnana-yoga as well as Karma-yoga are discussed with profound scholarship and clarity with profuse quotations from our main scriptures. In the second chapter while describing the immanent nature of God the erudite author gives to my surprise a suitable quotation from my Bengali translation of the Chandi. I am afraid, the erudite author is not aware of my English rendering of the *Devi-mahatmya* published years ago in Madras, from which it would have been easier to quote the same. During the masterly treatment of subjects mentioned above, basic scriptures like Rig-Veda, various Upanishads, Gita, *Devi-Bhagavata*, *Prakarma Panchika*, *Vishnu Bhagavata*, *Manu Smriti*, *Yogasutras*, *Brahmasutras* and others as well as Western authorities like William James, 'Martineau', Harold Höffding and the like are quoted aptly. The book has been immensely interesting, informative and authoritative and rightly deserves a perusal by the public and students concerned.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TOWARD PLURALIST SOCIETY: *By K.*

K. Sinha. Published by Writers' House, 211, Park Street, Calcutta-17. Pp. x + 208. Price Rs. 8.

In this collection of essays, Shri Sinha, a well-known journalist and prominent leader of the Radical Democratic Movement analyses some of the current problems facing the Indian Society to conclude that it is only through the promotion of a pluralist society, offering scope for development equally to the other forces along with the political one, that one could hope to achieve an improvement upon the existing order. The essays are an index of the wide range of the author's interest and knowledge. The topics discussed range from the problem of loneliness in life to economic planning of society, India's foreign policy, the role of political parties, the personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and so on. The author's manner of presentation of the topics is provocative and the reader would find much food for thought in the discussions even though he may not always agree with the author. The book, taken as a whole, is a welcome addition to the literature dealing with socio-economic criticism. The price however seems to be a bit too much for this country.

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

HINDI

HAMARI ARTHIK SAMASYAEN: By G. P. Gupta. Rama Prasad and Sons, Agra. Pp. 359. Price Rs. 5.

This is a collection of the author's fifty essays, written from time to time, on our various economic problems, such as, Food, Rural Reconstruction, Industry, Five-Year Plan, Colombo Plan, Capital, Labour, Banking and Commercial Education. They are marked by a basic background, which can easily enlighten the mind of the lay reader.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ISHU KHRIST: By Kishorlal Ghanashyamdas Mashruwala, Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Reprint from Revised and Enlarged Edition in 1941. Published in March, 1957. Price ten annas only.

The 1st edition of this book dates as far back as 1925, and it was intended to be of a series of biographies of great men who were supposed to be incarnations of God. Mashruwala certainly had no faith in the work of proselytizing

associated with Christianity but he had deep reverence for Christ, and he had the conviction that Christianity as he understood it had something yet to give to the world. It is surprising to note what immense care he took in order to present the story as a thing fresh and bright.

It is divided into three parts—the first part deals with the life of Jesus Christ, with the background of John the Baptist, the birth and activities of Jesus, his worship of Truth, persecution and crucifixion; the second part contains the two sermons and the eighteen allegories and also some sayings of Christ; the third part deals with short but critical observation and a short glossary of about 3 score words.

Even in preparing this glossary Mashruwala shows how thorough he had been; he had in his text given the names as pronounced by a Jew of learning, but in the glossary he gives the corresponding English term because it is only the latter that we are conversant with. It is a work of striking originality and deserves to be translated into other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gilbert Murray

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Derek Stanford pays deservedly high tribute to Professor Gilbert Murray, world-known intellectual and humanitarian leader, who recently passed away at the age of ninety-one. Professor Murray's verse-translations of classical Greek dramatists helped bridge the gulf between the modern man outside the pale of classical education and the culture in which much of Western intellectual life is rooted:

On May 20th Gilbert George Aime Murray died at Boar's Hill, Oxford, aged ninety-one. A great Hellenist, a great humanist, and an indefatigable worker for peace, this holder of the Order of Merit combined the precise claims of scholarship with the broader obligations to mankind in general. Nineteenth-century liberalism was fed by three streams of thought: by Evangelical Christianity, by Utilitarian ethics and economics, and by Classical Graeco-Roman culture. Dr. Murray's liberalism derived from the third source. Active in so many contemporary affairs, he was essentially a nineteenth-century liberal, not in the mode and direction of his thought, but in his high principles and moral idealism.

A few of the offices held by him indicate his two cardinal concerns. From 1908-36, he was Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. From 1923-38, he was Chairman of the League of Nations Union; and from 1928-40, he was President of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. To some, then, Dr. Murray was known as a researcher into Greek culture; to some, as a singularly popular translator of the Greek dramatists; and to others, as a practical planner of peaceful policy between the nations. But these three activities were in fact united, and derived from his passion for civilization, which the study of Greek first opened to him. What, for many savants, has begun and ended as a philological passion—a somewhat confined cult of the letter—became, for Gilbert Murray, a fountainhead of culture; a source of courage, sanity and wisdom. Viewing the classics, in the words of Scott Holland, as

a record of "dead heroisms," he was led to promote their spirit and lesson in terms applicable to the present day. Thus history, which others may regard as a knowledge of the dates of battles, pacts and kings, was for him something richer, more alive and philosophic. It was, as Lord Acton put it, "a continuous development, not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul."

Dr. Murray's view of politics and culture was not that of the specialist, a point he illustrates in his *Greek Studies* (1946) by the following anecdote:

"Two members of the House of Commons were once discussing why it was that Mr. Gladstone, when compared with such highly able and industrious colleagues as Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, seemed to tower above them by a sort of 'greatness' of mind and character. 'One thing is' said one of them, 'that Mr. Gladstone spends his spare time reading Homer and Plato and Dante and the Bible, whereas Dilke and Chamberlain mostly read bluebooks.'"

Now Dr. Murray readily conceded that the Plato-reading statesman today may appear rather the amateur when set beside the politician who considers himself "a servant of the nation" (whose function is to attend to his "clients' interests, not to indulge in unselfishness on their behalf or to secure them a reward in heaven"). Nonetheless, Dr. Murray believed that civilization and its amenities are best preserved by those who have learnt to bridge the gap between statistics and the ancient classics—the different disciplines of the blue-book and of Homer. Certainly the element of Hellenic thought colouring his discussion of peace is responsible for no untempered idealism. The student of *Iambros* or calamitous pride, revealed in the great Greek tragedies, knows that man is prone to evils not to be sentimentally dismissed. But this does not mean that a cynical theory of raw opportunism (or *realpolitik* as the Germans once called it) is any more justified than a programme of naive utopianism. Between these two conflicting extremes, Dr. Murray sought out a third way: one of idealism founded on fact.

As might be expected from a Grecian, Dr. Murray's pacifism was of a qualified order. His theory of peace is set forth in the first chapter of his book *The Ordeal of This Generation* (1929). He begins by repudiating the idea of it as "a negative thing, a mere respite from action and feeling." Peace, he tells us, drawing upon Aristotle's definition of happiness, is "unimpeded activity"—the condition in which man can most satisfactorily answer, without interference, the call of the "good life." This dynamic notion of peace finds a place within it for strife and competition, but the strife which it considers permissible and natural is not the politicized violence of war, which Dr. Murray humorously describes as "one particular development of the principle of strife, just as Bluebeard's household was one particular development of the principle of marriage."

He continues :

"War is not an instinct, it is a form of state action. It is not an element in human nature, it is part of a political programme."

One of the objections to a hypothetical condition of uninterrupted peace is that it would cause mankind to stagnate as a pond whose waters are long unstirred. Dr. Murray replied to this by distinguishing between idleness and leisure. The former he sees as negative, as time expended but unfulfilled; the latter as positive, as time freely used for self-development. The first he considers as a peculiarly barbarian state of duration; the second (which he says was "invented by the Greek") as indispensably bound up with the growth of the individual mind. Regarding the opinion that looks to war as a school of character, Dr. Murray's retort is trenchant. He remarks :

"It is like looking to famines and pestilences to secure the improvement of public health and keep the industry of doctors up to standard. It is like wishing businessmen to have rascally partners and bankrupt creditors, in order to secure their impeccable uprightness and fortitude in paying their debts, and thus promoting the ultimate prosperity of the country."

If we subject Dr. Murray's campaign for peace to a searching criticism, we may perhaps consider that, on the theoretical side, it has been based too solely on concepts drawn from Graeco-Roman culture; and that the virtues of other civilizations—Oriental and Islamic, for example—have not sufficiently been co-opted. The world we know now, so politically divided, is united by transport to a degree which the

European humanist even between the last two wars could hardly have anticipated.

While most of us have heard of Walter Pater's statement that all art aspires to the condition of music, a notion we may not have entertained is that all harmonious creations of man, from literature and philosophy to law and civic planning, derive from the Greek idea of "music," or measure or proportion, as we may term it. To find, then, on this assumption an ardent international policy-constructer figuring as a servant of the Muses is what our logic would lead us to expect; and in just such double reins has Dr. Murray's imagination run. When the volumes of other poets were selling in their scanty tens and hundreds, his translations of the Greek dramatists were being purchased in their tens of thousands. It is true that the young Mr. Eliot devoted some of his more opinionated sallies to these renditions, but even that could not confound their popularity, and in many schools where no Greek is taught they are often included in the English "set reading."

It is not the place here to renew these old wars, but those who seek to revisit the field may turn to Mr. Eliot's essay *Euripides and Professor Murray* (1918). Two points, however, may be remarked upon. First, that it is odd to have Mr. Eliot attacking Dr. Murray for falsely rendering the original Greek when the chief poet in his own camp to have attempted similar tasks, namely Mr. Pound, is such a notorious mistranslator. At least we can be sure that Dr. Murray knew the meaning of the Greek, whereas with Mr. Pound this assurance cannot be granted; and, secondly, that Mr. Eliot is incorrect in describing Dr. Murray's Greek verse-translation

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as "insignificant" Pre-Raphaelite writing. The poetic convention of the "Aesthetic School" left no room for the comic element—a talent quite demonstrably possessed by Dr. Murray as his versions of Aristophanes make plain. In verse, his chief gift was that of lyricism; in prose, that of easy natural clearness. In the translation of his choruses from the Greek drama it was more the buoyant melody of Shelley than the slower-moving music of Rossetti and his group which influenced Dr. Murray.

Spirit, Spirit, lift the shaken
 Splendour of thy tossing torches!
 All the meadow flashes scorches:
 Up, Iacchus, and awaken!
 Come, thou star that bringest light
 To the darkness of our rite,
 Till thine old men leap as young men,
 leap with every thought forsaken.

There was a hardihood about Dr. Murray which many deep thinkers are inclined to lose.

A long look at the worst neither daunted nor sapped his energy. Thus, he was able to write that the "physical world is not only non-moral, it is more alien from man than the human mind can conceive," yet add the following all-important rider:

"... in my opinion, whatever bearing (such) arguments may have on a transcendental theory of ethics they do not touch a human theory. If sin has no effect on the solar system, neither has prussic acid; but it remains poisonous."

It was this characteristic of brave common sense which enabled him to face the future without an intellectual loss of nerve. "Of course all is in danger," he admitted in his series of broadcast lectures *Hellenism and the Modern World* (1953). "But I see no reason to doubt that our Christian or Hellenic civilization is on the right road: certainly no reason to lower our traditional standards or abate our old courage."

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Uniqueness of Gandhiji's Philosophy of Truth

Adam Adil writes in *The Bombay Civic Journal* :

In the East and West, from time immemorial, sages and seers have evolved philosophies of truth; but these philosophies were mostly mystical or metaphysical, understood by the learned and wise. But Gandhiji's philosophy was not mystical or metaphysical; it appealed to the imagination of the common man, for, Gandhiji's experiments with truth were conducted in a life so natural to the common man. His teachings were reasoned out with acute common sense, applicable to the common and universal. Herein lies Gandhiji's unique greatness.

To Gandhiji only truth was the ultimate value of life and the universe. To many philosophers and seers before him, there were other ultimate values besides Truth. To Plato it was Goodness and Beauty, to Epicurus it was pleasure, to Philo it was peace, to Kabir in India it was perfect bliss, to Tagore it was beauty and joy, and to Lin Yutang it is the living of life itself. To Gandhiji, however, truth included all such values, and therefore, it was the supreme value.

Again, to him every aspect of truth was real, capable of being translated into practice in everyday life.

Keats had sung, 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty.' But Keats had not reached the summit of realisation either in respect of Beauty or of Truth. What he referred to was aesthetic beauty—the beauty of external form. Even granting that Keats's conception was of a higher order, he tried to reach Truth through Beauty. But Gandhiji chose the other way round. Instead of finding Truth through Beauty, as many poets and artists have done, he preferred to discover Beauty through Truth. He said, "To my mind Socrates was most beautiful because he was the most truthful man of his times, though he was regarded physically the ugliest in Greece." He asks the artists to do likewise and says, "Whenever men begin to see Beauty through Truth, then true art arises."

As for the ethical significance of truth, Gandhiji seems to agree with the conception of early Judaism, which took truth to be faithfulness and consistency of good character.

Gandhiji remarks, "The word Satya (truth) is derived from 'Sat' ('to be'), then 'Satya' is being—Nothing but Truth has existence—Better that Truth should be called 'God' than 'God' 'Truth'—I worship God as Truth only." Again, "My uniform experience has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth. Where there

is Truth, there is knowledge, pure and simple."

During his visit to the continent of Europe in 1931, Gandhiji was asked why he regarded Truth as God. He replied, "In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scripture are known as the thousand names of God. I came to study Islam, I found that Islam too had many names of God. I would say, with those which say God is Love, that God is Love. But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth after all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But two years ago (1929), I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements that 'God is Truth' and 'Truth is God.' I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth, which I began nearly fifty years ago. This definition gave me greatest spiritual satisfaction."

What is the path that leads to Truth? To Gandhiji the path that leads to Truth is love which embraces everything in the universe. And he found and stuck entirely to a new conception of love. To him love was no mere sentiment. It was the sternest and most practical reality. Love, in its practical implications, was 'Ahimsa'—non-violence. "Search after Truth without non-violence is impossible. Truth and non-violence are inseparable like the two sides of a coin. Non-violence is the means and Truth is the end. Again, "To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth face to face, one must be able to love even the meanest of creation as oneself."

He insisted that in the march towards Truth, hatred, violence, anger, over-indulgence and evil passions must be given up. And successful search of truth meant complete deliverance from the conflict between love and hatred and happiness and misery.

Gandhiji believed that at last love and non-violence must succeed, preparing the way for the era of truth. "The unreal is bound to be conquered by the real," and "on this path there is no defeat."

He says, "If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to zero." Again, "The seeker after truth must be humbler than the dust." "Humility is the fount of courage."

Gandhiji insisted on prayer: "One discovers truth by patient endeavour and silent prayer."

The seeker after truth must welcome other people's scrutiny of his character. He must admit mistakes, be open to correction and atone for the wrong done. "Confession is a means to

even greater purification." He must be frank and plain of speech. "He will not malign his enemies and flatter his friends." He must think Truth, speak Truth and act Truth. "A life of truth is a life of service." "Freedom from all attachments is the realisation of God as Truth."

Gandhiji also desired that the seeker after truth must keep an honest account not only of the money he spends, but even of the minutes, hours and days he expends. For, not a single pie, not a single minute, hour or day should be wasted.

As regards the innate relation between Truth and Satyagraha, Gandhiji remarked, "Satyagraha is Truth Force. Truth is its soul

and spirit. Therefore it is called Soul Force."

Gandhiji knew, however, that the path of Truth was not an easy one. "This path is straight and narrow as a razor's edge, though for me it has been the quickest and the easiest."

Speaking of his own search for Truth, he observes, "Far be it from me to claim any degree of perfection for my experiments with Truth. I claim for them nothing more than does a scientist who, though conducting his experiments with the utmost accuracy, forethought and minuteness, never claims any finality about his conclusions, but keeps an open mind regarding them."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Infra-Red Radiation in the Atmosphere

A NEW WEATHER FACTOR?

Walter Theimer discusses about Infra-Red Radiation in the Atmosphere in the *Deutsche Korrespondenz*, August 20, 1957:

Dk. Hamburg—In our atmosphere there is a constant current of infra-red radiation. Infra-red rays are heat rays of great penetration the use of which in medicine and technology is well-known. In the atmosphere these rays cause a considerable turnover of energy, and it is thought that these energetic processes constitute a new factor in the formation of the weather—a factor that has so far passed unnoticed. Within the framework of the International Geophysical Year this radiation process is going to be studied on a global scale. The German Research Association will take part in this world-wide scientific effort with two operations. Three German scientists have arrived in the Central American Republic of San Salvador to observe infra-red radiation in a tropical atmosphere. In Germany, a series of high-altitude ascents will be arranged by the Aerological Station of Munich with a view to investigating infra-red radiation in the upper troposphere and the lower stratosphere (6 to 12 miles). A useful method for these investigations has been worked out in Germany in the last few years.

PILOTLESS BALLONS RADIO FROM THE STRATOSPHERE

On the basis of laboratory experiments, scientists had previously been able to form some idea as to radiation processes in those altitudes. In 1954 and 1955, Munich scientists were the first to send pilotless balloons up into the stratosphere for the purpose of radioing back data on the infra-red radiation observed. The German Research Association had organised the experiment as a joint enterprise by the Meteorological Institute of Munich's University, directed by Professor Geiger, and the Aerological Station of the German Meteorological Service at Munich under Dr. Muller.

During the night, small pilotless balloons were sent up from the aerodrome at Munich-Riem. They carried an ingenious device for measuring the radiation current. The device, weighing only 40 grams, consists of four very thin aluminium plates, two facing upwards and two facing downwards. The plates are blacken-

ed in order to increase the absorption of radiation. They absorb the infra-red rays travelling across the dark atmosphere and are warmed in the process. The degree of warming varies with the intensity of the radiation, which in turn varies with altitude. "Thermistors" are connected with the aluminium plates; they serve as "measuring antennae." They consist of semi-conducting material like the transistors from which the second part of their name is derived. Now semi-conductors have one important property: their electric conductivity increase greatly with rising temperature, i.e., their resistance decreases as the temperature goes up. Thermistoric resistance is used to control low-frequency waves impressed by frequency-modulation on the carrier-wave of a small radio-transmitter carried by the balloon. A receiving station on the ground registers the signals of this radio-sounding apparatus by means of an automatic frequency-recorder.

The balloon itself is doomed. At a great altitude it bursts owing to its internal gas pressure (it is hydrogen-filled), a sufficient balancing external pressure now lacking. A parachute unfolds and carries the instruments, the total weight of which is less than 3 lbs., safely to earth. Unfortunately they are not always found. The radio transmission ensures immediate registration of the automatic observations, however, regardless of the later fate of the instruments.

THE RADIATION CURRENT

The air is composed of gases, such as oxygen and nitrogen, the molecules of which are diatomic, and some additional constituents, such as carbon dioxide, ozone, and water vapour, have triatomic molecules. All these atoms vibrate, they perform all sorts of nodding movements, and the molecules as a whole rotate incessantly. The restless particles need a constant supply of energy for these caperings, and they get it in the shape of radiation coming to them. They absorb from solar radiation, from radiation emitted by neighbouring molecules, and from rays coming up from the surface of the earth. They re-emit the energy absorbed, radiating it away as infra-red rays of their own. This radiation increases with temperature and with the density of the atmosphere.

The sun is the largest source of energy. How about at night? Infra-red processes conti-

nue, but with the sun absent. They are now better measurable than they would be in daytime, when the sun's enormous radiation eclipses all the minor processes. This is why observation balloons are sent up at night. Now consider any layer of the atmosphere. It receives infra-red ray from below, emitted by the earth and the lower ranges of the atmosphere, and it also receives the "counter-radiation" coming from the reaches of the atmosphere above it. The difference between the two is known as the radiation current. It is a measure of the energy lost by the surface of the earth and the part of the atmosphere below the given altitude, as far as this loss is due to infra-red radiation. Measurements of the radiation current at various altitudes yield a "radiation balance-sheet," and they allow scientists to calculate the cooling or warming of all layers of the atmosphere, caused by loss or increase of energy due to infra-red radiation. Such cooling or warming is plotted against time and yields an important graph of the rate of change of temperature.

TEMPERATURE VARIATIONS IN THE STRATOSPHERE

The Munich experiments resulted in a graph of the infra-red radiation current, plotted against altitude, on the whole similar to that theoretically calculated, but with appreciable differences in detail. The balloons reached an altitude of nearly 12 miles, one flight taking about two hours. It was found that the radiation current, measured in calories per square centimetre and minute, increases with increasing altitude, since the atmosphere gets thinner and the number of absorbing gas molecules diminishes. However, just below the tropopause, the point of lowest temperature somewhat above 6 miles, a maximum of 0.3 to 0.4 calories appears, whereupon the graph takes a turn and shows a somewhat reduced radiation current. True, there are fewer and fewer gas molecules as we go farther up, but as it is warmer again in these high layers, the "counter-radiation" from above is now of more influence. At some 7 miles, the current is more or less stabilized to 0.23 calories, not very far from "isothermism" or constancy of heat. This stabilization was traced up to nearly 12 miles.

The rate of temperature change caused by infra-red radiation at the various altitudes is quite appreciable. The graph bulges fairly strongly either side, especially between 6 and 9 miles, which means there are fairly rapid temperature changes in the upper troposphere

and the lower stratosphere, reaching two degrees centigrade per hour and more. The amount of clouds and the tiny water vapour content of the stratosphere are of considerable thermic influence.

According to Dr. Wolfgang Pohl of Munich, who took part in these investigations, it is possible that infra-red radiation causes energetic changes in those upper reaches of the atmosphere, which may influence meteorological events originating in the stratosphere. More and more meteorologists are coming to believe that important weather processes actually start in those altitudes. Temperature changes of two degrees centigrade per hour may well indicate energy shifts capable to influence the formation of the weather. Still, global measurements are required to prove or disprove this bold hypothesis.

The Dead Sea Scrolls

A NEW EPISODE IN THEIR STORY

Daniel-Rops of the French Academy writes in the *Neus from France*, August 1957:

Since their discovery the Dead Sea Scrolls have been the theme of an extraordinary archaeological story, the episodes of which have for the last ten years aroused the enthusiasm not only of scholars, but also of the general public. Indeed, almost exactly ten years ago, a Bedouin of the Taamires tribe, a shepherd living northwest of the Dead Sea, while looking for a stray kid, entered a grotto in the cliffs and came across a pile of scrolls covered with writing. The identification of the grotto, the reading of the texts, and the determination of their authorship have been so many enigmas which, one after another, have given rise to discussions.

Is the discussion about these documents going to receive a fresh stimulus? Last year, the debate was centred round the identity of a personage mentioned in the manuscripts: the "Chef Justicier." Certain people saw in him a prefiguration of Christ, a theory which was vigorously attacked by many scholars, and not only by those who were Christians. However, today, what is in question is quite different: a theory has been elaborated which is so new and so revolutionary that, if it is admitted, it will bring toppling down all the fine scaffolding of the hypotheses laboriously built up during the last ten years. This thesis has been launched by a French writer of Venetian origin, H. L. del Medico, in a book entitled *L'Enigme des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (The Enigma of the Manuscripts of the Dead Sea, Plon).

The hypothesis which has been more or less accepted by the majority of historians and archaeologists can be summed up in a few words. The manuscripts discovered in the grotto of Ain Feshka and subsequently in other neighbouring grottoes, formed the library of a Jewish religious community around the beginning of the Christian era. This community had established itself in the solitude of the desert in order to pray in peace. The monastery of the community has, indeed, been discovered: it now forms the ruins of Khirbet Qumran, a kilometre away from the grotto, where the discoveries were made. It was excavated by the Bible School of Jerusalem. It seemed possible to give the following historical scenario: the monks of Qumran left their monastery in the year 63 of our era, when the Tenth Roman Legion, led by Titus, was campaigning in the region during the "Jewish War;" before fleeing they left their books in the grottoes, hoping to find them again later on. Could these monks be identified? The archaeologists and the historians thought they could: they were the Essenes, a Jewish sect mentioned by ancient authors such as Flavius Josephus, Pliny the Younger, and Philo of Alexandria. By comparing the texts of the manuscripts with the descriptions given by the writers, the archaeologists thought they had found the correct solution to the problem. The monks of Kumran were the Essenes.

In the book written by H. L. del Medico, nothing remains of this harmonious edifice. For him, the Essenes never existed: they were invented by the Jewish chronicler, Flavius Josephus, and Pliny and Philo, who had never set foot in Palestine, added to the legend. The ruins of Khirbet Qumran are not those of a monastery, but those of a small abandoned Jewish fort, temporarily used by a potter, near which, quite by chance, was a cemetery. The manuscripts do not date, as was thought, from before the time of Christ: they were subsequent to him, and this explains the connections between them and Christianity. They were not hidden during the Jewish War because they were valuable religious possessions; on the contrary, the so-called hiding-places were ghemzah, burial grounds for defective works, those which were out-of-date or unsound, because the Rabbinical rules forbade men to destroy religious books. It is thus clear that on every point del Medico differs from all that has until now been proposed by the most qualified scholars who have examined the question.

M. de Medico's views cannot be brushed aside as those of an amateur. He is a scholar, an archaeologist who has already proved his

worth, one of the men who deciphered the Hittite tablets, he is also the editor of *Canaanite Bible* discovered by him in the tablets of Ram Sharma. His thesis is based on every convincing arguments: one has only to read the chapter in which he analyses the descriptions of Flavius Josephus, Pliny and Philo in order to see how these three authors invented the Essenes: his demonstration is impressive. There is no doubt that men as qualified as himself will reply to his arguments: Father Daniélou, who is himself about to publish a book on the subject (in which he admits the Essene hypothesis), has already announced that he will reply to H. L. del Medico. The educated public, who are only passionately interested spectators will at the end of the discussion, have to consider the different theses offered by the specialists in order to make up their minds. But there is something satisfactory for the mind and comforting for the heart in the fact that, in spite of the many causes for anxiety to be found in our troubled century, eminent men are offering their views on such a subject and the man in the street is following the debate with keen interest.

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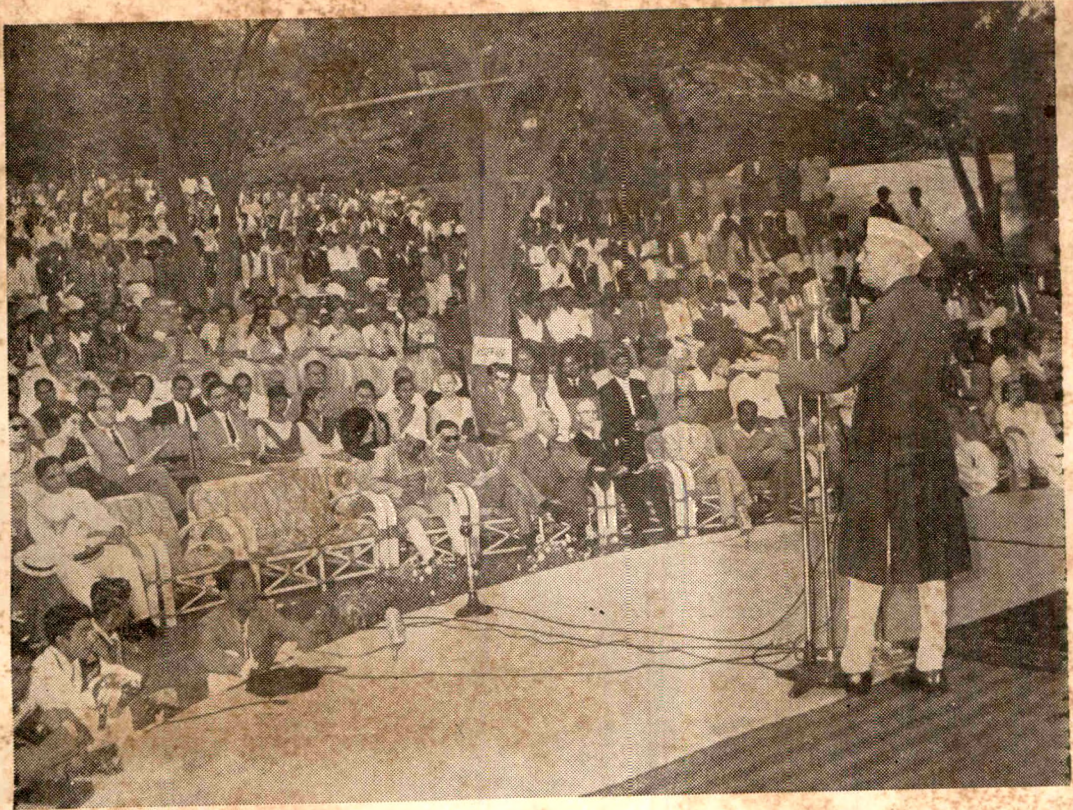
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NOTES

The Government and the People

There is an age-old superstition that Delhi is the burial-ground of the Rulers of India, in the sense that whoever has tried to rule India from Delhi, has faced a decline and/or fall.

The significance of this superstition is becoming apparent in the case of the Congress Government, within the short period of a decade. The nature of the Government has changed, inasmuch as it is no longer a National Government, in any but a limited sense of the term. The Rulers are already behaving like the autocrats who occupied the seats of the Imperial hierarchy in the days gone by. They are intolerant of any criticism, and being omniscient and omnipotent, they need no advice. And they are destroying the very people who put them in power, namely, the intelligentsia of the middle class, many of whom have suffered more and made far greater sacrifices in the cause of freedom than anyone in the seats of the Mighty, excepting Pandit Nehru. This in itself has resulted in the raising of a barrier between the people and their Rulers, for in any democracy it is the intelligentsia that serve as the contact-channel between the administration and the masses. In countries like India, where the communications are poor and the great majority of the people are illiterate, they serve as the vital link between the people and their top-ranking executives. Only crass ignorance or drunkenness with power can prevent the realisation of this axiomatic truth.

The Government has committed many grievous mistakes and has permitted vast wastage of resources and moneys in the past, through over-confidence in their own poor, inexperienced

brains. Tame statisticians have produced highly flattering but largely imaginary figures, on the basis of which the mighty ones have patted themselves and all their following on their backs. Further, they have waxed eloquent over their achievement, and have provided material for rosy dreams out of those figments.

There are shortages everywhere, including the vital necessities of food, shelter, clothing and medical treatment. We leave aside education as the Government evidently believes, along the line with their British mentors and predecessors, that the more ignorant the people the better for the Government. But the shortage that is exercising the mind and reason of the heads of State, is that of money and resources for the securing of foreign exchange. For without that the precious Plans are on the rocks!

Other shortages do not seem to worry the Powers-that-be. And strangely enough, they do not seem to matter to the opposition either, else there would have been a more constructive criticism—or at least more substantial criticism—of the Plan and the planners. What we find in its place can be dismissed as political dicker-ing of the flimsiest type. The Congress says it is unable to carry through the Plan in its entirety, therefore the opposition wants the entire Plan to be carried through. At what cost and at whose cost? That is immaterial for the purposes of the opposition. As if the people do not matter and their trials and tribulations are of no consequence.

The Nation and the country is facing one of the most critical periods in our time. A complete assessment of resources and commitments is indicated, as also some saner heads in the counsels of the planners.

The Prospects of the Plan

The nation's anxieties about the future of the Second Five-Year Plan was reflected in the debates in the Parliament in the middle of November. Mr. Nehru, as usual, made a long speech but it did not help either the members of the House or people outside to understand what exactly the government was going to do about the Plan. A question repeatedly posed by Acharya Kripalani and several other members was what precisely was included in the Plan now and how much it would cost. But that question remained unanswered by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Nehru had to admit that certain stresses the country was passing through could have been reduced with more careful planning. But he did not think this would have made any major difference to the overall planning. The present crisis, Mr. Nehru told the House, had one good effect: it had dissipated the complacency resulting from the success of the First Plan and good harvests.

"It is astonishing," Mr. Nehru said, "how for everything a State Government asks the Central Government for help and the Central Government asks some foreign country for help. It is a case of everybody asking everybody else for help without getting down to do things oneself."

While Shri Nehru was certainly right in his criticism he rather tended to overlook his share in the growth of such a shirking outlook. The evil lay at the root inasmuch as the Second Five-Year Plan itself was oriented to large-scale foreign aid. If the Government sincerely desires the people to be self-reliant it must eschew policies which inhibit the growth of this spirit. In that case whatever planning was to be made should be made on the basis of the possibilities of raising most of the required resources internally. While India should not spurn foreign aid, she should not condition her development to external stimulus and aid to any large extent.

The Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, in his speech on November 21 was more informative than the Prime Minister. In reply to questions he said that Government had not yet decided upon which of the projects would be cut, but some of the power projects

and one or two of the fertilizer plants might be dropped. The crucial problem before the Government, Mr. Krishnamachari added, was to secure foreign exchange for the core projects (steel, coal, railways, major ports) and others on which considerable expenditure had been incurred already. In other words, about 700 crores of rupees worth of external assistance would have to be secured in the next 18 months.

International Monetary Developments

The annual reports of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the year ended 30th April, 1957, reveal interesting developments in world monetary affairs. During the year between May 1, 1956, to April 30, 1957, the IMF sold currencies to its members in dollar equivalents of more than \$1,114 million. Further, in terms of the stand-by arrangements concluded or extended during the year under review, the IMF authorised the sale of different currencies equivalent to \$1212.28 million. During the year Argentina and Viet Nam were admitted as members. The total purchases made by the member-countries during the years 1948 to 1957, amount to \$2,350 million. During 1956-57, the sales of currencies made to the U.K., France and India account for nearly 75 per cent of the total sales. The high level of drawings from the stand-by credit arrangements indicate the heavy deficits incurred by the member-countries in their foreign trade. The mounting pressures on the balance of payments position of the member-countries resulted in heavy drawings from the IMF. Of the total stand-by credit amounting to \$1,212 million, the United Kingdom's share alone comes to \$738.53 million and this is near-about 60 per cent of the total amount. India has drawn her full quota of stand-by credit granted by the IMF and this was to the extent of \$200 million.

The IMF was set up not only to extend credit facilities to member-countries to tide over their temporary difficulties in their balance of payments position, but also to bring about a condition of free and multilateral convertibility in international trade. But free convertibility is still a far away objective and the temporary deficits in the balance of payments position of member-countries have become chronic

and practically no longer temporary. The question of convertibility is closely linked up with the question of trade deficits and convertibility may be regarded as the condition precedent to cure the chronic deficits on a permanent basis. The Fund's achievement in the direction of convertibility is disappointing as quantitative trade restrictions are increasingly being resorted to by member-countries. In this connection the Fund's annual report observes that in assessing the significance of this record, it should be borne in mind that nature of the Fund's financial business does not by itself provide an adequate indication of the measure of its success in performing the functions which have been entrusted to it. Much of its work arises in connection with such important questions as par values and alterations in its members' exchange systems. The yearly consultations with the countries which maintain exchange controls afford valuable opportunities for facilitating the general attainment of the objectives of the Fund; and there has been increasing activity in the provision of technical assistance both to its members and to other international organisations. The Fund admits that there is no direct correlation between the effectiveness of the Fund's work in these spheres and fluctuations in the scale of its financial transactions.

One of the main objectives of the Fund is to secure fixed rates of exchange for the currencies of the member-countries and with that end in view the par values of currencies have been fixed. The decades before the Second World War experienced the difficulties that resulted in multiple exchange rates. Although in the initial years of the Fund's existence, fixed exchange rates were followed as a rule by the member-countries, in recent years the rule is followed more in breach than in observance. Of the present 60 members of the Fund, 38 are reported to have resorted to multiple currency practices of varying degrees of importance and complexity. The Fund maintains that complex multiple rate systems damage the economies of the countries that follow such rates. The feeling has been gaining ground that countries maintaining multiple rate system derive undue advantages over those following unitary exchange rates in these days of keen competition among the countries in foreign trade. Multiple cur-

rency rates no doubt become necessary to make recovery in a country's balance of payments position and in that case the restriction on varying rates should be withdrawn and all member-countries should have equal rights in this respect.

The Fund points out that in almost all the countries there has been a drive towards inflationary spending for economic development. In all countries, the maintenance or re-establishment of internal stability continues to be an essential condition for the attainment both of this and other legitimate economic objectives. Inflationary pressures are commonly associated today with balance of payments deficits; they are often the result of efforts to push forward too rapidly with economic development. The Fund, however, sounds a note of warning against overspending that ultimately creates inflationary gaps. Overspending in relation to available resources creates inflationary pressures, and the inflationary tendencies bring about an adverse trade balance for the country concerned.

While discussing the movement of capital in international spheres, the IMF points out that there has been a shortage of finance capital in recent years on account of worldwide pressure on limited capital supply. The demand for capital is progressively rising, while the supply and the growth of capital have not been able to maintain the pace in the same degree. The increasing demand for capital is being attributed to the following factors: "Introduction of new techniques of production and almost complete transformation in methods of manufacture in many branches of industry, on account of new inventions, as well as important changes in agricultural methods; persistent spirit of optimism which has characterised the business world in planning new industrial investment; growth in population which has also expanded the labour force; insistent demand for increased public and private investment in social services and amenities; and urgency of the need for capital in the less developed countries which have embarked on schemes designed to raise the current low standard of living of a large and often rapidly growing population."

The IMF notes that the growth of industrial capital has not been able to keep pace with the growing demand for it and as a result over-

speeding in relation to available resources has been an outstanding characteristic in the post-war economic developments. The typical peacetime inflationary boom has again made its re-appearance following a rising level of earnings by the people and an expanding volume of Government expenditure on economic development. This overspending results in persistent inflationary pressures. The measures adopted to cope with the problem of inflation have often been inadequate or they were not applied sufficiently early to provide a timely check on overspending. The volume of world industrial production marks a general slackening during 1956 and this is attributable to limitations of productive capacity and labour supply. The rate of increase in the aggregate world industrial production in 1956 was only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as against 10 per cent in 1955. The lower industrial output has brought about a fall in the aggregate world export trade and the rise in world exports was only 8 per cent in 1956 as against 10 per cent in 1955.

The annual report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development reveals expansion in the operations of the Bank, and also expansion in the economic activities of the member-countries. The industrial investments in member-countries have received further momentum on account of higher domestic capital formation and also increased external assistance. The Bank records that in a large number of countries the gross fixed investments was running at about 20 per cent or more of the national output in 1956-57, and in other countries the pace of industrial output is much larger than that of in pre-war years. With the admission of Argentina and Viet Nam, the Bank's membership now stands at 60. During the year ended 30th June, 1957, the IBRD granted 20 loans to 15 countries for an aggregate amount of \$387.86 million as against \$396.05 million covering 26 loans to 20 countries in 1956-57. The IBRD's total loan commitments incurred from 1946 to 1957 amount to \$3,107.97 million, covering 170 loans to 45 countries. In the initial years of the Bank's existence, its loan operations to industrial enterprises were insignificant. In recent years, however, the Bank has been giving increasing assistance to industries. The loan analysis re-

veals that of the total loans granted amounting to \$3,107.97 million, industries have received \$439 million, representing 14 per cent. Of this amount, industries in Europe have received \$185 million and those of Asia have received \$172 million. The IBRD has now turned its attention to underdeveloped countries and in consequence these regions of the world are receiving more assistance from the IBRD. Of the aggregate loan amount of \$3,107.97 million granted to member-countries, Europe accounts for nearly one-third, while Asia's share stands at \$575 million, that of Western Hemisphere at \$678 million and Africa's share stands at \$367 million.

In view of the dearer money rates prevailing all over the world, the IBRD has raised its lending rates. The lending rate (including the commission of 1 per cent) on the long-term loans of the Bank was raised from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in January of this year and this was further raised to $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. During the current year the separate rates of interest for long-term and short-term loans has been abolished and a uniform rate of interest is now being charged for these kinds of lending operations. This has been necessitated on account of a sharp rise in the cost of borrowing in the capital markets of member-countries. The IBRD's own funds are limited and that is why it is forced to raise funds for its borrowing members by raising funds in the capital markets of the member-countries. The Bank has three main sources of funds, namely, its own paid-up capital, loans taken in the capital markets of member-countries and by way of extending guarantee to the loans raised by member-countries themselves in the world capital markets. Another source of funds is the sale to other investors of the borrowers' obligations held by the Bank. In 1956-57, the Bank raised funds to the extent of \$56.9 million by such sales of obligations, as against \$72 million in the previous year. The fall is accounted for by shortage of funds in the capital markets. India is the third among the leading borrowers of the world and the largest borrower among the Asian countries. India has received a total assistance so far for \$240.1 million, as against Australia's \$317.73 million and France's \$267.50 million borrowing from the Bank.

The most important requirement today is the establishment of a sound basis for international economic relations by creation of conditions under which the flow of international investment could be stabilized over substantial periods. This is essential both for the attainment of structural equilibrium in international trade and for the efficient development of the world's under-utilized resources. Past experience indicates that foreign investment, if left to private initiative, tends to be extraordinarily unstable; it tends to dry up in period of depression and thus at the very time when its cessation does the greatest damage to the maintenance of world prosperity.

India's Food Problem

Ever since the attainment of India's independence in 1947, the shortage in the production and supply of foodgrains has been a major problem in this country in so far it eludes any solution, notwithstanding the increase in food supply on account of the achievements of the First Five-Year Plan. The position today is exactly what it was ten years ago, that is, the ever yawning gap between the growth of population and the production of foodgrains remains unbridged. Targets in foodgrains were placed so as to make India self-sufficient in food supply and hopes were raised annually that India would be self-sufficient in food production in the next year or next few years. But unfortunately the date of achieving self-sufficiency has to be pushed back continuously and the main reason for this shortfall was attributed to the conspiracy between man and nature in this country. Nature brought the droughts and the floods when they are not needed and man reaped the harvests of profiteering prices taking advantage of the shortage in food supply. So the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production ever remains a wishful thinking because the sufficiency in production has become as elusive as the will-o'-the-wisp. The one good thing that has been said by the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee (under the Chairmanship of Sri Asoke Mehta) is that the food deficit in India is bound to remain as a chronic feature of our economy. The deficit to the order of nearly 20 lakh tons shall be a permanent feature in our

agricultural production and this finding may dispel the hope that India will attain self-sufficiency in food production in the near future.

In the opinion of the Committee, there is no quick solution to India's food problem simply because there is no feasible way to reach the solution immediately. We shall have to remain content with the conclusion of the Committee that in a developing economy a tendency for prices to rise is unavoidable and for that suitable preventing measures, as suggested by the Committee, shall have to be adopted. Given normal conditions, the Committee estimates that even at the end of the second Plan, there will be a deficit of 20 lakh tons. In the coming few years, India shall have to import foodgrains to the extent of nearly 20 to 30 lakh tons. In the future, the Committee estimates that given normal conditions, the demand for foodgrains will rise to 7.9 crore tons in 1960-61 as against the estimated production of 7.7 crore tons that year. The deficit thus will be about for 20 lakh tons and if there is a sharp inflationary trend, the deficit may further be larger. Among the vulnerable areas where there are chronic food deficits, the Committee mentions the eastern and northern districts of West Bengal, Eastern U.P. and Western Madhya Pradesh. As regards these vulnerable areas, the Committee suggests that the Union Food Ministry should set up special cells to anticipate difficulties arising out of floods and drought to locate the scarcity pockets and initial prompt measures to deal with them. The following figures will show the production and availability of foodgrains:

PRODUCTION OF FOODGRAINS (in million tons)

| | 1956-57 | 1955-56 | 1954-55 | 1953-54 |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Foodgrains | • | | | |
| Rice | 28.14 | 26.85 | 25.14 | 28.26 |
| Wheat | 9.07 | 8.57 | 8.78 | 7.88 |
| Other cereals | 20.04 | 19.05 | 22.21 | 22.17 |
| | • | | | |
| Total cereals | 57.25 | 54.47 | 56.13 | 58.31 |
| Pulses | 11.44 | 10.82 | 10.98 | 10.56 |
| | • | | | |
| Total foodgrains | 68.69 | 65.29 | 67.11 | 68.87 |

GROSS AVAILABILITY OF FOODGRAINS

| | 1957 | 1956 | 1955 | 1954 |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Gross foodgrains production | | | | |
| (Million tons) | 68.69 | 65.29 | 67.11 | 68.87 |
| Import (Million tons) | 3.72 | 1.44 | 0.71 | 0.81 |
| Change in stocks „ | -0.66 | +0.61 | +0.74 | -0.17 |
| Exports „ | Nil | -0.06 | -0.19 | -0.01 |
| Gross availability „ | 71.75 | 67.28 | 68.37 | 69.50 |
| Population in millions | 392.4 | 387.4 | 382.4 | 377.1 |
| Gross availability per capita per day | | | | |
| (In ounces) | 18.0 | 17.1 | 17.6 | 18.1 |

In the opinion of the Committee, the main causes for the rise in foodgrains prices are: a sizeable increase in population, expansion of money supply at a rapid rate, and shortfall in production in the preceding two years. In 1957, the shortfall in production has been nearly offset by larger output of foodgrains, but the residual effect of shortfall still lingers and as a result of this the prices of foodgrains have been on downward trends. Arrivals in markets have also slowed down and certain areas of the country have been experiencing chronic shortages on account of failure of crops due to unfavourable weather conditions. These vulnerable areas where scarcity of food supply persists serve as "epicentres" to create a condition of bullish tendency in other centres and also aggravate the general inflationary trends. It is a characteristic of free markets that in the face of rising prices, traders hold larger stocks fearing shortfall in supply and this results in scarcity in supply. According to the Committee, the experience of the last few years has shown that unrestricted private trade is undesirable because it tends to aggravate price fluctuations and impede the course of planned development. The Committee, however, prefers a middle course between complete control and complete freedom in trade. The Committee rightly points out that full control in the sense of complete rationing and procurement that prevailed up to 1953 does not also seem desirable under the present circumstances. The Committee feels that full control should be resorted to only in case of emergency, such as war or famine or extreme inflationary pressure. It should not be visualized as a permanent feature of developing economy. One, with the memory of control in India, would

like to abhor any control of foodgrains in the form of rationing. Food control resulted in the artificial scarcity causing much inconvenience to the people.

The Committee, therefore, suggests that the real solution of the food problem lies somewhere between complete free trade and complete controls. Controls should be of a countervailing or regulatory rather than restrictive type. The main purpose behind the control should be to stabilise prices of foodgrains and also the prices of related goods. The Committee, however, discourages any rigid integration of the price structure as that is neither desirable nor practicable. It was a great blunder on the part of the authorities to allow export of foodgrains and the step was evidently premature and unpremeditated. The Committee also supports this view. The failure of the Government to build up an adequate buffer stock is another main cause of the soaring prices of foodgrains. The Committee finds that the Union Food Ministry is not much to be blamed for the food shortage in the country. The Union Food Ministry suggested to maintain a minimum reserve stock of 1.5 million tons of foodgrains, to buy foodgrains in the open market at reasonable prices for building up buffer stocks. It was also in favour of importing 8 to 10 million tons of wheat for five years from the USA under P.L. 480 with a view to build up the stock. But these suggestions were not accepted, and the Committee does not state clearly why and by whom these proposals were rejected.

On account of higher production and supply of foodgrains in 1954 and 1955 an undue optimism prevailed in the official circles. This optimism led to slackening or at least prevented the accelerating of efforts for increased food production in many of the States in India. The pace of food production suddenly took a downward turn in 1956 and also relatively in 1957. In calculating the volume of food production, only the output of rice and wheat should be taken into consideration. Pulses do not constitute staple food of the people speaking generally and for most of the people the pulses are just subsidiary food forming part of the curry. In 1954, the production of foodgrains reached the peak point of 68.87 million tons, and there was falling production in the succeeding two

years. In 1957, the production figure is provisionally placed at 68.69 million tons. In terms of the growth of population, there has been falling production ever since 1954. The rate of growth of population is 1.25 per cent or 1½ per cent. In absolute numbers this comes to a rise in population by 45 lakhs a year. This year the food shortage will be to the extent of 4 million tons and just to maintain the per capita gross availability of foodgrains for 18 ounces a day, India shall have to import this quantity of 4 million tons from abroad. This growth rate of population is based on the census figure of 1951. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee estimates that between 1956 and 1961, India's population may rise at the rate of 1.5 to 2 per cent per year. Anyway there has been an increase in the rate of growth of population in the country and to that proportion the production of foodgrains lags far behind. The higher rate of population growth is accounted for by the fall in the death-rate without a corresponding fall in the birth-rate of the people.

The Committee makes the assumption that during the Second Plan period, the consumer demand for foodgrains will rise by about 14 to 15 per cent. The rise in the demand for foodgrains on account of a rise in the number of population has been estimated at 10 per cent and there will be a further increase by 5 per cent in demand for foodgrains following the rise in the incomes of community. Further, as the incomes of the relatively lower strata of people rise, the demand for finer quality of foodgrains will also register an upward tendency. Those who are now forced to use millet on account of poverty will switch on to rice or wheat with a rise in incomes and actually this is happening with these people. As a result of this, there has been a shortage in the supply of rice and wheat. It will, therefore, be prudent to exclude the output of pulses from the calculation of the volume of foodgrains in this country as this gives a picture which is unrealistic and inaccurate. The Committee assumes that the output of foodgrains by 1960-61 will rise to only 7.7 crore tons as against the rise in demand to 7.9 crore tons. The breakdown of the total demand between rural and urban areas has been placed at 6.6 crore tons and 1.3 crore tons respectively. The estimated rise in production in 1960-61 at

7.7 crore tons represents an increase of 1.03 crore tons over the output in 1955-56. This increase is only two-thirds of what has been visualised in the Second Plan, the rise in production being estimated at 1.5 crore tons. But this estimate of the Committee is much too premature to rely upon. Given a favourable weather condition, the output may even surpass the estimates of the Second Plan.

The Committee has done a good thing and it is the disclosure that the achievements of the State Governments in the sphere of food production as well as other agricultural output are most disappointing. The agricultural production is entirely a State subject and the initiative and responsibility primarily lie with the State Governments. Whether in budgetary affairs or in matters of production, agricultural or industrial, the State Governments have cut a sorry figure. The State Ministries today consist of mediocre people who have neither the experience nor the foresight to formulate and pursue the plans of economic development. Most of the Ministers are nothing but magnified clerks and the market value of most of them is even less than that of an ordinary clerk. Had there been competitive examinations for the present State Ministers, most of them would have been proved misfit by the Public Service Commission. Political patronage is the only qualification in selecting the majority of the Ministers in the State and no wonder their performance in administrative sphere is a failure.

In the opinion of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, India shall have to import foodgrains of the order of 20 to 30 lakh tons a year for the remaining period of the Second Plan. The Committee, however, assumes several conditions and in case of their variation, the assumptions of the Committee may not turn out to be correct. As for example, the Committee's estimates are based on the assumptions that (1) the demand for foodgrains will not be higher than what has been estimated by the Committee, (2) the estimated increase in food production will materialize, (3) the necessary amount of foreign exchange will be available to finance the import of foodgrains and also the import of nitrogenous fertilizers. The import of fertilizers will alone cost about Rs. 100 crores of foreign exchange over the Plan period. The estimates

of the Committee are based on so many "ifs" that the fulfilment of these "ifs" depends on various other "ifs".

The Committee has failed to drive home the real cause of food shortage in the country and it is that the present food shortage is not an isolated phenomenon, but it is a mere manifestation of integrated problems. India has the highest percentage of cultivable land in the world, and still it is a pity that India cannot just produce enough food to feed her people. The defect lies in our land system, irrigation system and also in the administration of agricultural finance and in the system of farming by individual cultivators. All these factors are inter-connected and it is not the question of how to keep down the prices of foodgrains, it is the question of how to produce more and more of foodgrains. Instead of appointing the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, the Government should have appointed a Committee to make recommendations as how to increase our food production. The land system calls for reorganisation on the basis of co-operative farming and mechanical cultivation should be made compulsory. India's productivity per acre of land is just one-third of that of Egypt or Japan. There is no reason why India should not increase her land productivity and that would result in three-times larger output than what is produced today.

India and the Atomic Age

Dr. D. N. Wadia, Geological Adviser to the Government of India, Department of Atomic Energy, chose the theme "India and the Atomic Age" for the nineteenth Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Memorial Lecture at the Bose Institute, Calcutta on November 30. In his lecture Dr. Wadia made some points about the future of power development of India which deserve greater recognition than is afforded by the audience in a closed-door meeting.

Man's progress toward civilisation has been marked by his mastery over one mineral after another. Periods of civilisation are therefore known as "Stone Age," "Bronze Age," "Iron Age" and "Coal Age." The world was now on the threshold of "Uranium Age" which opens up vast possibilities for development.

The total coal reserves within about 4000

ft. depth of the earth's crust are about 180Q (a Q is 38000 million tons) and the petroleum reserves taking account of future discoveries may be $4\frac{1}{2}$ Q at the most. The net heat content of the total coal and oil reserves capable of being utilized by man is estimated at 27.2 Q (all these reserves are not immediately utilizable). It has been estimated that the world's known coal reserves would be exhausted before 2050 and existing reserves of oil would last for only 30 to 40 years. In India, the prospects are no way better.

"Within a few years," Dr. Wadia said, "India will have to follow the example of Britain, where electric power for town and factory supply is already being produced by nuclear energy at nearly competitive rates with coal. The whole of Punjab, Rajputana, Bombay and Western Deccan are devoid of coal and are over a thousand miles away from the coal fields. These parts of India will soon be in a situation similar to Britain, where they will find the cost and difficulty of hauling vastly increased tonnage of coal offset by the advantages offered by reactor-generated electricity, even if it is slightly more expensive in the beginning."

The President of the Geological and Mining Society of India had estimated that India would have to invest 3000 crores of rupees by 1976 in order to get the required power supply through petroleum. It appeared that atomic energy would be capable of doing the job in a shorter period of time and at a much less capital cost and for less running cost. Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, estimated that the erection of an atomic power-generating reactor would cost little more than that of a thermal station and that electric power from an Atomic Reactor could be supplied to consumers at cheaper rates, about 0.7 of an anna. The capital cost of a Reactor of 250 megawatt electric capacity would be Rs. 22 crores, that is Rs. 1,470/- per kilowatt—figure which did not compare unfavourably with the cost of erecting a thermal station of equal capacity.

The possibility of getting power from energy not only provided the hope of arresting the threatened extinction of future world's civilisation (the proved available energy from known deposits of Uranium and Thorium was equal to 1700 Q against only 27 Q contained in

coal and oil) but would also revolutionize the entire economics of power supply. This new source would be able to meet man's need for the next thousand years.

The basic minerals required for production of nuclear energy are uranium, thorium, lithium, beryllium, zirconium and graphite. India can produce 10 to 15 thousand tons of uranium and between 250,000 to 300,000 tons of thorium. She has also deposits of the other minerals. With better exploration further reserves may also come to light.

"A development in atomic research which we eagerly look forward to in India," Professor Wadia said, "as one which will raise India's potential in the atomic field to the level of the best endowed countries of the world, is the convertibility of thorium to uranium 233 and its use as the fission fuel in place of uranium in atomic reactors . . . The conversion of thorium into uranium 233 in a breeder reactor is no longer a mere speculation, it has emerged into practicability in actual reactor tests. Sir John Cockroft, Director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell, recently announced in New York that Britain would switch over to thorium from uranium in its atomic programme in a few years."

The Naga Unit

The Naga Unit comes into being on the first of this month. The unit consists of the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang division of the North East Frontier Agency. There are mixed feelings about the new unit and the omens for the future are not very bright. "Besides having to win over the rebels," the *Statesman's* Jorhat correspondent writes, "the administration will be obliged to reconcile a large section of the Naga people, especially in the Tuensang Frontier division, to the new administrative set up, and dispel the fears and misgivings of the tribal people in the plains who have made the Tuensang division their home. The Naga people of this division allege that they were not represented at the Kohima Convention of August, where the one-unit plan was mooted."

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the subject writes:

" . . . the manner in which this problem has been dealt with since Independence bears marks of inattention and lack of under-

standing as regards its nature and size. The Bardoloi Committee, that is, the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas, which reported in 1947, not only dismissed the Naga demand for independence as an extremist fantasy, which perhaps was natural but it did not take into its serious consideration any other proposals that might have prevented the later unfortunate developments. What the Sub-Committee recommended was incorporated into the Constitution. It is unfortunate that even the States Reorganisation Commission, when it had the opportunity, did not recommend any change. The Commission would not disturb the *status quo* in regard to the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang area of the N.E.F.A., relying on the Assam Government's view "that the Naga Hills district has been relatively quiet during the last two or three years and that there are indications of the people of the area abjuring violence in favour of peaceful methods." Thus as the Constituent Assembly, following the Bardoloi Committee, misled itself, Parliament, following the S. R. C., did likewise. As the power to make decisions has remained more or less in the hands of the same set of people, the confidence for the future can hardly be unbounded."

Nationalisation of Text-Books

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes:

The Rajasthan Assembly might have thought that it acted wisely in rejecting a resolution which asked that nationalisation of text-books be ended in the State, but the fact remains that the grounds for the demand—though the attempt had failed—remain sound, for it is undeniable that the Government has not been able to rectify past defects by publishing the books in time.

Even after six weeks had elapsed after the reopening of the schools in Rajasthan in August last for the current academic year, the nationalised text-books for Classes I to V were unavailable or in short supply. It was announced earlier that the books would be available in June! What is inexcusable is the complete silence maintained then both by the Nationalisation Board and the State's Ministry of Education.

It was belatedly explained that the printing of the books was delayed due to "uncontrollable factors" like unavailability of offset paper and nanchromatic films. These explanations have

hardly counted with the people harassed by the chaos created by instruction without text-books. The Rajasthan Government must think twice before extending the nationalisation to text-books of higher standards. The idea is claimed to be beneficent, but its fulfilment is clearly otherwise.

Police Excesses in Jails

On August 24 the Punjab police made a lathi-charge on the undertrial prisoners, in Ferozepur Jail, belonging to the Hindi Raksha Samiti. As a result one person, Mr. Suken Singh, died and 309 other undertrials were injured, twenty-nine of them grievously. On the insistence of the public the Government appointed Mr. S. B. Kapoor, Judge of Punjab High Court, to enquire into the matter.

The Punjab Government recently published only extracts from the report of the enquiry. Mr. Justice Kapoor said, "While use of some force initially was necessary, the force actually used exceeded all proportions of the requirements of the situation." The magnitude of the beating by the police, he said, was "probably unprecedented in the annals of the history of jails in Punjab."

The Judge held that the beating of peaceful undertrials was a criminal offence; but it was difficult in the present case to fix individual responsibility. "There was incontrovertible evidence that the undertrials were beaten up inside their barracks and even in the latrines and bathrooms." The Judge added, "The primary responsibility for the excess committed was that of Mr. Sher Singh, Deputy Superintendent of the Jail."

No comment is required.

Institute for Teaching English

Dr. K. L. Srimali, Union Minister of State for Education, said in reply to a question by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh that the Government of India proposed to set up an Institute in Hyderabad to improve the teaching of English. Mr. C. R. Narasimhan asked what was the reason for bypassing the Universities in the matter of teaching English and setting up a new institute at a cost of 40 lakhs of rupees. Replying Dr. Srimali said that there was no question of bypassing the Universities. There was a general feeling among educationists and the Universities themselves that there had been a general deterioration of standards of teaching of English. To improve the situation by making available

some special training courses for teachers of English the institute was being set up.

Karachi and Lisbon

Commenting upon the Pakistani-Portuguese overtures the *Hitavada* writes:

"India had known for some time that a Karachi-Lisbon axis was at work. The foreign policy of the Pakistan Government is to give the maximum embarrassment to India and this has been openly declared by Pakistan's Ministers. Irrespective of the rightness or wrongness of a question, Pakistan takes the opposite side of India in almost all international conferences. No wonder, then that the Interior Minister of Pakistan spoke at Madrid in support of Portugal on the issue of Goa. He said that the cause of Portugal was just and that Pakistan would be on the side of justice. Justice indeed! The recent visit of the President of Pakistan to Portugal was intended to strengthen the Karachi-Lisbon axis and to cause embarrassment to India. But India is not surprised at this development."

The Institute for World Economy

The Institute for World Economy at the University of Kiel which was founded in 1911 by Dr. Bernhard Harms is one of the most important schools of economics and social research in Germany. It was here that the late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar studied world economics. Professor Sarkar translated the German term "Weltwirtschaft" (meaning World Economy) into the Bengali "Vishwa-Arthaniti." Now directed by Dr. Fritz Baade the Institute possesses a library that is regarded as the largest economic library in Europe. In the economic archives there are 1.6 million clippings of articles from daily German and foreign newspapers, magazines and news services. There are supplementary archives, e.g., the business and supplementary archives. Furthermore various materials are compiled from and about universities, economic associations and institutes, leading industrial organizations, banks, major industrial enterprises, traffic and insurance companies, national and international trusts. This material can be used by anybody interested—information is also given by letter upon request. The Institute conducts research in the changes in the structure and the market tendencies of world economy—though since the war it has

concentrated on German economic problems. The results of the studies on the changes in the major European national economies since the end of World War II is serially given in the semi-annual publication *Die Weltwirtschaft* (The World Economy). It is, however, through the quarterly *Das Weltwirtschaftliche Archiv* (Archive of World Economics) that the Institute maintains contact with scholars and specialists abroad.

In our country the growing need of economic experts is being keenly felt. There is abundant recognition of the utter lack of research facilities in the field of economics as in many other branches of the Social Sciences. In the background of our own situation the accounts of the activities of the German Institute strike one as a distant ideal. Yet a knowledge of others' achievements and problems often help one to determine one's own steps.

Bertrand Russel on World Peace

In an open letter to President Eisenhower and Soviet Communist leader Nikita Khrushchev published in the London Weekly *New Statesman*, Earl Russel made a powerful plea for Soviet-American understanding. If the two leaders could agree on mutual co-operation, Earl Russel said, "It would ensure for years to come a life of vigour and achievement and joy surpassing anything known in even the happiest eras of the past."

Earl Russel pointed out that while the differences between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. tended to be emphasized in public discussions, the points of mutual contact were far larger than the differences. Neither of the two countries stood to gain by a new world war which the militarists in both the countries were preparing to make. Efforts at world domination had failed in the past and there was no doubt that it would fail again, no matter who tried it. There would however be a difference: the magnitude of disaster that would result from such an attempt would be immeasurably greater than in the past, it would perhaps mean the extermination of the contenders as well as of others. Unrestricted diffusion of nuclear weapons would shortly lead to a position where there would be many more countries dangling the threat of atomic weapons in order to get their demands satisfied. Insane rulers, experience showed, would not be restrained from such blackmail by the fear that

their citizens would also perish. Russia and America, by agreeing not to manufacture these weapons themselves and by refusing military or economic assistance to any country which persisted in the manufacture of such weapons, could effectively stop the diffusion of nuclear weapons.

The Russo-American agreement for peace, as Earl Russel noted, would also mean a great economic gain for these two countries inasmuch as they could thereby save nine-tenths of their present expenditure on military efforts and employ that toward peaceful construction projects.

Police State in South Africa

South Africa is, perhaps, the only police-State in the world in the fullest sense of the term. The white rulers of the land have left no stone unturned to make the misery and humiliation of the natives, coloureds and Indians complete in all respects. The character of the Union of South Africa as a police-State is best understood with a reference to its Pass-laws which are far more stringent than any in operation in any part of the Communist States of Europe. In South Africa, the non-whites to whom the country belongs are obliged to carry an identity card which a non-white must be able to produce wherever and whenever called upon to do so. The rigidity and width of these Pass-laws are so comprehensive that if any one was arrested on a street an able prosecutor would have no difficulty in securing his conviction under one or the other provision of these laws. Mr. James Fairbairn in an article in the London weekly *New Statesman* has described how the government of the land conspires with the white employers in the country to abduct persons belonging to the non-white races to serve as slave-labourers for the whites. She has specifically referred to the abduction of Nelson Langa, a street sweeper employed by the Johannesburg city council. Nelson was illegally arrested by the police and sent to a private jail of a rich white farmer—built at a cost of £5 000—where he was forced to work as a slave. Fortunately for Nelson one of his cousins came to know of this abduction by the police and through great effort ultimately succeeded in securing Nelson's release by the Supreme Court. There were two significant points: Though Nelson was arrested by the regular police force of the country, a thorough check showed that there was no police

record of this arrest or of any official charge against Nelson. It was only through private investigations that Nelson's relatives could discover the truth which the government acknowledged before the court. The historic decision of the South African Supreme Court, Mr. Fairbairn points out, "hinged on one point that Nelson's cousin was in possession of Nelson's pass, thus enabling his attorney to prove that Nelson was already in legal employment. Passes carried by arrested men have a way of being 'unavailable' to attorneys. The subsequent hearing for costs revealed that Nelson's labour contract, which he claimed was made under duress, bore the signature of a Native Affairs Department official as having explained its terms to both Nelson and his future employer—and the same official's signature as the employer's agent."

Having failed hitherto to succeed in its efforts to stifle the Africans through its repressive laws the government has now swooped down upon the African intellectuals who provide the articulate leadership to the movement of the coloured people against white chauvinism. The government has, therefore, launched, at the beginning of this year, a so-called "treason trial" against 156 leaders of the movement for securing the lawful rights of the non-whites in the Union. Of the arrested 105 are Africans, 23 Europeans, 21 Indians and seven coloureds; 138 of them are men and 18 women. The arrested persons come from all strata of society representing doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers, students, ministers of religion, factory workers, trade unionists and workers. "Their views, as publicly professed in the past," points out Mr. Gerald Gardiner, a distinguished British legal expert who was in South Africa on a fact-finding tour on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists at the Hague, "ranged from 'Christian', 'pacifist', 'moderate', to 'extreme left'." Among the arrested are Mr. A. J. Luthuli, Christian President-General of the African National Congress, Professor Z. K. Mathews, an African acting head of the Fort Hare University College; South Africa's two leading African attorneys and one of the country's two African members of the Bar. Clearly the government's aim is to cut off the leadership of the African nationalist movement. The government has

already introduced in Parliament one other measure—the Segregation of University Education Bill—which, when passed, would successfully prevent the emergence of a new generation of African intellectuals.

It has been widely recognised that the trials are a mockery. The definition of treason in South Africa is wide enough to include even verbal protest against the measures of the present government. Supplemented by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 under which the Governor-General can declare a man "Communist" (no matter if he is not one) and secure his conviction, the Treason Laws are now considered by the South African government to take all the measures it might like to take to suppress the demands of the non-whites in the country. The government has collected 10,000 documents as evidence against the "accused". As Mr. V. C. Berrange, one of the defence counsel, remarks: "It must be rare, indeed, for a case not to be capable of proof without 10,000 documents. The duration of the preliminary hearings have lasted more than nine months to the great loss and inconvenience to the defendants, many of whom have lost their employment and most of whom have to live separated from their homes and families. Again, the strain of having to sit through the hearings five days a week and about five hours a day for such a long period, almost continuously, is naturally telling upon many of the defendants. In two cases both the husband and the wife have been arrested, the children left to be cared for by whoever took pity on them.

The fate of these African patriots certainly deserve the attention of the intellectuals of the world. The enormity of the crimes now being perpetrated by the present government of South Africa in the name of law and order and the defence of Western civilisation is in no way different from, but, perhaps, much greater than, the Communist trials in Hungary or the USSR. In the latter countries, the government consists of the people of the land, while in the former an alien race is oppressing the legitimate owners of the land.

The Second Soviet Sputnik

The Soviet Union startled the world by launching a second artificial satellite on November 3.

The second sputnik was much bigger than the first one, it weighed about half a ton (the first one was 183 lbs.) and was circling the globe every 102 minutes at an altitude of 930 miles (1500 kilometres). The first sputnik circled the world every 96.2 minutes. The longer time required by the second sputnik was not due to any slower speed (it had the same speed of 18,000 miles per hour as the first one) but due to its higher orbit. Another significant thing about the second sputnik was that it was carrying a living being—a dog named Laika, whom, it was hoped, could be brought down to earth. This last expectation however did not come true and Laika was reportedly dead—in other words the problem of getting down living being from space ships remained still a problem.

Professor Anatoli Biagonravov, one of the architects of these magnificent Soviet achievements, said: "I think the new data of the second sputnik will astound the world even more. There will be even greater admiration at the success of our science." In Toronto, Dr. John Heard, Director of the Toronto University's David Dunlop Observatory, said the announced weight of the satellite was "almost incredible." We were all amazed at the weight of the first satellite, but it is really astonishing that they put in that much weight. In London, Professor Harrie S. W. Massey, of the Royal Society for the achievement of science, described the second satellite as "really a most fantastic development."

U.S. army scientists at New Mexico missile bases and Mr. Kenneth Gatland, Vice-Chairman of the British Interplanetary Society, estimated that the whole satellite unit must have weighed about 500 tons and required 1.25 million lbs. of fuel (on the accepted basis that it took 1000 lbs. of fuel to lift one pound into the orbit). Dr. Fred Whipple, Director of the Smithsonian Astro-physical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts, described the launching of the second satellite as six times as great a scientific achievement as the launching of the first sputnik.

Dr. Viktor Paziarkin and Professor Vladimir Petrovsky, respectively Director and Lecturer, at Moscow's Planetarium, said that sputnik I, had two principal purposes: to give accurate measurements of the density of the atmosphere at high altitudes above the earth and to obtain information about meteoric streams in outer space. Sputnik II was intended to provide information

about the effect of cosmic rays on living beings and to study the spectrum. The second satellite was equipped with a refractor which splitted the spectrum into separate colours and enabled the scientists to study the Sun's rays unaffected by atmosphere.

As the Western scientists guessed on the announcement of the second Soviet satellite, it was launched with the help of a new science of power. Giving this information a Soviet scientist, Academician Dikushin, said that the satellite was launched by "a multi-staged carrier rocket of a new design with fool-proof precision controls."

Guns vs. Butter in U.S. Aid

Despite all the boosts given in press interviews it has begun to dawn in the minds of the experts in foreign affairs in the U.S. that the American policy has blundered in Asia.

The following report, from the pen of C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, is a clear indication. The only point Sulzberger has missed is the vital question of aiding the Soviets policy by creating schisms and lasting bitterness, through indiscriminate aid as in this part of the World.

Under two post-war Administrations our foreign policy has been heavily influenced by military considerations. Our aid program is, for obvious reasons, overweighted in favour of defense and defense support. The Pentagon has had immense say in many diplomatic decisions.

It is time to review this situation in terms both of Europe and of Asia. Is our course economic and prudent? Has it adjusted sufficiently to a changing world situation?

As far as Europe is concerned there is reason for optimism. The Soviet bloc has not yet solved its satellite relationships and, on our side of the ideological border, NATO shows enough vitality to undergo needed alterations.

The alliance was conceived when present instruments of war were hardly to be imagined. And we alone had a large stock-pile of nuclear weapons and superior means of delivering them. It was designed to deter attack from the East or to check it long enough for massive retaliation to come into play.

The Russians have managed to right the atomic balance while maintaining preponderance in conventional forces. Therefore our allies

worry about what kind of protection we can afford them. Clearly, if they are to retain faith in us, we must make immediately available to their armies missiles and new explosives. And clearly this will be done.

But in Asia the "cold war" presents more complex aspects. In the area between the Middle and Far East we made two evident miscalculations. We underestimated Kremlin ability to help underdeveloped nations. And we overstressed our own military aid.

Secretary Dulles reckoned, when Russia began its offers of foreign assistance, that Moscow was capable only of what he called "one shot" programs. He thought the constant drain of China, the U.S.S.R.'s immense military budget and its evident economic difficulties would prevent serious loans or grants to others. He seems to have misjudged the circumstances. For Soviet funds are flowing to Afghanistan, India, Egypt, Syria, Burma and Indonesia and have been dangled elsewhere.

Asia and Africa are convinced of the Marxist precept that non-industrialized countries are doomed to relative degeneracy. They look abroad for boosts into the machine age. But thanks to a Pentagon bias in American policy decisions, most of the dollars we have sent have gone for unproductive purposes.

Of \$150,000,000,000 we disbursed overseas during recent years the greater proportion has gone for direct or indirect defense. We have helped build armies incapable of fighting modern war upon economies incapable of supporting such establishments.

This has not greatly helped the beneficiaries. Their populations are less interested in guns than butter, more concerned with freeing their children from want than they are with ideology.

Furthermore, to accomplish our desires, we have been forced by conditions to work from the top down. We channel our contributions through existing and frequently corrupt governments with the result that popular share in any benefits is restricted. To make our programs work we must maintain a frequently unsatisfactory *status quo*.

The Communists, who oppose us, work from the bottom up, capturing popular discontent with prevailing administration. And they are

able sometimes to paint us as those responsible for keeping in power despots who impoverish the people.

How we can meet this challenge is difficult to say. But we must develop more pliancy in our aid and more support among the masses who should ultimately get it.

Moscow's subtle new regime benefits by contrast with the recent rigidity of Stalin. But we seem too inflexible. Our Asian alliances have been no great success. The Northern Tier we sponsored failed to keep Soviet influence from the Middle East. Already the Eisenhower Doctrine is unfashionable in that area. We can no longer hope to align the Arab states in any broad anti-Russian military pact. It is questionable whether such was ever worth attempting.

SEATO is militarily weaker now than when it was invented, thanks to French troop withdrawals from Indo-China and British forces cuts. It is back-stopped by our own ANZUS arrangement with Australia and New Zealand and by ANZAM, an entente between the latter lands and formerly British Malaya. ANZAM is now virtually non-existent. The new Malayan Government claims never even to have heard of it.

It is not easy to stiffen the free world in the East. But the emphasis of our approach must shift. Economic assistance there is more important than military gear. Liberty must be worth something before a people is prepared to fight for it.

And we have yet to capture the imagination of newly independent masses. Communism, which they do not comprehend, is not the major threat for many of them. The major threat is fear of slipping backward into misery. Rifles cannot win that battle.

The Communist World

The *New York Times* published on November 24 an editorial on the two communiques issued by the leaders of the Communist world, on the "basic laws" and "aims" of their nations. We reproduce it below as it gives a cross-section from the Western viewpoint:

In 1917, when Lenin's Bolshevik party seized power in Russia, its strength could be counted in thousands. Forty years later, the Communist empire embraces one-fourth of the earth's surface and holds dominion over more

than one-third of mankind—almost 1,000,000,000 people.

Three weeks ago, in the triumphant atmosphere engendered by sputniks, the leaders of the Communist world gathered at Moscow to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Conspicuously absent was Yugoslavia's Tito, who said he had lumbago and sent subordinates to represent him. During and after the festivities there were private talks among the leaders. Then full-dress conferences were held at the Kremlin from November 14 to 16 by representatives of twelve Communist States; from November 16 to 19 by leaders of Communist parties in sixty-four countries.

Last week, as a result of the meetings, the Communist hierarchy issued two communiques. One was a 5,000-word joint declaration of 'basic laws' and 'unity of aims' signed by Soviet boss Nikita Khrushchev, China's Mao Tse-tung, Poland's Wladyslaw Gomulka and other party leaders of the Communist States. The other was a 'peace manifesto,' signed by the sixty-four Communist parties, which formally endorsed every aspect of Soviet foreign policy. Of the two documents, the first was considered by observers to be by far the most significant.

The declaration exuded confidence in the continued expansion of the Communist world under Soviet leadership. It said:

The question of war or peaceful co-existence is now the crucial question of world policy. At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars. . . . The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of Socialist (Communist) countries headed by the Soviet Union. . . . The Socialist (Communist) countries are united in a single community . . . the main guarantee of the victory (of communism).

The declaration also called for a revival of 'popular fronts' between Communists and other political groups in the free world 'to win State power without civil war.' It stated that in view of the present international crisis the Communist world leadership should 'hold, as the need arises, more . . . conferences of Communist . . . parties to discuss current problems . . . and concert action in the joint struggle for . . . common goals'.

To the West, the most significant note in the declaration was the emphasis upon Soviet leadership. It was doubted that Moscow could revert completely to the Stalinist pattern of Russian dictation to Communist parties elsewhere, as practised by the pre-war Comintern and the post-war Cominform. The Comintern was dissolved during World War II as a gesture to the Western allies and the Cominform was abandoned by Khrushchev last year. The Cominform had been Stalin's principal instrument for punishing the disobedient Tito. The reason for its dissolution, it was believed, was the Kremlin's desire after Stalin's death to make amends with Tito. But Moscow is believed to have had second thoughts about Tito and his doctrine of 'different roads to socialism' in light of the unrest that led to the crises in Hungary and Poland. Accordingly, it is felt that Khrushchev now seeks to establish a modified version of a world Communist high command guided from Moscow. Although the declaration last week did not mention the doctrine of 'different roads to socialism,' its real intent, it was felt, was to assert unity among the Communist parties of the world and revive some of the spirit if not the form of the Comintern and Cominform.

The Yugoslav position lends credence to this theory. Tito's representative did not sign the declaration. During a Moscow reception Friday night, A. I. Mikoyan, a member of the Russian Communist party's ruling presidium, parried questions about Yugoslavia's attitude and told correspondents to ask the Yugoslav Ambassador. They did. Yugoslav Ambassador Veljko Micunovic bluntly said, '(We did not sign) because we did not agree with it.'

The Yugoslav Communist party signed the 'peace manifesto,' however. Yugoslav officials explained this by saying that the manifesto was solely a party concern while the declaration was a government matter. Western observers concluded that Tito was determined to emphasize his independence of Moscow, particularly because Washington is re-examining its policy of giving aid to Yugoslavia.

Tunisia's Arms

The intransigence of the French *colons*—that is those French colonists who have ruth-

lessly exploited Algeria—and of the politicians that support them, has kept almost all North Africa involved in turmoil and bloodshed. Tunisia has been attacked without any provocation, and has asked the U.S. for arms for defence of her soil. The U.S. has agreed on a token shipment, which has incensed the French Government. *The New York Times* gives the following background of the controversy:

This is the background of the controversy over shipment of American and British arms to Tunisia:

Last September, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia asked the U.S. for weapons. The French-Arab fighting in Algeria was spilling across Tunisia's borders, and he felt he was entitled to the arms to protect his nation's integrity. The U.S. agreed, and while making no commitments of its own, said Tunisia should get arms from some Western nation—preferably France—by the end of October.

On September 30 the French Government fell, and M. Bourguiba postponed the arms delivery deadline to November 12 in order to give Paris time to pull itself together. Meanwhile, the U.S. continued trying to persuade the French to supply the arms, and at the same time, prepared to make deliveries itself, if necessary.

The U.S. was then given to understand that France would deliver the arms on November 14 with no strings attached. But it turned out that Paris wanted two agreements from M. Bourguiba: (1) that no weapons would be allowed to fall into the hands of the Algerian rebels, and (2) that he accept weapons from no one except France. The conditions were rejected as an infringement on Tunisian sovereignty. Feeling it now had no choice but to make good its pledge of Western arms, the U.S. hastily undertook to supply the weapons, along with a token shipment from Britain.

The French outcry over the arms shipments soon reached deafening proportions. The burden of the complaint was that since there had been no guarantees otherwise, the arms were bound to reach the Algerian rebels.

Last week, French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau flew to Washington to protest personally to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. After their three-hour meeting, a State

Department spokesman said the Secretary had listened 'with understanding and sympathy.' It was agreed that the U.S. and France would discuss, with Britain and Tunisia, procedures to prevent illegal use of Western weapons.

Some U.S. and British officials viewed the French uproar in part as a calculated effort to pressure the U.S. into supporting France's position in the United Nations, where the Algerian question comes up for debate this week.

Apparently, North Africans had the same thing in mind. Last Tuesday M. Bourguiba went to Morocco to confer with King Mohammed V, who is flying to the U.S. today for talks this week with President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. The King and M. Bourguiba addressed an 'urgent appeal' to the French and Algerians. Offering their good offices, they called for negotiations that 'should achieve a just solution, leading to the sovereignty of the Algerian people in conformity with the United Nations' and 'safeguarding the interests of France.'

Yesterday the proposal was accepted by the Algerians and rejected by the Gaillard Cabinet. Last night the Radical Socialists, Gaillard's own party, repudiated the Premier's stand in a resolution calling for acceptance of the proposal. The offer is expected to be emphasized by King Mohammed in his talks at Washington and by Arab delegates to the U.N. during the Algerian debate.

Morocco and Spain

There are storm clouds on the horizon of Morocco, the only part of North Africa that has remained comparatively calm. It seems that Spain is looking for trouble, as the following news-item in the *New York Times* of November 29 indicates:

Rabat, Morocco, November 28.—Crown Prince Moulay Hassan charged Spanish forces today with having attacked Moroccan territory from Ifni. He ordered the Moroccan Army to shoot back.

His announcement, made in Arabic in a nation-wide broadcast, said two women were killed last Saturday by shells fired by troops from the Spanish colony of Ifni. The Crown Prince said the army, which he commands as

Chief of Staff, "is ready to defend its territory against anyone."

He indicated that Morocco intended to put up a struggle for Southern Morocco, still a Spanish protectorate south of the independent kingdom. He called this territory "our door on the Sahara."

(The Spanish Government called the Crown Prince's charge of aggression "totally false.")

Ifni, a Spanish enclave in Morocco, has been rent by sporadic rebellion since May. Moroccan nationalists here reported that it had been the scene of fighting between rebels and the Spanish garrison since Saturday.

Spanish authorities have accused the irregular Moroccan liberation army of having staged raids on Ifni, and have rushed reinforcements to the scene.

Al Alam, newspaper of the Moroccan Istiqlal (Independence) party, said the Spanish forces had launched an all-out counter-offensive to recapture lost Ifni outposts.

In his broadcast, Crown Prince Moulay Hassan said that Morocco had been "surprised by the Ifni events," and that it was "regrettable that these events extended beyond the Ifni zone with the Spaniards launching attacks on Moroccan territory."

Accordingly, he announced, he had given orders to the army to fire on any foreign plane suspected of attacking or planning to attack Moroccan territory.

He voiced hope of a peaceful negotiation, saying that Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain had shown a "great comprehension" of Spanish-Moroccan relations.

But at the same time, he said, "the importance of Southern Morocco, now under the rule of Spaniards, does not need to be demonstrated because it is our door on the Sahara."

Abdelkader el Fassi, head of the Moroccan Foreign Ministry's Sahara section, declared Morocco could show "only sympathy for all Moroccans who claim their right for the definitive liberation of the (Ifni) territory."

The Oppenheimer Case

McCarthy is dead, but his legacy still remains. The following editorial from the *New York Times* shows how deep is the sore:

The career of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was once described as a 'bitter parable of a

bitter time.' In 1945, Dr. Oppenheimer was hailed as the 'architect' of the atomic bomb. Nine years later, the Atomic Energy Commission decided, by a 4-1 vote, to drop Dr. Oppenheimer as a consultant and to deny him access to secret information. The majority held that Dr. Oppenheimer, though loyal, was a 'security risk'. Among other things, he was accused of associating with Communists; he also was charged with failure to support the development of the hydrogen bomb. The case aroused great bitterness in the scientific community.

When the Soviet sputnik appeared in the sky last month, there were widespread demands that American scientists be given a larger national role; with this, came questions about a possible place for Dr. Oppenheimer in the program. Last week Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Trevor Gardner, former chief of Air Force Research, suggested the reinstatement of Dr. Oppenheimer, who since 1947 has been director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J.

Moreover, at least one of the A.E.C. members who made the 1954 decision against Dr. Oppenheimer has now shifted his stand somewhat. Former Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, who in 1954 went further than his colleagues and called Dr. Oppenheimer 'disloyal' because he disobeyed security rules, said last week, 'I would not be at all displeased if he were reinstated.'

There was no comment from A.E.C. Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, who voted against Dr. Oppenheimer and is the only 1954 commissioner still in office. The physicist Henry D. Smyth, author of the official post-war report on atomic energy and the only 1954 dissenter, said: "I naturally think he should be reinstated—if he wants to come back. I wouldn't blame him if he didn't want to." Dr. Oppenheimer said nothing.

Whatever may happen with the Oppenheimer case—and many observers believe nothing will happen as long as Admiral Strauss remains in charge of the A.E.C.—the nation now appears to be altering its thinking about science and security. One example came from an interview with Dr. Isidor Isaac Rabi, chairman of President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee, which was published last week in

The Sunday Times in London. This was the pertinent exchange.

Q. Is (the U.S. public) still influenced by memories of McCarthyism and the fate of Professor Oppenheimer?

A. It is still too early to judge the long-range effects of McCarthyism, but the exclusion of Professor Oppenheimer, a man who accomplished so much for his country, is indication of the failure of the country and the authorities to value correctly such contributions, both intellectual and substantial, to the welfare of the United States. Only when he is returned to more active Government service will it indicate that a change of heart has occurred. It will be a source of encouragement to the whole scientific community.

Anti-Obscenity Laws

The practice and procedure of the police, in controlling obscene literature in this country, is open to criticism. As such the following extracts from the *New Leader* of New York, of October 7, are worthy of perusal, as they show up the laws of the U.S. in this respect:

Some view the Supreme Court's recent decisions in three unprecedented cases testing state and Federal anti-obscenity laws as a grave threat to *avant-garde* authors and publishers. Taking the three cases, together, they point out, a majority of the court dissented. Their hope is that these minority opinions by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices William J. Brennan, John M. Marlan, William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black will yet prevail.

Others have concluded that ultimately the recent decisions will reduce and possibly eliminate attempts at official censorship by the ignorant and bigoted, whether police chiefs or Postmasters General. Their optimism is based on the nature of the minority opinions, the temperate tone of the majority and, above all, the shoddy literary goods involved in these particular cases.

Kingsley Books v. Brown, concerned pamphlets describing sadomasochistic activities. A curious cross between books and magazines, these were issued irregularly but with a common format and the running title "Nights of Horror." Under a hitherto untested law enacted by the Legislature in 1941, New York City obtained an injunction and removed copies from bookstores.

New York was attempting "prior restraint" of publication, according to the aggrieved booksellers. They conceded that the "Nights of Horror" series was "indisputably obscene and filthy," but they defended their hardwon historic right to sell a book—completing the path from author to reader—before the law intervenes.

The New York law was carefully written to make pornography unprofitable. Usually, when a dealer is charged with selling obscene literature, the books remain on sale until his case has dragged its way through a clogged court calendar. If found guilty, the dealer may pay only a fine and often he is soon selling the same books again. Another offense requires another trial. Under the New York statute, in contrast, a trial must be held within 24 hours after the injunction issues, and a decision must be handed down within 48 hours after the trial has ended. A jury trial is optional. If the seized material is ruled obscene, it is destroyed.

Justice Felix Frankfurter's decision for the majority denied that this procedure was "prior restraint." The bookseller is assured of a swift trial and justice without delay. "Until then, he may keep the book for sale and sell it on his own judgment"

Justices Douglas and Black dissented and, as they did in all three cases, adopted a more extreme position than they have taken in the past in similar cases. The "Nights of Horror" decision, they described as "prior restraint and censorship at its worst." They were joined in dissent, on other grounds, by Justice Brennan and the Chief Justice.

"There is totally lacking any standard in the statute for judging the book in context," Mr. Warren wrote. "The personal element basic to the criminal laws is entirely absent. In my judgment, the same object may have wholly different impact depending upon the setting in which it is placed. Under this statute the setting is irrelevant." Justice Brennan argued that "the absence in this New York obscenity statute of a right to jury trial is a fatal defect The jury represents a cross-section of the community and has a special aptitude for reflecting the view of the average person."

Alberts v. California dealt with a Los Angeles publisher and bookseller convicted of violating a state law against pornography. In

an impassioned brief and oral argument before the Supreme Court, his attorney advanced two principal reasons for reversal. There is no standard of obscenity valid for all times and places, he observed. Some of the earliest English common law cases, for example, involved Southey's *Wat Tyler*, Byron's *Don Juan* and Shelley's *Queen Mab*.

Roth v. U.S., however, presented the basic challenge to the 20 antiobscenity acts passed by Congress. As author, publisher or bookseller, Roth has long run afoul of various state and Federal laws against obscene literature. Accused this time of violating Federal rather than state statutes, he contended that obscenity is no subject for Federal legislation, Congress being prohibited by the First Amendment from abridging the rights of free speech and free press.

This constitutional doctrine of free speech and press judges literature by the acts it is likely to cause, not the ideas it attempts to spread. Should obscenity, alleged or conceded, be ruled outside the protection the First Amendment extends to ideas? The late Judge Jerome Frank made his misgivings plain in a lengthy appendix to the Appellate decision against Roth, in which he concurred.

One defect in the anti-obscenity laws, Judge Frank wrote, is that "no one can show that with any reasonable probability obscene publications tend to have any effects on the behavior of normal average adults." Nevertheless, "under the statute as judicially interpreted, punishment is apparently inflicted for provoking in such adults undesirable sexual thoughts, feelings or desires—not overt dangerous or anti-social conduct, either actual or probable." And who is to determine what is sexually provocative? Judge Frank asked. "In truth, the stimuli to irregular sexual conduct, by normal men and women, may be almost anything—the odor of carnations or cheese, the sight of a cane or a candle or a shoe, the touch of silk or a gunnysack."

The American Civil Liberties Union came to Roth's defense before the Supreme Court. Its brief echoed Judge Frank, citing research findings indicating little or no behaviour as a result of reading or looking at obscene material. *Amicus curiae* briefs were also filed by the Authors League of America, the American Books Publishers Council and *Playboy* and *Rogue* magazines. Rarely, if ever, has an *amicus* brief

been accepted in the Supreme Court from a lawyer without a client, but the authoritative personal opinion of Morris Ernst, the celebrated literary lawyer, was presented to the Justices in this fashion.

The Government's case was simple. Much more was at stake than Alberts' girlie magazines or Roth's erotic book—*American Aphrodite*, for example, an illustrated anthology of Boccaccio, Aubrey Beardsley, pseudo-scientific articles on sex, etc. According to the Post Office Department, the "borderline" category accounts for less than a tenth of the questionable matter scrutinized at the border or in the U.S. mails.

Ninety per cent of the printed or photographic items supporting criminal convictions under the anti-obscenity statutes, the Government explained, is "hard-core" pornography: erotic objects, photographic sets and booklets, illustrated pamphlets and books "in simple explicit words of sexual excesses of every kind, over and over again"; pornographic comic books; and motion picture films, "sometimes of high technical quality, sometimes in color."

What, then, shall be considered obscene? "Obscene material . . . deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest." The test is "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest."

The decision of the majority in the Roth and Alberts cases, according to the Court's two steadfast liberals, "creates a regime where, in the battle between the literati and the Philistines, the Philistines are certain to win." Their parting shot was: "The test that suppresses a cheap tract today can suppress a literary gem tomorrow. All it need do is incite a lascivious thought or arouse a lustful desire. The list of books that judges or juries can put in the category is endless."

The trend of the Supreme Court's recent decisions and the temper of the present Justices would seem to belie these warnings, however. Chief Justice Warren observed in his Roth opinion that "To recognize the existence of a problem . . . does not require that we sustain any and all measures adopted to meet that problem." One such measure the Court would not sustain was a 118-year-old Michigan statute making it an offense to publish or sell books to

the general public that could potentially "incite minors to violent or depraved or immoral acts."

The effect of this law, Justice Frankfurter wrote when the Court struck it down last February, was "to reduce the adult population of Michigan to reading only what is fit for children."

The Kandy Conference

The following report, culled from the *New York Times*, is worthy of record in more than one way:

Kandy, Ceylon, November 28.—Journalists from four continents agreed today on a series of recommendations aimed at increasing the world's fund of news information, particularly about Asia.

The newspapermen ended a four-day conference of the International Press Institute, an organization of editors and publishers concerned with freedom of information and the flow of news.

Those who participated in the conference seem to agree that they profited by getting to know each other better and exchanging information about problems and trends in journalism. But there is also the feeling among some of the journalists here that the conference was conducted somewhat too diplomatically, that it trod too delicately on too many egg-shells, and that many things about press freedoms in Asia were only hinted at or left unsaid.

The most heated discussion, which took place at the final session tonight, centered on a proposal by Nelson Poynter, editor of *The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times*. The proposal, finally adopted unanimously, called on all governments to permit newspapers and other media to receive directly, if desired, any news report.

Strong opposition was encountered at first from Indian editors. India permits foreign news agencies to sell their services in that country, but only by using Indian news services as distributors. The fear expressed by Indian editors was that open direct competition by foreign agencies might drive to the wall such national news agencies as the Press Trust of India.

The conference also called for more news representation in Communist China and suggested that airlines consider "more favorable rates" for carrying newspapers and journalists. A journalism teacher from India made a pro-

posal for financing overseas trips by journalism teachers, but it was dropped.

The conference adopted a carefully worded resolution expressing "deep concern" over the year-long detention of Mochtar Lubis, editor of the *Indonesia Raya*. The proposal asked the Indonesian Government to "allow Lubis to regain his professional freedom" but steered away from any comment on reports that the Indonesian military authorities had accused him—without bringing him to trial—of subversion.

NOTICE

Our subscribers, readers, customers, advertisers, selling and advertising agents and sub-agents are hereby notified that due to an all-round increase in prices of printing materials which have increased by 150 per cent, labour wages, postage, etc., we have been forced with great reluctance to enhance the price, subscription rates and advertisement charges of *The Modern Review* at reasonable minimum rate that will be in force from January 1958.

We hope our well-wishers will please realise the reasons for the enhancement which is beyond our control, and will kindly extend their co-operation as before.

From January 1958 the price of a single copy of *The Modern Review* will be, inland Re. 1.25 nP; annual subscription Rs. 15.00, half-yearly Rs. 8.00 and foreign single copy Rs. 2.00; annual Rs. 24.00; half-yearly Rs. 12.00 nP., respectively.

Terms of agency remain unaltered. For new advertisement rates please consult the schedule given on the fourth page of the magazine.

MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

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Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immediately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as fresh packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA

BY PROF. LEON SINDER, Ph.D.,

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To most Asians the news emanating from the United States is overshadowed by one seemingly paramount contradiction. It is the image of a country professing democratic ideals caught in the throes of racial violence. On the surface this image seems to be so certain that it overwhelms the mind to the point where it must, to assure itself of sanity, exclaim, "Americans are all hypocrites." "They preach democracy abroad and practise something else at home." Is this really a true picture of America?

When the first flush of emotionalism is spent, is the picture in view still as dark and, is the professed American ideal still as false?

I know that in writing any erudite work with some appeal to reason and knowledge beyond, not without, emotion the author becomes suspect of "selling something." Certainly, I am an American, reared in the traditions of the United States some of which may be abhorrent to Asians or even to myself but, we must remember that all human beings are born into a society already created for their arrival. We must be aware of the fact that in any society, facets exist which become evil and unworthy of the professed ideals of a changing society and world. These facets inevitably fall victim to the passage of time. It is so in India as well as in America. The race picture in America has been one of the facets in the passage of time. This, then, is not an apologia for the lack of a democratic spirit in America but an analysis of why I consider the democratic spirit to be more vitally alive now than ever.

There are facts in history which cannot be negated, only explained, that we must all be aware of. Such a fact was the existence of a great cleavage between human beings in Europe, in Asia and in America. In the United States the cleavage was constantly being broken down by waves of migration from the old world into

the new. Cleavages starting in the old world could not exist in their original forms dynamically changing groups as easily as among socially static ones. The only socially static group in the new world were the Negroes for they were enslaved until after 1865. Race relations in America then can be said not to have existed, except in a very very specific sense, prior to 1865. It is only within the last 90 years or so that relations between races in America can be said to have begun. Once again, I must emphasize, that there is no attempt to place a moral judgment on the evil or justice involved with slavery. Whether the system of man enslaving man is inhuman or not, it is an historical fact that man, all over the world, did do so.

The Negro in America, after 1865, had a relation with others in his country which was local, regional and national. In all instances the closer he remained to his former place of slavery, the lesser was he considered as being really free. We know, for example, that conservatism in changing conditions in Indian villages is often most profound on the local level and most often dynamic the further one travels away from specific relations with a local area. It is indicative of this fact that the American Negro, now a free man, began to migrate from his home elsewhere. He walked all over the American South. In asserting the physical fact of his freedom he, nonetheless, stayed within the regional conservatism of the older attitudes toward him. The American South retained an attitude of paternalistic kindness toward the Negro but adopted one of adamant refusal to face the facts of a new historical period. The American government and its constitutional processes were always ahead, in ideals and guarantees, of its power to enforce change on the general climate of opinion. This too should not be strange to Indians since caste is also illegal and yet large vestiges remain that be-

come stronger when we go from the national to the regional and the local levels.

American Negroes, in asserting their freedom of movement, began to gravitate toward the Northern part of the United States into areas in which Negro-Caucasoid relations have no long social history. The Negro was not looked upon, in this area, solely as a Negro but he had to face the phenomenon that all individuals who are on the move encounter—that of being a stranger in older settled areas with other social stratifications. This served, added to the disadvantage of Negro unpreparedness for competitive economic existence due to slavery, to further make his position difficult. Also, we must remember that Negroes-become-freedmen were invariably among the lowest economic groups and suffered in their relations with other social groups, in a society largely based upon concepts of wealth, because they were poor. The emphasis here is important. It was not solely because they were Negroes that made them the object of discrimination—it was primarily because they were poor and Negroes that they were singled out for differential treatment.

The story of the rise of paralleling Negro social classes aping that of the Caucasoid groups has been too well documented by American Sociologists for me to go into here but the fact remains that by the out-break of World War II, we found a whole range of levels in American Negro life—from the highest to the lowest. Social bridgement of relations between Negroes and Caucasoids in a similar economic level, however, was difficult in both the North and the South and was not encouraged by either of the two racial groups. Economic bridgement, however, was beginning to take place in increasing fashion with a democracy in labour and with equal pay for dissimilar races at similar jobs. Once again, I must state, that this does not imply that Negroes were given the right to all types of employment that they qualified for, but that this was a factor of the social position of employer-employee relations rather than of the economic. The old trite statements, used to excuse racial prejudice in hiring, such as "Negroes are lazy," or "Negroes can't handle

tools as well as Whites," or "They are untrustworthy in responsible jobs," are now seldom, if ever, heard in the total American scene—even in the South! If Negroes are not hired for a specific job, a practice which admittedly persists in certain American industries, the reasons are always social and must fall back on the social aspect of segregation. Here then is one of the most positive phases of race relations in America that seems to have been overlooked. Perhaps the growing maturity of American industry to labour relations problems, perhaps the need for all available manpower during World War II, perhaps the growing awareness of America's position in the world, perhaps an intangible reason which no one has, as yet, brought forth, contributed to the growing egalitarian spirit of industrial relations. The fact is that American Negroes work alongside of American Caucasoids all over this country.

World War II also saw the breakdown of many other aspects of segregation on the scene of America as a nation. The armed forces were desegregated. Sports in which national institutions are involved, West Point, Annapolis, our Olympic teams, not only became the scene of racial interaction but demanded that local and regional segregation among spectators be eliminated. This year, for example, football in America in which national institutions participate will be totally free from racial stigma both for the spectators and participants.

The Asian may well say, "Well, all of these things are true but how about all the discrimination we read about and all of the pictures of vicious morons intimidating Negro children we have seen." This author would like to state that even in this sorry spectacle there are aspects which he calls "positive-negativism." I am not indulging in semantics here in order to avoid the issue but I maintain that these are signs that the last stronghold of social segregation is also crumbling. In the American South, for example, forces of hate that have erupted in violence (forces which have their counterpart in every human society) have forced the quiescent paternalistic Southern white to recognize that his attitude has only given strength to the minute, lawless and vicious minority in his

midst. He has, for the first time since the American civil war, re-evaluated his concept of the American Negro in terms of legal and social equality. Statements, such as, "I don't particularly like it but integration is inevitable" are the hallmark of this new Southern attitude. Human beings in America, in India or elsewhere must first achieve social freedom on a level with everyone else in society in order to achieve any of the other levels that they aspire to. If members of that society do not like the idea of equality but bow to its inevitability they express an individual ideal which is negative but a social ideal which is positive. Hence my concept of positive-negativism. It is not the American Negroes desire to be liked as a Negro. He wants first to be as free as anyone else in the society and liked as an individual. This is an altogether different problem from that posed by segregation or integration.

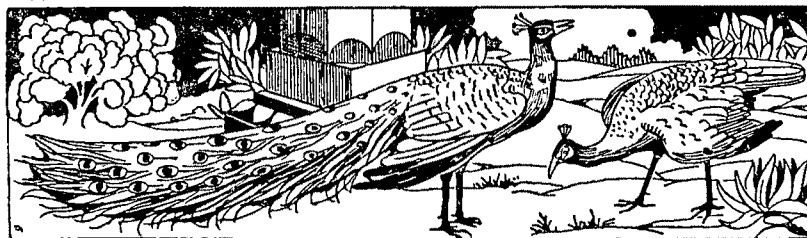
In the present American South we have the interesting and stimulating spectacle of the American Negro not only gaining his long delayed freedom under the laws reinforced by an enlightened judiciary but gaining in social status because of his demeanour under trying conditions. The Rev. King, for example, and his followers have been compared to Gandhi and his disciples in following non-violence to gain their ends. Anyone who knows of America's deep emotional attachment to the spirit and memory of Gandhi should realize that the American Negro has, in this instance, risen enormously in social prestige. Paradoxically then, the anti-Negro forces in the American South are not only speeding the legal integration of groups which, even they had to admit, seemed inevitable but the social integration, by adding a bright dignity to the Negro, that the most hopeful person could not have foreseen in the near future.

The ability to incorporate great social changes after periods of travail are the foundations of a living democracy. These changes inevitably hurt individuals while they are taking place. To those individuals the transition is painful and fraught with anguish and tears. To their friends, here or abroad, the changes become synonymous with bad rather than with good. We know, however, that once the period of transition takes place the changes heal wounds, the society recovers and becomes cohesive and new changes with new pains, new anguish, new progress, occur.

Americans are far from perfect—Negro and Caucasoid alike—for they are human. They react to fright, pain and lack of knowledge with the same blind stupidity that all peoples do. In this time of transition, between the darkness in the American South and the sure beginnings of the dawn, we tend to pay heed only to the goblins of doom but America's racial picture is at its brightest hour now. The Negro American have shown to others, and to themselves, that they too are the inheritors of a truly democratic spirit by their steadfast attitude of forbearance and non-vindictiveness. As such they attest to the truth of the ingrained teaching of what democratic America really stands for.

America has a long way to go in legal, moral, social and educational teaching of all its people to be mature enough to have the strength to be kind to themselves as well as to the others that make up the human family. Which other nation, in this trouble-beset world, hasn't?*

* Prof. Sinder is an ardent advocate of Indo-American friendship, through cultural co-operation and a member of the Executive Committee of Taraknath Das Foundation of New York.



BRAHMO SAMAJ AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT

BY PROF. A. C. BANERJI

MANY of our countrymen including even historians have got an idea that freedom movement in India is comparatively of recent origin, although some of them would say that Sepoy Mutiny was the first War of Independence. It seems that they are mostly unaware of the great contribution made by Brahmo Samaj towards achievement of Independence in India.

Perhaps most of you are aware of one of the main reasons why Raja Rammohun Roy, while he was a young boy of sixteen years, left India, crossed the Himalayas and went over to Tibet. He mentioned the reason in his letter to his friend Mr. Gordon—it was his intense dislike for British Rule. After travelling through various places he realised that mere aversion to British rule would not bring freedom to India and that the ground should be prepared first before our country could hope to achieve independence. He foresaw that personal freedom should first be achieved before political freedom could be gained. He became the apostle of personal freedom and also laid the foundation of freedom movement in the first half of the twentieth century for political emancipation of India. Indeed the political Swaraj movement was the child of the movement of personal freedom initiated by Rammohun Roy. He raised his revolt against the Hindu orthodoxy of his time and concentrated all his efforts in reforming current religious practices and in uprooting injurious customs of his countrymen. In personal freedom, supremacy of individual reason and individual conscience is maintained and ideas and opinions of each person are based on his stand for the highest truth and the most solemn right to hold them. The remarkable fight of Raja Rammohun with the Christian missionaries of Serampore and his defence of Hindu religion against the vicious attack of these ignorant foreign missionaries aroused a new pride in our people in their ancient faith and culture. Raja's timely action created very effectively for the first time in the history of Modern India a new national consciousness in the community. In this connection Rammohun also did more extensive and at the same time higher work. He sought to purify the religion of the Christian mis-

sionaries themselves by pointing out to them the errors and superstitions that had collected around the pristine teaching of Christ. His defence of interpretation of Christ was remarkable and he could have easily taken his place amongst the Fathers of Christian Church. Raja Rammohun thus became not only a national hero but also an international figure.

Raja Rammohun Roy fully realised that in order to promote welfare of our country in every way and to raise it ultimately to the status of a self-governing domain it was essential that the system of English education should be introduced in the country as early as possible so that Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful arts as well as Political Philosophy as obtain in Europe might be taught to Indians so that they could become politically, industrially and economically advanced. Moreover educated persons and intellectuals of different provinces in India would be able to communicate with each other easily if they learned English. A feeling of common nationhood would also be awakened throughout India, and this spirit of nationalism was very necessary in order to attain freedom. The idea of complete political independence was always in the mind of the Raja. The Raja told his friend Mr. Arnold who was also his Private Secretary during his sojourn in England that he believed that British rule in India would last for about another forty years. The Raja made this statement in the early thirties of the last century. He thought and hoped that the British would cease to rule India after the seventies of the last century. The Raja was firmly of opinion that British connection was very necessary during the first half of the nineteenth century. During the Raja's lifetime and a few centuries before his birth India fell into the background of the forefront of all other countries in culture and civilisation. In the past her sailing vessels crossed the oceans East and West and her caravans carried her merchandise along the land-routes up to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The propagation of her culture and spiritual message followed the course of her commerce. Now her past supremacy was gone. The Raja

firmly believed that in order that India might regain her last glory it was the will of Providence that the British should become the political masters of India and deliver this ancient land from the bondage of mediaevalism into the freedom of modern age through the initiation of modern culture and education. He strongly urged that if any country were to be freed from social and intellectual bondage of mediaevalism and pedanticism her children must get their education in the positive sciences of the West. The Raja asserted that to ensure her material and spiritual progress and to get out of mediaevalism India must assimilate the results of scientific investigation and inventions of modern Europe. According to the Raja within forty years of the introduction of modern European Culture and learning in India, the Indians would be sufficiently advanced in those fundamental requirements for material and cultural progress and would be able to direct and control without any external help, their own destiny and evolution. After the period there would be no longer any jurisdiction of the continuance of British Rule in India which would cease ultimately.

So in order to prepare the ground for ultimate attainment of freedom, he strove hard for the progress of the country in the political field as well. He appeared before the Select Committee of the House of Commons when he pressed hard for the separation of the judicial and executive functions of the magistrates from the very beginning of their service. He also urged that the judiciary should be completely independent of executive control or influence. He also proposed important reforms of land and revenue system so that the peasants might be freed from the exactions and tyrannies of the Zamindars and that the actual tiller of the land might be the owner of the soil which he cultivated. His proposal was remarkable as it was the precursor of the abolition of the Zamindari system and to the Bhoodan movement in recent years. It is wonderful how the Raja could foresee what would happen a hundred years hence. He was born much ahead of his time. He also tried hard to obtain the Freedom of the Press which was so essential for preparing the country in its struggle for political freedom.

The Raja was in fact the Father of Indian

Nationalism. He was not merely national but also international in his outlook. He used to read carefully various European newspapers. He was in great sympathy with any country in the world which was trying to get political freedom. In 1825 A.D. when he received the news of the establishment of Constitutional Government in Spain he was so happy that he gave a public dinner in the Town Hall to commemorate this event. He was also very much pleased when he got the news of the formation of Constitutional Government in Portugal. He also prayed that Greece might throw off the yoke of Turkey. He was very much distressed when he heard that Neapolitans who had fought for the freedom of their State were defeated. He was to have met a certain Mr. Buckland in the evening on the same day when he got this distressing news. He felt so much dejected that he wrote to Mr. Buckland that he would not be able to meet the latter especially as his mind was depressed by the late news from Europe. He stated:

"From the late unhappy news, I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic Nations . . . Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be successful."

On his way to England his steamer halted at Capetown for a while. He went to see the town but on his way back to the steamer he fell from the gangway ladder and hurt his leg for which he had to limp for eighteen months. In Capetown harbour he saw two French steamers flying French Flags. He expressed his keen desire to go to one of the French steamers and to do honour to the French Flag. In spite of his physical ailments he was taken to the French steamers. When he was brought under the French Flag he repeatedly exclaimed, "Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory to France." This shows that his heart was full of burning desire to see liberty restored everywhere including his own country. Some have called Indian Mutiny of 1857 as India's First War of Independence. I believe it is rather a misreading of Indian History. Some on religious grounds and others who found that the new political regime stood in the way of the realisation of their new ambition about the revival of an indigenous Raj of India were responsible in starting the Indian Mutiny of 1857. It cannot be

denied that the aim of this revolt was to free the country from British rule but it never dreamt of creating a genuine spirit of nationalism nor of establishing in place of British Rule a real Government of the people for the people and by the people. As it was not a genuine national movement or revolt, it was unsuccessful.

The spirit of personal freedom was revived with much greater force by Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore. He made an open repudiation of all scriptural authority and infallibility. This was the first serious movement of rationalism and individualism in the country. But this rationalism of the Maharshi was quite different from so-called free thought leading to materialism and scepticism of the nineteenth century. He pointed out the necessary logic of rational and moral life leading to the fundamental truth of religion. The Maharshi had the innate aristocratic conservatism in himself. He was intensely nationalistic in his attitude and his exposition of the religion of Brahmo Samaj from the texts of Upanishads in repudiation of unreasonable propaganda of foreign Christian missionaries created a new conception of the excellence of Indian thought and culture in relation to current Christian faith and theology. The Maharshi really made a very valuable contribution to the creation of a new nationalistic movement in India.

Maharshi Devendra Nath was a born aristocrat and had a keen sense of national dignity. He persistently refused to take any favour from the British Government. He disassociated himself completely from the representatives of foreign political authority in the country. He was indeed the first and most persistent Non-co-operator among the leaders of Indian thought and life. Maharshi Debendra Nath was for some years the Secretary of the British Indian Association which was the only organisation in those days whose aim was to protect the political rights of Indians and to advance their political status and also their civic freedom.

Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen gave a most powerful impetus to the movement of personal freedom. He was the torch-bearer in every department of our intellectual, moral and social activities. He started a great democratic movement by breaking away from the Maharshi and the old Brahmo Samaj and establishing a

new Brahmo Samaj under the name of the Brahmo Samaj of India. It was a new community which worshipped one God without a second and tried to organise the fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity along with the ideals of universal humanity. He took up cudgels against caste-system and polygamy, and encouraged inter-caste marriage. Brahmananda laid the foundation of freedom movement in India in various ways. While in England he delivered a most remarkable lecture under the title "England's Duties to India." He said :

"You cannot hold India for the interest of Manchester nor for the advantage of those merchants who go to India, live as birds of passage for a time and never feel any abiding interest in the country.

"Those days are gone by never to return when men thought of holding India at the point of the bayonet. If England seeks to crush down two hundred millions of people in this glorious country, to destroy their nationality, to extinguish the fire of noble antiquity and the thrill of ancient patriotism and if England's object in governing the people of India is simply to make money then I say, *perish British Rule this moment.*"

In another lecture he mentioned :

"Already a transition has commenced, but this is only the precursor of a mighty revolution through which India is destined to pass. Prepare yourselves for the trials which await you. Prepare yourselves, I say for the time is coming when you shall be called to undergo heavy self-denials and encounter struggles of no ordinary kind. Be prepared to offer even your blood, if need be, for the regeneration of your country."

Keshab Chandra was a true socialist with a clear vision and he could see that there could not be any real freedom, political, social and economic, unless the masses are awakened from their sleep and class, caste and creed are rolled up in one. Hence he championed the cause of mass education. He realised that the bondage of the masses has brought forth the bondage of India and the denial of their birth-right of education and knowledge has created a wide gulf between the classes and the masses and labour and capital. He proposed that the really

wealthy of all classes, European and Indian, the landlords, merchants, traders, bankers should submit to a small educational tax on their income. He also asked in all seriousness :

"Are the educated people of India endeavouring to constitute among themselves—a new race of Brahmins? Do they try to perpetuate that great gulf which has so long divided the upper and lower classes." Under the caption "Rich Man" in *Sulav Samachar* he drew pointed attention to "the condition of the toiling masses with the sweat of whose brows they supplied food and money to the upper classes. It was also said that a time would come when the masses would not remain mute in their long suffering, poverty and degradation."

In one of his lectures in England Keshab Chandra told the Britishers :

"I hope and trust that the merciful God who has called you to govern our nation will give you wisdom and strength, faith and purity enough to rule our race properly, if not, India will not be long in your hands. You will be forced to leave India to herself and we shall do our business in the best way we can. It is your duty so long as you hold it in your hands to act as trustees rendering due account to God for the way in which you treat the people in the country."

Keshab Chandra stood up for 'three' things in the conflict for personal and congregational freedom :

(i) The freedom of individual reason to determine what was true and rational and what was untrue and irrational in religious matters.

(ii) The freedom of individual conscience to determine what was right and what was wrong in matters of personal conduct and domestic and social relations.

(iii) The right of the majority of members in the Brahmo Samaj to determine how the affairs of the Samaj shall be conducted, i.e., the adoption of the fundamental principle of democracy in Church Government.

In advocating personal freedom he also insisted that there should be harmony of opinions and convictions with life and conduct.

Keshab Chandra openly asserted that the fight which he was leading had a much wider

bearing. He used the Bengali phrase "Swadheenatar Sangram" or the battle for freedom for the fight he had begun.

If we analyse the history of the Brahmo Samaj we find that

(i) The first fight was led by Raja Ram-mohun Roy who fought for monotheism as against the prevailing worship of gods and goddesses.

(ii) The second fight was on behalf of the freedom of individual reason against the authority of scriptures.

(iii) The third fight was for the freedom of individual conscience as against customs, traditions and social authority in the matter of personal, domestic and social life.

The new spirit of democracy was the outcome of the new education on the Western lines which was being imparted to the young intellectuals of the country by the British type of schools, colleges and the University.

Keshab Chandra thus fought for acceptance of individual reason and conscience against outside authority and of democracy against autocracy in Church Government.

In the words of Sri Bepin Chandra Pal, "The Brahmo Samaj was practically the first institution which sought to reduce these ideals of freedom and democracy into a new law of life and a new code of domestic relations and social ethics. It repudiated the law of caste thereby not only proclaiming the equality of all humans but seeking to build up a society where this equality will be established upon a religious basis."

About Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, Sri Bepin Chandra Pal wrote: "By his wonderful mastery over the English language, his extraordinary wealth of imagination, his irresistible logic, and above all, by his soul-compelling moral idealism and spiritual vision, Keshab Chandra Sen at once stood out as one of the greatest religious and ethical teachers of his age, not only in India but also outside, than whom no more powerful orator could possibly be found even in the pulpits of the whole of the English-speaking world. He was an inspired orator."

Many people in England at first thought that Keshab Chandra wrote out his lectures,

committed them to memory and then delivered them. So once it was arranged that the title of the lecture which he would have to deliver would not be communicated to him beforehand, but it would be announced to him just before he commenced to lecture. When Keshab Chandra came to the Lecture Hall he found a black board covered by a screen. The screen was then raised and the figure "O" was written on the black board and he was asked to lecture on "O". For an hour and a half he delivered a soul-stirring lecture on the subject which astonished everybody. His fame spread far and wide and this reacted immediately upon the national mind of India. Such achievement on the part of Keshab aroused a new race pride and national self-respect in his own people.

On the eve of his departure from England Keshab Chandra told his audience :

"The result of my visit to England is that I came as an Indian I go back a confirmed Indian. I came here a Thiest, I return a confirmed Thiest. I have learnt to love my country more and more. English patriotism has quickened my own patriotism."

Keshab Chandra also believed that the freedom of our country would not have a sound basis unless our countrymen were morally and socially elevated. He once told Surendra Nath (Banerjee) to allow him (Keshab) to elevate Indian people morally and socially before the latter (Surendra Nath) tried for their political emancipation so that freedom would be real and rest on a sound basis. Some of Keshab Chandra's lecture aroused indeed a new national self-consciousness and a strong desire for political emancipation in Indian people.

Keshab Chandra was of opinion that unless the movement for political freedom be illumined by the inspiration of moral and spiritual ideas and ideals it will surely fail of its purpose and repeat in its history and evolution the fatal blunders with which similar movements of democratic freedom in other countries have been associated.

Keshab Chandra was the first leader to announce publicly in the sixties of the last century that Hindi should be the national language of India. He also advised Swami Dayananda Saraswati (the founder of Arya Samaj) to adopt Hindi as the medium of preach-

ing so that his (Swami's) message might reach the largest number of people in India. He (Keshab) was also the pioneer in starting Depressed Class Movement which was the precursor of Mahatma Gandhi's Harijan Movement.

As regards the system of education that should be followed in India he stated his view in a lecture which he delivered in London :

"What sort of education do we (Indians) expect and wish from you? An unsectarian liberal, sound and useful education. An education that will not patronise any particular church, that will not be subservient or subordinated to the views of any particular religious community, an education free and liberal and comprehensive in its character, an education calculated to make Indian women good wives, mothers, sisters and daughters."

Keshab Chandra was the pioneer of female education in India and he realised that India could not achieve freedom without the emancipation of women. He declared that in order to elevate India to a fitting place in the scale of nations we must try to liberate our women from the thralldom of ignorance and superstition. He fully recognised that given equal opportunities women could hold their own against men. He said, "In those things where man excels woman, let man's voice be heard. Where woman excels man let her voice be heard."

Keshab Chandra prepared the ground for achievement of freedom by his many-sided activities, such as starting of night schools for artisan and labouring classes, founding of normal schools for ladies, establishment of depressed class missions, etc.

Rev. Bhai Pratap Chandra Majumdar, who was Keshab Chandra's closed friend, wrote :

"India had been acquired by enormous crimes. The British Government can only atone for them by allowing the people to govern themselves. For, in the course of time, near or remote, England will have to leave India to itself. If the teachings of history be true—it is in the nature of things that 50 millions cannot hold 250 millions for ever in subjection."

These were bold words indeed.

In the last century the Brahmos stood against social tyranny and evil customs with

remarkable moral force and endured untold sufferings without malice and anger. This was indeed true Ahimsa and was the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation.

There were a good many Brahmo patriots of the first rank. Sri Ananda Mohan Bose took active part in politics. He joined Indian National Congress and became one of its earlier Presidents. He also framed a constitution for Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which was meant to be a model for the future constitution of a free and democratic India.

Pt. Shivanth Sastri as minister of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj introduced a special prayer to be offered every week during the congregational worship of the Samaj for the special freedom and emancipation of our country and countrymen.

Sri Bepin Chandra Pal stood in the very vanguard of the Swaraj movement in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Sir Krishna Kumar Mitra, the veteran editor of *Sanjibani*, was one of the most sincere and honest editors that the world has ever seen. By fearless criticism of Governmental measures and shortcomings of our countrymen and by constructive suggestions he helped the cause of Swaraj considerably. His strong and non-violent resistance to Police activities when Police broke up the Barisal conference under Government order created a most profound impression at the time. Sri Aurobindo Ghosh born of Brahmo parents was the leader of Freedom Movement in the beginning of the twentieth century. Poet Rabindranath Tagore wrote a strong and remarkable letter to the Viceroy on hearing the news of Jaliawalabagh massacre and renounced his Knighthood which had been conferred on him by India Government under the British.

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, born of Brahmo parents, was one of the foremost leaders by whose efforts independence was ultimately achieved. Sri Ramananda Chatterji, the dauntless editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, paved the way for freedom to a considerable extent by his brave criticisms of the British Government and by his constructive suggestions.

Deshpriya Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, Sri B. Sasmal, and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and

others were in the forefront of freedom movement in their times.

I shall now refer to a few national songs composed in Bengali by some Brahmo devotees and patriots. They have stirred the innermost depths of our country's soul. I have given below the purport of a line or two of each song in English.

Satyendranath Tagore composed the first national song of India, "*Mile sabe Bharat-santan . . .*" Jyotirindranath Tagore sang a patriotic song urging all children of Bharat to march forward unfurling the flag of unity as the motherland is calling them.

“चलूरे चल् सवे भारत सन्तान, मातृभूमि करे आह्वान ।

* * * *

एक पथे एक साथे चल, उड़ाइया एकता निशान ॥”

Rev. Protap Chandra Majumdar composed a significant national song asking the children of India to wake up, to open their eyes to see the approach of blissful morning. The darkness of slavery and misery will be drowned in the holy water of bliss and excellence.

“कत आर निद्रा याओ, भारत सन्ततिगण !

* * * *

बिधासिरे सार करे, कर प्रीतिर साधन ॥”

Bhai Trailokya Nath Sanyal sang the song of freedom and asked those who want to be free to follow the path of truth. Who can counteract the eternal bond of slavery, injustice and oppression if one is weak and a coward ?

“स्वाधीन हईवे यदि, तबे सत्य पथे चल,

* * * *

ताहले पावे निश्चय, प्रकृत स्वाधीन बल ॥”

Poetess Srimati Saraladevi Choudharani sang the soul-stirring song :

“My voice carries the message of past glories. Oh ! sing Hindusthan. My voice stirs the soul of Parliaments and Congresses. Oh ! sing to-day Hindusthan. Oh ! sing to-day that name full of strength, wealth, fame and grace.”

“अतीत गौरव बाहिनी मम वाणि ! गाह आजि हिन्दुस्थान ।

* * * *

जय जय ब्रह्म हिन्दुस्थान, जय जिहोबा हिन्दुस्थान,

आल्लाहो आकबर हिन्दुस्थान ! नमो हिन्दुस्थान ॥”

Poetess Srimati Kamini Roy sang as follows :

"Listen to my sweet dream,

Listen to my message of hope."

"And what I see, I see that all children of India being strong in unity, great in knowledge and glorious in lustre are coming just as they used to come in ancient days."

तोरा शुने या आमार मधुर स्वपन,

शुने या आमार आशंर कथा,

* * * *

गाईछे उल्लासे विजय गाथा ।"

Poet Rabindranath composed many national songs including one protesting against shooting in Hilli camp and another greeting the political prisoners in Buxar Jail.

"आमि जे देखेछि, प्रतिकारहीन शक्तिर अपराधे

* * * *

हून करेछे आमार भुवन दुःस्वप्नेर तले ।"

"निशीथेरे लज्जा दिल अन्धकारे बधिर बन्दन,

* * * *

बन्दीर शृङ्खलछन्दे मुक्तेर के दिल परिचय ।"

He also sang :

"March on, march brothers,

It is useless to remain behind static"

"आगे चल आगे चल भाई

पढ़े थाका पिछे मरे थाका मिछे

* * * *

आगे चल आगे चल भाई ।"

The national Anthem composed by him needs no comment and is universally known, viz:

"Thou art the leader of the minds of people

Thou dispenser of Bharat's Destiny !"

"जनगणमन अधिनायक जय हे भारत-भाग्यविधाता ।"

* * * *

Poet Atul Prasad Sen sang :

"Be steady in virtue

Be brave in duty

Keep your head aloft"

"हजो धरमेते धीर, हजो करमेते बीर

* * * *

ओई देख प्रभात उदय ! ओई देख प्रभात उदय !"

A Brahmo who professes universal religion should have an international attitude in addition to his nationalistic outlook. Raja Rammohun Roy had international sympathies. He used to get genuinely delighted whenever he heard that forces of democracy and justice had triumphed in a country whether that country be in Asia, Europe or America. He also suggested that there should be an international organisation to settle disputes between different countries.

Brahmananda Keshab Chandra was at once national and international in his outlook. He harmonised all religions into a universal religion. The principles enunciated in the constitution of United Nations Organisation or in Bangdung Panchshila are natural corollaries of the teachings of Raja Rammohun Roy, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, Poet Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. If their teachings as revealed in their conception of universal religion are widely accepted and followed then and then only there can be lasting peace all over the world.

In conclusion it can be stated with absolute certainty that if Brahmoism had not prepared the ground for freedom it would have been impossible for India to achieve independence. India Government has arranged for the publication of the *History of Freedom Movement in India*. I feel that it is our duty to draw the attention of those eminent historians who would compile this history to the very important contribution of the Brahmo Samaj to the Freedom Movement of India.

We all realise that in the course of the last hundred years other great patriots, leaders of thought, reformers and saints have helped very considerably in achieving independence of our country. We cannot forget their very valuable contribution in this direction. The country is and shall always remain very grateful to them. Under wider conception of Brahmoism as a universal religion we shall always accept them as our own and tender our homage to them.

FAST AS TIME RUNS OUT

By JOGES C. BOSE

THE India Act, 1935, as it worked in Bengal on the basis of Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award, high-lights England's hard-boned determination to push to all possible extremes the divisiveness, fostered by Separate Electorate.¹

Under the scheme, the Hindus of Bengal were given 30 per cent of seats in the Legislature, though they formed, even after Hardinge's master manipulation,² 44.8 per cent of the people; the Moslems who formed 54.8 per cent of the people, were given 47.6 per cent of seats; and the Europeans, practically the British who formed .01 per cent of the people were given 10 per cent of seats. Therefore, on the face of it, whereas in other provinces, Hindus, the majority-community, had to eschew a portion of their seats to give weightage to Moslems, the minority, in Bengal, leave alone any weightage, the Hindus were subjected to a much higher cut, nearly double that of what the Moslems suffered in order to boost up British influence. The astounding anomaly left no room for doubt as to what was really aimed at. British Commercial interest in the East being the largest in Calcutta, Bengal was to have a government, that would not disdain trooping at the heels of the European constituency.

Shaukat Ali, whom Aga Khan claims as his 'right-hand man' in founding the Aligarh University³ and who was in turn Gandhi's 'big brother,' so long Gandhi said, 'Khilafat is my cow,' and, who again renounced Gandhi-affiliation to join the Muslim League, now joined hands with Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya to have the scheme revised. Joint electorate was agreed upon; 51 per cent of seats were assigned to the Moslems in Bengal and 32 per cent in the Centre, where they constituted 25 per cent of the people; and Sindh was to be a separate province, subject to her financial capacity. Shaukat Ali and Malavya started for Calcutta to contact the European group in order to finalise it. Sir Samuel Hoare forestalled them and announced, even before they reached Calcutta, 33.4 per cent seats to

the Moslems in the Centre and the sanction of a new Muslim province Sindh by subvention from the India Government. Events like these, of which we have had enough and to spare in the history of Indo-British connection, made Louis Fischer observe that "Britain would not let Hindus and Moslems unite; if she liked she could have a working unity in the course of twenty-four hours."

The India Act, 1935, conceded a measure of autonomy to the provinces. It was, however, hedged in by so many reservations, safeguards and residuary power that it was in essence what Attlee as leader of the Opposition summed it up in the House of Commons—"the one thing which seems to have been left out is the Indian people." Harold Laski speaks of it as having 'ingeniously multiplied every protective device, discoverable of reaction' and regrets that "Sir Samuel Hoare was even shameless to represent it as a long step to the fulfilment of India's desire for partnership on honourable terms"—(*Where From Here?*). The fun of it is that even then Winston Churchill fulminated, as if the prodigals were giving away everything with a reckless abandon. I recall, by the way, that Sir Samuel Hoare, later on Viscount Templewood, in his *Nine Troubled Years*, has a dig at the 'bumptious' Churchill and is, notwithstanding his sharp difference with Gandhi, all-praise for his 'beautiful manners.'

In September 1939, Germany attacked Poland. Halifax, now the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, requested Gandhi to send a message to Poland groaning under the onslaught, sublimely unconcerned that he was as much a party to the efforts of Chamberlain and Daladier directing Fascist aggression eastward to pull what chestnuts they could out of Boleshevik fire. Linlithgow, as Viceroy, invited Gandhi to canvass the claims of England asking India to line up with her in the War. Gandhi, temperamentally a proof to effervescence political leaders are disconcertingly prone to, finally came out of the Viceregal house after long, thread-bare discussions with a few more ripples added to his bracing smile. Public expectation was naturally keyed up to a high pitch. But no sooner had Gandhi's foot-steps died down the grand staircase

1. Discussed in *The Modern Review*, May, 1957.

2. In the name of annulling Partition, Hardinge made Bengal a Moslem-majority province.

3. What part Aligarh, as Aga Khan says, has played in the division of India is also discussed in *The Modern Review*, May, 1957.

of the Mogul Garden, New Delhi, Linlithgow invited all and sundry to discuss the self-same matter. In fact, he only stopped as the dolls had very much exceeded the lollypops in order to prove that India had so many shades of opinion and Gandhi represented only one of these. India sighed aloud—Gandhi is once again tricked. People recalled in a flash what followed Irwin parleying with the 'half-naked, seditious fakir' as Churchill in one of his obstreperous moments called him. An agreement was signed by the Governor General and the Indian leader; Irwin, cool and sedate, was succeeded by the fidgey, better still, 'feather-brained' Willingdon, as Montagu calls him in *The Indian Diary*; the bureaucracy fretted and fumed at the loss of prestige and more so at the deprivation of the extraordinary powers with which they were being increasingly clothed; they then honoured the Pact in the breach and stampeded Willingdon to a rule of Ordinances; Gandhi, as he returned from the Round Table Conference, was face to face with the rude reality that what he and Irwin had done to bridge the yawning gulf between England and India was reduced to a nullity; and, as was constitutional with Gandhi, he explored all possible avenues for a settlement; but Willingdon had already put himself into the stride and turned down Gandhi's request for an interview. Back to the thread of discourse, Linlithgow ended in smoke what he had begun in a flush. He embroiled India in the War behind the back of her Legislature. Save Bengal, Sindh and the Punjab, where the Muslim League held sway, the ministry of eight other provinces resigned as a protest. To emphasise this protest, Gandhi resorted to a symbolic civil-disobedience; namely, one volunteer was to stand on a street-corner to announce, for what consequences, that the war had been forced down the throat of India.

It is appropriate to note at this stage that in the First Great War, Indian leaders Banerjea, Tilak and Gandhi joined in an all-out effort for England. Gandhi very nearly ravaged himself recruiting men from place to place, sustained by the faith, he expressed in a letter to Banerjea, "If we were to devote our attention exclusively to recruiting, we should gain full responsible government in a year's time if not earlier." Childish as it sounds, it was the measure of

Gandhi's faith in England. "India's participation," says K. T. Paul in his *British Connection with India* (the book is forewarded by Lord Ronaldshay later on Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India), "was in full measure no less in quality than any of the Dominions and in quantity exceeding all the Dominions and Colonies put together." What followed the War disillusioned India and changed Gandhi lock, stock and barrel. Again, for those who ridiculed Gandhi as a 'crank' for his symbolic civil-disobedience—every great teacher of humanity has been dubbed a crank in his time—it is worth recalling that Gandhi rather faced the relentless displeasure of a vast section of the Congress led by Subhas Bose than embarrass England in the throes of a deadly war. He even allowed his All-India-Spinning Association to co-operate with war-efforts, because it was a social service. But if such was the attitude of Gandhi and the extent of help India again rendered, as Sir Raisman testified,⁴ Churchill was bent upon shattering the remnant 'Indian Unity' into a ruthless travesty. His protegee in the Cabinet, L. S. Amery was volubly exacting with his 'multilateral agreement' to resolve the Indian deadlock.⁵ To postulate for one such multilateral agreement, after having worked up the Muslim League to the extent of having equipped it with the power of veto—the fact of veto was later on admitted by Attlee as Premier—was no less fantastic than the desire of the legendary Greek boy pressing Jupiter for snow-flakes and sunshine all at the same time. It was rather the signal that the claim for the division of India was anchored on firm, friendly ground.

The clear-eyed, matter-of-fact Quaid-e-Azam Mahammad Ali Jinnah, who refused to be swayed by any sentimentalism, rose equal to the occasion and had the Pakistan Resolution

4. Sir Jeremy Raisman, who was the Finance Minister of India during the Second Great War, said in May, 1952, at the Calcutta Dinner, London: "The contribution, which India made to the War was, in relation to her resources, as worthy on financial as on other sides."

5. Churchill in his manner, one of jaunty vivacity, describes in *My Early Life* how at Harrow he pushed Amery, pretty senior to him, into the bathing pool. As Prime Minister, he pushed Amery into the India Office and they fraternised well in their political animalism. Amery, however, says in *My Political Life* that in the privacy of Cabinet meetings he sought Churchill to change his old outlook on India.

passed at Lahore in 1940. The winning radiance of the appeal of India's openness, which affects the Hindus in their pilgrimage over her hills and rivers and a cultural affinity,⁶ can have for unhappy, psychological reasons no fascination for the Moslems of India.⁷

A side-glance on the workings of Churchill's mind in this fateful period of 1940 is provided by Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's Personal Assistant, in *Collier's Magazine*, May 17th, 1948. Churchill in frantic appeals for help cabled Roosevelt, "If the United Kingdom fell, the Empire would be ended and the leadership of the remaining units of the British Commonwealth would pass to Washington. . . . As Britain went down, he and his government would perish with it, and he could not be responsible for the terms that his successors, cowed and defenceless they would be, might have to make with the Germans. They would have no choice but to make an abject surrender and Britain would thus become merely another vassal like the European states, that Hitler had already conquered." In this bleak set-up, where can possibly be the room for doubt that Churchill in a last-ditch fight to save the Indian Empire, first from within, besought the Muslim League to act as a bastion against the Indian National Congress? He would even agree to the Independence of India, subject to her division according to the schedule of the Muslim League.⁸ Churchill had pretty good reason to accept it. Would Gandhi go back on his plighted word? He had most solemnly

declared a number of times, "My whole soul rebels against the idea"—the division of India—"I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it and put up a single-handed fight, if I had no follower left." "I consider vivisection of India to be a sin; and to assent to the doctrine is for me denial of God," etc., etc.

It is a stupendous riddle of Indian history, no less egregious as it is cruel and comical that Gandhi's political life culminates in a surrender to his lieutenants on the question of division of India; and, Jinnah, who was a leading protagonist of Indian nationalism in the pre-Gandhi period, disavows it with vengeance to sponsor division of India on the basis of religion, 'a man can change and interchange,' such as he had emphasised times without number.

Jinnah entered politics as the Private Secretary of the venerable Dadabhai Naoroji. He stood foursquare against the extension of Separate Electorate into local bodies, for which too Aga Khan was sleeplessly at work. As he entered the Central Legislative Council, he had his first brush with Lord Minto. In 1916, as President of the Lucknow Sessions of the Muslim League, he said with proud satisfaction, "The League has shed its communal setting and broadened its outlook to stand abreast the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic effort for the advancement of the country as a whole." In 1919, he said before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that secularly speaking, the Moslems had 'very few things of special interest to them.' Lord Birkenhead rattled the British sword as the one indispensable element to compose the differences in India. D.H. Rutherford states in his *Modern India* what Jinnah told him in reply to the insolent assumption. "The historical answer to Lord Birkenhead," said Jinnah, "is Canada. The difference between the English and the French were on a scale much bigger and serious than those between the Hindus and Moslems of India. Whereas, the differences between the Hindus and Moslems were chiefly confined to religion, which many of them had changed and interchanged, those between the English and the French extended to religion, race and language." Some time later, Jinnah struck a still loftier note at a Union of Dayal Singh College, Lahore. "This college," he said, "does not believe in a

6. Ramsay Macdonald says: "India and Hinduism are organically related like body and soul."—Introduction to Radha Kumud Mukherjee's *Fundamental Unity of India*.

7. At long last, Gandhi, who had studiously avoided passing any remark, lest any feeling was hurt, could not hold back:—"I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock." Dr. Josef Korb, who presided over the Five-Man Commission, U.N.O., sent to India to deal with Kashmir, takes pains in his book *Danger in Kashmir* to prove the validity of Jinnah's two-nation theory, but is mystified that Indian Moslems are mostly Hindu-converts—according to Nehru, he says, 95 per cent, according to Jinnah 75 per cent. Jinnah's forefathers were Hindu.

8. What influence Churchill, even out of office, had on Jinnah is what Alan Campbell-Johnson says, "It is only when Mountbatten had returned from England, armed with a vital message from Churchill to Jinnah that the latter accepted the plan."—*Mission with Mountbatten*.

religious creed. I too feel that the salvation of India lies in this non-sectarian feeling. It is this creed I had in the past, which I have at present and which I shall have in future the dearest to my heart." In 1940, however, Jinnah said at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, "It is only a dream that the Hindus and Moslems can ever evolve a common nationality" and, as already stated, had the Pakistan Resolution passed. Since now, he was completely translated and he lived, moved and had his being peacefully bent on the hard, bitter core of this new revelation.

To collect some fugitive pages of history: Gandhi, back from his struggle in South Africa, was given receptions at Bombay, one of which was by the Gujaratis—Jinnah and Gandhi both belonged to Gujarat. Jinnah, in presiding over the function, paid Gandhi a felicitous tribute in English. I have not come by what Gandhi said in reply: but what he said at Santiniketon a few days after reflects on the point. He said, "I am particularly happy to find that you have arranged for the reception in the Indian manner. We were received with great pomp in Bombay; but there was nothing in it to make us happy. For there the Western mode had been carefully imitated." This is eyeing askance and is not calculated to promote friendliness. Tilak retiring, both Jinnah and Gandhi contested presidency of the Home Rule League. Jinnah, by the way, was an admirer of Tilak to an extent such as he was not of any other Indian leader⁹—(K. L. Gaillard's *Inside Pakistan*); and Gandhi, even if yielding to none in his love and admiration for Tilak, accepted Gokhale, in clenched opposition to Tilak, as his political guide. In the afore-said contest Gandhi won. Jinnah challenged the validity of election in a Court of Law and at the same time brought to bear upon Gandhi some pressure to stand back. Either proved unsuccessful.

In September 1920, Gandhi placed before the country his programme of Non-co-operation in the Special Session of Calcutta Congress. Two days earlier, Jinnah said in the Calcutta Muslim League Session, "There is no other course open to the people except to inaugurate the policy of Non-co-operation though not necessarily the

programme of Mr. Gandhi." In the Nagpur Congress, December 1920, Jinnah opposed Gandhi on the question of Congress goal. Gandhi, who carried the day, would have it as "the attainment of Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without it if necessary." Jinnah asked, "Is it possible for us to stand on the same platform after the creed is passed, one saying that he wants the British connection and another that he does not want it?" Gandhi summed up in reply, "It is derogatory to national dignity to think of the permanence of British connection at any cost. I do not for a moment suggest that we want to end the connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it." Again, spirituality and all that in politics was sore against Jinnah's grain. He was, as much as Tilak was, against mixing up Khilafat with Indian politics. My impression is that Jinnah could not as well stand the vast commonality of people sweep the one-time stately Congress. At any rate, when the trend of his mind was in a flux, Gandhi took to making the Congress a regimented body by jettisoning the wavering and those who were wanting in exclusive dedication, such as lawyers suspending practice. It precipitated the break. All the same, Jinnah joined hands with Pandit Malavya in 1921 to work out a rapprochement between Reading and Gandhi; and, for some years together, he would have no truck with the Muslim leaders, chaperoned by the bureaucracy. It is history that Birkenhead instructed the India Government to rally them and strand Jinnah high and dry.

The Non-co-operation like a tidal wave swept over India creek to corner. Gandhi's behests, in the words of Rushbrook Williams, *India 1920*, were like 'semi-divine commands'. But in breach of the fundamental that with the full freedom of conviction in discussing matters of principle and policy there must be complete unanimity in the enunciation thereof in public, Motilal Nehru, V. J. Patel and others attacked the Gandhism of Gandhi politics; and, C. R. Das made himself the spearhead of their smarts and chafing. The Gaya Congress and the Civil Disobedience Committee knocked the bottom out.

⁹ This aspect has been carefully omitted by Hector Bolitho in his official biography of Jinnah.

of Gandhi's Non-co-operation. In fact, for the protagonists of new thought and alignment to place on record, as they did, the Mahatma's 'service to the cause of humanity by his message of peace and truth' without emphasising in the same breath his bold initiative and marvellous capacity to read the mass-mind was but pushing to a rather sombre prominence their viewpoint that Gandhi was no good in politics. In the Congress Working Committee of 1924, Gandhi carried his Resolution of half-an-hour's spinning for Congress members. C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Srinivas Iyengar and others had no scruples to affront him by staging a walk-out. Gandhi—I read in Tundelkar's biography of Gandhi—'almost burst into tears' over the Gopinath Saha Resolution, which commended the purpose of but condemned the act of violence and thus mocked, as he said, his non-violence. I cannot help say at the same time that Gandhiji's consistency on the point of Bengal revolutionary's patriotism is confusing. In 1915 or round about the time, he spoke of his patriotism in a meeting at the Calcutta University Institute. When the foundation of the Benares Hindu University was being laid, Gandhiji sought it to teach students such patriotism as the Bengal revolutionaries had. Some time after, in a meeting at the Calcutta Baptist Mission Hall, he was all fire and brimstone against them. In the 1931 Karachi Congress, however, he had a Resolution passed on Bhagat Singh, which was in line with the Gopinath Saha Resolution. But all these said with almost a stolid candour and with an idea that a correct appreciation of the past makes the future less troublesome, there is no gainsaying the proposition that Das, Nehru, V. J. Patel, Iyengar and others placed Gandhi in, what I may call, the odd position of driving a car from the back seat. To be remorselessly critical, they broke the line on the march.

But where is Gandhi, I pause to reflect, who started his political life in India with the clear-cut stand, 'if you accept me as your leader you must have to accept my conditions.' To cut short, it is over the spiral of Gandhi wrecked from within and Gandhi temporizing and weakening, his idealism traduced and the fabric of transcendentalism losing the nap that forces of disruption forged ahead. There was, as well, in the background the frustration of the Khilafat

movement—a reborn Turkey dropping Khilafat,¹⁰ it died of inanity—leaving behind the trail of a fatty degeneration to revenge itself into an aggressive communalism in India. There were Hindu-Moslem fracasces. *India 1922-23* breathed a sigh of relief that the edifice of unity, which the Mahatma had been painfully rearing up, had crumbled down. To make the cup full to the brim, he retired from active politics with 'power of attorney' to the Swarajists. They thought more of 'pacts and otherwise purchasing patriotism. The Gauhati Congress of 1926, presided over by Srinivas Iyengar, deciding to create a united front against the Simon Commission, invited Jinnah to lead the Mahomedans formulate their demands. This is clearly accepting Jinnah as the accredited leader of the Mahomedans. He now pressed for the representation of the Moslems of Bengal and the Punjab according to population instead of what the Lucknow Pact, of which he was the joint author, fixed it at 40 per cent for Bengal and 50 per cent for the Punjab. The Madras Congress of 1921 substantially accepted Jinnah's scheme. Was Gandhi by the time stung with an awareness that the Muslim League demands were being inflated without any commensurate advance in the fight for freedom? If it was, it was a very belated discovery. There is no room for forgiveness in politics. In any case, the National Convention, held in Calcutta, December 1928, rejected, at the instance of Gandhi, the Muslim League demands moved by Jinnah. What followed, I would better leave it to Aga Khan to say, "The unanimity of the Conference (All-India Muslim Conference held at Delhi, December 1928) was specially significant for it marked the return—long delayed and for the moment private and with no public avowal of the change—of Mr. M. A. Jinnah to agreement with his fellow-Muslims. Mr. Jinnah had attended the Congress party's meeting in Calcutta shortly before (he means the National Convention) and had come to the conclusion that for him there was no future in the Congress"—*Memoirs*. By March

10. Grey Wolf in his monograph on Mustapha Kemal Pasha—this book, Jinnah says, inspired him the most—says, "England, the crafty, subtle enemy; who had failed to destroy the Turks by the Greeks, was at her intrigue again, using the Indian Moslems and Aga Khan to split the Turks into two camps." An Indian Moslem was caught red-handed in his attempt to kill Kemal Pasha.

1929, i.e., fairly within three months, Jinnah drew up his Fourteen Points casting ahead the shadow of a complete breach. And yet for Jinnah the full-fledged initiation came in the Second Round Table Conference in London, where Aga Khan, raised in tantalising succession from K.C.I.E. to G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I. and a His Highness, to boot, with a salute of eleven guns, was duly at his post to help England add one more feather to her cap of 'statesmanship.' It was here and now that Mahammad Ali Jinnah, the one-time sturdy fighter for India's freedom, ripped up the foundations of the old nationalist, whose voice at one time rang in India, end to end, "We are all sons of India, we have to live together, we have to work together."

After the Round Table Conference, Jinnah did not return to India but settled down in England for practice in the Privy Council. What pulled him remains a sphinx-mystery. He abruptly changed his mind and came back to India with his now Nine Points, flavoured sharp as Cat-o-nine-tails.¹¹ Far from relenting to square accounts with Gandhi, he was all the more unbending and added an extra dose of tartness to his political utterances. He caught hold of what he had so long stoutly rejected as unworthy of consideration and stigmatised the Congress as a Hindu organisation.¹² He played cut and thrust with those Moslem leaders, who did not as much show the Congress their heels. They were, since now, the stooges of the Hindus.

On the constitutional issue, Jinnah defeated, with the backing of the Government, the Congress Resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly seeking to reject the India Act of 1935. He also scored a point of vast potentials when the Congress acquiesced in the Communal Award, the linchpin of the said Act.¹³ Within

a short time, the Second Great War broke out and I have indicated what part Churchill played vis-a-vis India.

The Congress gave Britain the ultimatum—'Quit India.' Jinnah put in a rejoinder, 'Divide before you quit.' The Muslim League's 'Direct Action' leading to the blood-bath of Calcutta and Noakhali and their grim repercussions in parts of Bihar—the English Governors in either province playing the part of the 'wooden horse' in the Trojan War—are matters, I would fain draw a veil over. To respect historical continuity, however, it needs being stated that as Churchill, by now the Leader of Opposition, chuckled with his 'I said so' and charged us Hindus and Mahomedans of cannibalism, Stafford Cripps wrote to Gandhi, "We are only too conscious of the part that past history has played." Was it a frank acknowledgement that Britain had all along inspired armed camps in India? In any case, a Civil War, as in China, stared the Congress in the face. A mounting tension befogged the perspective. It is difficult to assess, at the same time, to what extent the will-power of the Congress leaders broke down over the lures of the Delhi *mushnad*. Did they ever think that Pakistan was being created to be a friendly border state of India? The fact that the Mahtma tried in vain to bring them round to his way of thinking against the division makes their position no happy one. Any way, these were testing moments in the hour of destiny; and Quaid-e-Azam Mahammad Ali Jinnah outflanked and outclassed the Congress leadership to pass into history as the founder of Pakistan. Nobody, however, need be grugged a long sigh that he who began his politics with Naoroji, giving India the war-cry of Swaraj; and he who stood athwart wily 'statesmanship' drawing into its vassalage all the Moslems of India, should have in a manner written his epitaph, "He checked, held in abeyance the Party that stood for complete independence in India; and finally had her divided."¹⁴

11. On one account, Jawaharlal Nehru said something unavowry of him in private discussion, e.g., that he was a spent force and all that. Jinnah swore teaching him what he was. On another account, Liaquat Ali Khan and his wife prevailed upon him to come back and take up the leadership of the Moslems of India.

12. Sir Valentine Chirol in discussing the Indian Unrest says that 'the forces underlying it have a common source—they are the dominant forces of Hinduism, forces which go to the very root of the social and religious system, than which none in the history of human race has shown greater vitality and stability.'

13. The Congress attitude in respect of the Communal Award was neither one of acceptance nor rejection.

14. On 12th November, 1930, Jinnah said in the Round Table Conference: "When you say that a large, a very influential party in India stands for mis-using or wrecking the future Constitution, I ask you the question: Do you want those parties, who have checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete independence of India, do you want those people to go back with the answer from you that nothing can be done because there is a strong party, which will misuse or wreck the Constitution?"

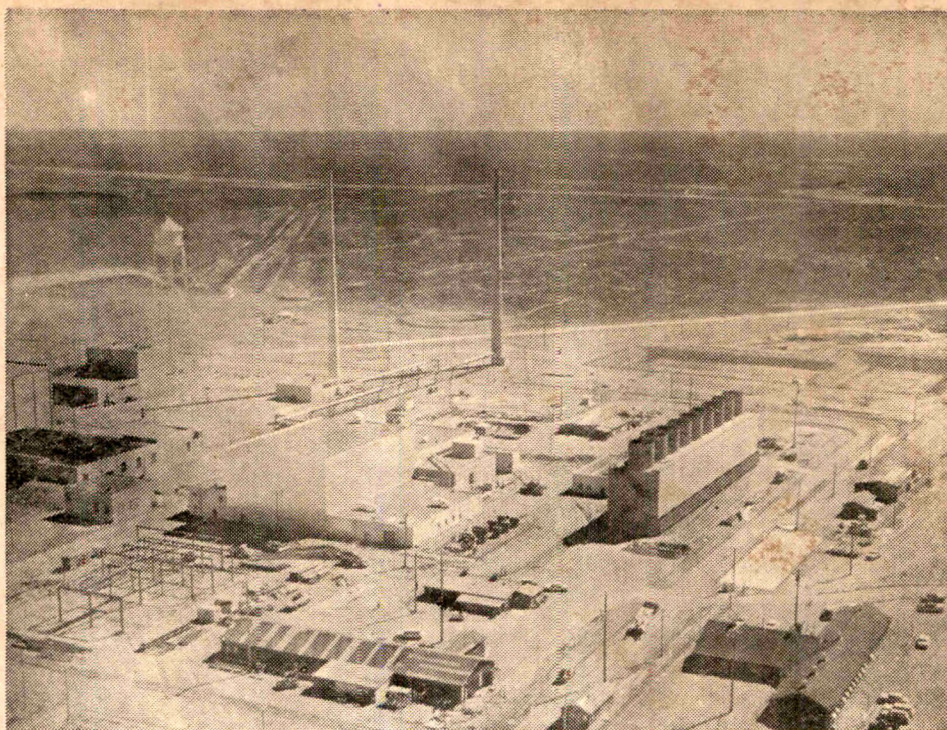


President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in conversation with Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Viet Nam, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam is seen at the extreme right

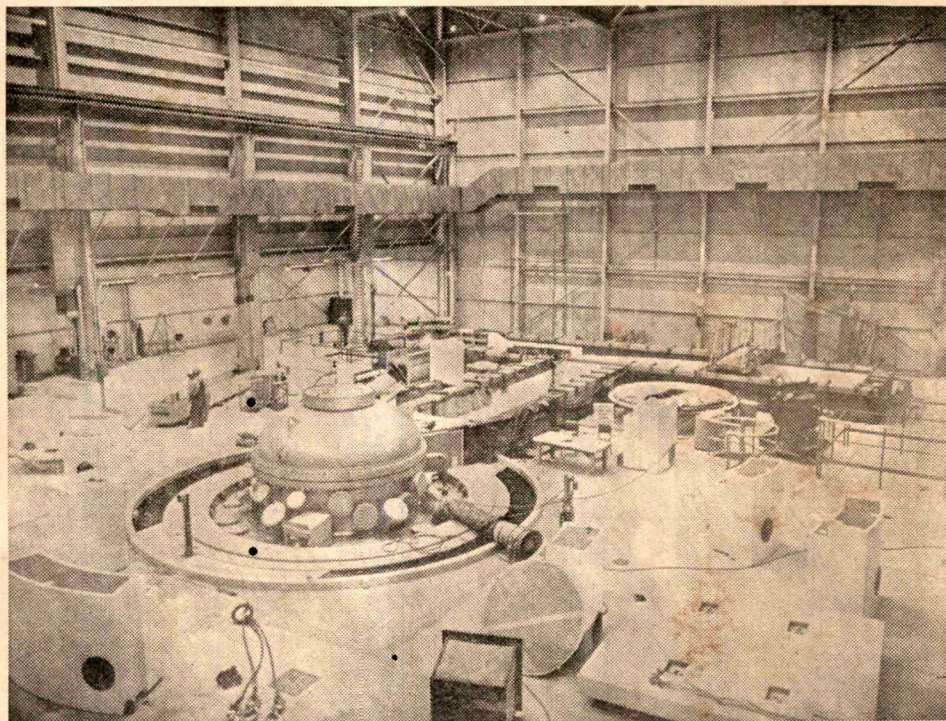


President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in conversation with Mrs. Morse, wife of the Director-General of I.L.O. at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. Dr. Radhakrishnan is also seen in the picture

NEW U. S. REACTOR



The buildings of the Engineering Test Reactor occupy an eight-acre site at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho Falls, Idaho



The Engineering Test Reactor (centre) is housed in a gas-tight structure that extends 65 feet above ground, 38 feet below ground

SHOULD THE INDIAN RUPEE BE DEVALUED?

By PROF. C. L. KHANNA,

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INTRODUCTORY

INDIA is now in the grip of foreign exchange "crisis." The crisis, if that term is used, is a crisis of development; it is not a crisis of stagnation or of confidence. To avert or mitigate this one of the moot questions discussed these days in the financial and commercial circles is whether the Government should devalue the Indian rupee *vis-a-vis* the Pound Sterling or not. Governments generally choose to stabilise either the internal or external value of the home currency. "In general, stabilisation of the exchange-rate is the line of least resistance, unless price-levels abroad are subject to very wide fluctuations. Movements of the exchange-rate leap to the eye, whereas small changes in the price-level are less clear-cut and also attract less attention." The choice, therefore, lies between price-stability and exchange-stability.

For the economic health of a country, and for that matter of India, it is inevitable to have an equilibrium rate of exchange in the modern world, which is dominated by the spirit of internationalism and inter-dependence, for any deviation from this rate is likely to affect the economy of not only the country making a change but other neighbouring countries as well. The equilibrium rate maintains not only equilibrium in the balance of payments without any net change in the country's safety margin of international currency reserve, but also employment at home.¹ It was on September 19, 1949, that India devalued its currency in the wake of £ Sterling which was devalued in terms of U.S. Dollar. The new parity was fixed 30.5 per cent below the old rate of exchange of 30 cents to a rupee; the rupee-sterling ratio however was left unaltered at 18 pence to a rupee. The chief reason leading to such a measure was, among others, the off-setting of the disequilibrium in Indian imports and exports. The wholesale price indices and the cost of living indices prevalent

at that time made it inevitable to devalue the rupee to the full extent of 30.5 per cent, for the cost of a greater measure of devaluation would have been prohibitive and a smaller measure of devaluation than 30.5 per cent would have led to expectations of a further devaluation.

BALANCE OF PAYMENT SITUATION

A logical question emerging from the above discussion is: what has been the balance of payment situation since the last devaluation? The following Table makes the position clear in so far as the post-devaluation period up till the end of the First Plan is concerned:

TABLE I
Overall Balance of Payment Position
(Figures in million rupees)

| Year | Imports | Exports | Trade Balance | Net Invisibles | Net current account (excluding official donation) |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------------|----------------|---|
| 1949 | 6283 | 4258 | -2025 | -332 | -1693 |
| 1950-51 | 6503 | 6468 | - 35 | +403 | + 368 |
| 1951-52 | 9629 | 7301 | -2328 | +649 | -1679 |
| 1952-53 | 6330 | 6019 | - 311 | +805 | + 494 |
| 1953-54 | 5918 | 5397 | - 521 | +805 | + 284 |
| 1954-55 | 6816 | 5966 | - 850 | +775 | - 75 |
| 1955-56 | 7477 | 6422 | -1055 | +800 | - 255 |
| Total (1951-52 to 1955-56) | 36170 | 31105 | -5065 | +3834 | -1231 |

The statistical analysis given above shows that during the First Five-Year Plan period there has been a deficit in the foreign exchange excluding the official donations, in three out of the five years. The net aggregate effect has also been negative. The position would have been the reverse, that is, there would have been a surplus of Rs. 448 million if the year 1951-52, the first year of the First Plan were excluded.

Second Plan Period: During the quinquennium ending with the Second Plan the trends of the balance of payments would continue to be adverse as indicated below:

1. G. V. Haberler, *The Theory of International Trade*, p. 44.

2. Dr. B. N. Ganguli, *Devaluation of the Rupee*, p. 7

TABLE II
Balance of Payment position during
1956-57 and 1960-61

(Figures in million rupees)

| Year | Exports | Imports | Trade Balance | Net Invisibles | Balance of Account |
|---------|---------|---------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4-2-3 | 5 | 6-4-5 |
| 1956-57 | 5730 | 7830 | -2100 | +620 | -1480 |
| 1957-58 | 5830 | 8860 | -3030 | +550 | -2480 |
| 1958-59 | 5920 | 9900 | -3980 | +510 | -3470 |
| 1959-60 | 6020 | 8950 | -2930 | +460 | -2470 |
| 1960-61 | 6150 | 7860 | -1710 | +410 | -1300 |
| Total | 29650 | 43400 | -13750 | +2550 | -11200 |

While exportable surplus would rise by 3.1 per cent in the third year (1958-59) of the Plan compared with the first year (1956-57), the corresponding rise in imports will be more than 26.4 per cent. That imports (Rs. 26,590 million) will far exceed the exports (Rs. 17,480 million) during the first three years of the Plan is indicative of the spending spree in the public as private sectors. The component of the imports point to the conclusion that the high imports will be in keeping with the tempo of industrialisation envisaged in the Second Plan. The bulk (about 34.6 per cent) of the total imports during 1956-61 will consist of machinery and vehicles; the imports of iron and steel and other metals are put at about 15 per cent (Rs. 6,500 million). It will also be seen from Table II that during the Plan period there will be a deficit of about 11,000 million rupees. It is not easy to fill up this "sizeable gap." The accent of our policy for meeting this shortfall must necessarily be on maximising earnings and economising to the utmost on imports.³ The gap of about 1,400 million dollars is anticipated in the next three years of the Plan. This yawning gap may even increase further if, as is apprehended in certain quarters the inflationary pressure accentuates or the much-sought-for aid loan (on private or Government basis) is not forthcoming timely. The reasons for this grim and grave turn in the crisis are:

- (a) Inadequate provisions in the Plan for the required imports (such as projects for oil development and other key projects);
- (b) Rise in the prices of imports due to the worldwide inflation;

- (c) Import of foodgrains⁴ to meet the increasing food demands generated by developmental expenditure and growing consciousness of living standards;
- (d) The increase in the expenditure on defence due to the political policies of the Western countries and the Military Alliances and Pacts, e.g., Baghdad Pact; and
- (e) The unexpectedly high investments in the private sector.

Notwithstanding such a crisis, there is no adequate justification for any alarmist tendency, for in a developmental and dynamic economy like that of India, the export-import gap must widen in the short period in order to cope with the increasing demand for the imported goods, such as, capital goods, equipment, machines and industrial raw material for the new and expanding industrial sector. The strain on the balance of payments must also continue unless exports can be stepped up. This is, however, not easy of achievement and cannot be achieved even by devaluation.⁵ How to bridge the gulf is the baffling issue before our country.

CASE FOR DEVALUATION?

Prof. B. R. Shenoy, a member of the Panel of Economists in the Planning Commission and the Director of the School of Social Sciences, Ahmedabad, has suggested four methods to tide over the foreign exchange bottleneck, namely, (1) elimination of over-investment; (2) restriction of money-supply to the needs of output; (3) wage-output parity; and (4) devaluation of the rupee.

In regard to the last measure, viz., rupee-devaluation, Prof. Shenoy holds that since the rupee is over-valued at the ruling rate of 18 pence there is a vast gap between the landed costs (prices in the exporting countries concerned multiplied by the rate of exchange plus the cost of freight, other incidental charges and

4. In connection with the recent drought conditions prevalent in Bihar, parts of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, Mr. A. P. Jain, Union Food Minister, said, "We shall have to import much larger imports now and that the Government of India proposes to revise their present food import policy because of the strain caused by the failure of crops due to drought." (Vide the Report published in the *Tribune*, Ambala, dated October 25 1957; p. 5; col. 1).

5. W. A. Lewis, *Principles of Economic Planning*, p. 124.

3. Report of the Second Five-Year Plan, p. 105.

import duties) and the market price of the imported goods, which latter is determined by the inflationary position in the home market. This difference is a sort of windfall accruing to or being (mis)appropriated by the foreign exporters, the Indian importers or import license-holders. The ultimate consumer of the imports does not share the cost-price differential. If the rupee is devalued this "differential" will disappear. And if the measure of rupee-devaluation is supplemented by the other three steps indicated above, the restrictive import-policy designed to attain balance of payment equilibrium would cease and India would be able to join the rest of the world in promoting the policy of free multi-lateral trade and low tariffs.

Another argument advanced in support of this thesis is that devaluation will not adversely affect our terms of trade as is believed by some. According to Prof. Shenoy our terms of trade improved from 99 in 1948-49 to 122 in 1950 and stood at 139 in 1951, with 1953 as the base year. The 1949 devaluation boosted up our exports and also export prices rose more than the import prices or the volume of imports. If past is any guide, a further devaluation should not be misconceived as a "dangerous" step but an effective measure to combat the crisis in which the Second Plan has got caught.

The persistent fall in the foreign exchange reserves and the rock-bottom currency reserves in terms of foreign exchange leave no escape but to devalue the rupee. It is believed that if the currency reserves are utilised to meet the existing deficit, it will result in a 'crisis of confidence' of the public and the paralysis of the currency mechanism.

The present drop in the free market rate of the rupee will engender a "flight from the rupee," and speculative activities may ensue. In the latter case, devaluation will be "forced" on us. Britain's pound sterling and Pakistan's rupee had ultimately to be devalued, although the Lord Chancellor of Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps and the Pakistan Finance Minister gave out definite assurances that their currencies would not be devalued. It may be stated in this connection that the Indian rupee did not have to suffer any speculative attack to which Britain was subjected.

CASE AGAINST DEVALUATION

The principal objective of devaluing the Indian rupee is to make exports cheaper to the foreign buyers and imports dearer to the Indian importers. Even if our exports claim less of foreign currency, there is no guarantee of more being demanded unless the products have more than unit-elasticity of demand and are inelastic in supply. Studying this question with special reference to our export constituents, we find that Prof. Shenoy's suggestion would not help India much in stepping up exports. Our three main exports are jute, tea and cotton textiles. For the American market, the biggest buyer of Indian jute manufactures, it is doubtful whether the price factor is the major determinant of the quantum of export. In the case of tea, we do not enjoy exclusive monopoly. Our close competitor Ceylon may also devalue its rupee to neutralize the advantage which might accrue to the Indian tea exporter through devaluation. In the case of cotton textiles, the gain in foreign exchange earnings through bloated exports may not justify the proposed measure.

On the side of imports there is little room for optimism that we can curb them with equanimity. The patent fact is that India requires more of imported capital goods including machinery, vehicle, iron and steel, raw cotton, raw jute, chemicals, etc. Without them the pace of economic progress would be considerably retarded, if not checked completely. In technical terms, our elasticity of demand for imported goods is less than unity as is the case with our exports. The inflow of goods would outstrip the outflow as at present leaving a debit item in the balance-sheet of India's foreign trade.

What is still worse is that expensiveness of imports due to devaluation would raise the cost of the Plan widening thereby the gap of the foreign exchange still further.

Besides, the Indian Government is making desperate efforts to get foreign aid or loans, from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Japan, U.S.S.R. and Germany, to name only a few important countries. Devaluation of the rupee will cut India adrift and obscure the prospects for the success of our mission to seek foreign help.

ALTERNATIVE REMEDIES ADOPTED

Recognising the gravity of the situation of

foreign resources required for the Second Five-Year Plan, our Government has already adopted certain measures to ease the situation. In doing so we have started with the postulate that the Plan is our first priority because development is imperative if the democratic system is to survive. The "core of the Plan," which must include the steel projects, the mining programme, the allied power projects and transport, must be successfully implemented. Imports at whatever price procurable have to be obtained and exports 'to pay for imports' raised. The curtailment in the investment targets is, apparently, limited by the "core" of the plan. More exports means more production and less domestic consumption. Both of these processes might entail greater sacrifices and hardship on the people, but they are the natural concomitants of economic planning. An integrated economic policy designed to enforce monetary discipline, wage and price restraint, austerity in the spheres of imports and promotion of exports will have to be unremittingly pursued as the price for the planned development. Any slackening on one or more of these fronts may gravely imperil the progress achieved in recent years.

In the context of this pragmatic approach of planning the economy of the country the Government has already taken the following steps to offset the imbalance in the balance of payments position:

1. Centralisation of foreign exchange control;
2. Rigid scrutiny of all proposals involving foreign exchange expenditure;
3. Gearing of the import policy to the needs of the Plan and pruning or banning the imports of the non-essential or consumption goods;
4. Virtual abolition of the Open General License;
5. A virtual freeze on new exchange commitments;
6. Licensing of import of capital goods on deferred payment basis;*
7. Export-promotion drive with a vengeance, as it were, has been launched. This includes trade-agreements, new and old, re-organisation of show-rooms and setting up of trade centres, provision of facilities

* The export target fixed is Rs. 1,000 crores, which is double the present level of annual exports.

to tradesmen for participation in exhibitions in different parts of the world; improvements in the commercial publicity organization, the setting up of Trade Risk Corporation and of a Foreign Trade Board for bringing about better co-ordination of the different organisation for export promotion;

8. An all-out effort is being made to procure loans from foreign countries as stated earlier;
9. Disinflationary measures calculated to keep the priceline under check;
10. Increased production, particularly of foodgrains, so as to depress the prices within the country: The general production index (with 1951 as the base year) showed a steady rise from 133 in 1956 to 145 in the first half of 1957, an improvement of about 9 per cent. A substantial increase was recorded in coal (15.3 per cent) and sugar (10.1 per cent). The outturn of cotton textiles was up by 6.2 per cent and of paper and paper boards by 8.4 per cent. The production of foodgrains in 1956-57 rose by 6 per cent over 1955-56 level. Despite these new highs in production, the inflationary tendencies became manifest and serious apprehensions were expressed that the agricultural base provided by the First Five-Year Plan proved too frail to stand the strain of the mammoth industrial edifice visualised under the Second Plan;
11. Promotion of labour welfare schemes to ensure employer-employee harmony;
12. Increase in the bank rate from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent per annum;
13. Intensification of the small saving campaigns, both in the rural and urban areas; and
14. Faising of resources within the country through fiscal and financial measures, such as levy of excise duties, direct taxes, etc.

SOME EXPERT OPINIONS

The consensus of expert opinion is also against devaluation. In the course of his last budget discussion Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Finance Minister, held that "there was not only no need to resort to devaluation but,

on the contrary, any such action should ruin the economy." On another occasion he spoke in the same vein holding that the rupee was the soundest currency all over the world. According to some, the Indian rupee is the "Asian dollar" and is a hard currency just as U.S. dollar is for many countries in the West.

Mr. Chunilal B. Mehta, the well-known financial expert, holds that devaluation is, by and large, a policy of helplessness and is a blunt weapon to discourage imports. He has emphatically inveighed against any such step being taken by the Indian Government in these words: "Even if Britain devalues the Sterling, India should not be in a hurry to follow suit."

Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University and a top-ranking econo-

mist of India, opined that since foreign exchange deficit is not due to any spontaneous short-fall in imports, the devaluation of the rupee is not warranted by circumstances.

CONCLUSION

The above premises show that the Government does not desire merely to bridge the export-import gap through such palliatives as rupee-devaluation, but is anxious to guarantee a sound and healthy economy imbued with a self-propelling dynamism. For, it is believed that the strength of a currency is not merely measured by the current balance of payments situation but by the whole pattern of economic, political and social framework and tendencies. The devaluation of the Indian rupee is, in the present economic set-up, ill-timed and ill-conceived.

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SOCIALISTIC PATTERN AND LAWYERS

BY PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

Principal, University Law College, Jaipur

IN the Avadi Congress the doom of our Praja-Socialists—erstwhile rebels from the Congress—began. It is not Socialism as it is known in England but it is a "*pattern*" for India. Is it a model or "*excellent example*" of Socialism? I do not think that the followers of Gandhi chose a conceited title.

It is a clever device to tickle the leftists and it is sufficiently sober as not to drive away the private sector to despair.

What have been the effects of it on lawyers? Has it not revolutionised the subjects taught in Law Colleges? Has it not led to the growth of administrative law?

LAWYER'S POSITION CHALLENGED

If a lawyer is to stick to his old job with an unbending conservatism, his fate will become akin to that of a big tree uprooted in mid-stream by the raging floods.

The lawyer's position as leader of society has been shaken. The Chief Minister need not be a lawyer. Other democratic qualities are necessary to become a leader of a party.

The volume of work in the courts has been affected by the crop of legislation abolishing

Zamindari. Nor is there much litigation on the Transfer of Property Act.

The piece-meal legislation in Hindu Law has changed old concepts. No doubt most of these revolutionary changes in marriage and adoption, are *enabling* in character.

Nor are the salutary reliefs to the indebted helpful to the lawyer at the forum of litigation.

There is a good case for making justice cheaper and less dilatory. This again cuts at the old-time prosperity of the lawyer thriving on costly and delayed justice.

IMPACT ON SUBJECTS OF STUDY

There has been a regrettable tendency to abolish Roman Law from the curriculum of studies in Law Colleges.

In its stead "Ancient Law" has been suggested and the importance of the Transfer of Property Act is being challenged. When private property is being cut down—what with the Wealth Tax, Entertainment Tax, Expenditure Tax, Gift Tax and Estates Duty, not to forget the Income-Tax and Super-Tax litigation on its transfer *a fortiori* dwindles.

There is a case for including the Company

Law, the Income-Tax Act, and Industrial Law in the curriculum of studies.

INROADS INTO LEGAL DISCIPLINE

It is a well-established fact that lawyers enrolled since 1947 are inferior in calibre to their predecessors. Their basic knowledge of English is poor; and their grasp of legal principles is meagre.

A time will soon come when their study of the Zamindari Abolition Act, the Income-Tax Law, and the ill-drafted Company Law will produce hybrid working masons. There are countless grammatical leaks and rhetorical cracks in their arguments.

IMPACTS OF HURRIED HINDI

It is the considered opinion of experienced lawyers and law-professors that a minimum of twenty-five years more is necessary for a change-over from Hindi to English in High Courts and the Supreme Court.

In the work of the central expert committee on Legal terms, it has gladly adopted words from English as *Agent, Appeal, Assessor, Bank, Bonus, Case, Commission, Decree, Jury, Receipt, Solicitor*, etc.

It is an uphill work in a vast sub-continent with fourteen regional languages.

A unified system of law, a single judiciary, common All-India Services and a common national language are certainly bound to forge in administrative unity.

CHANGING ROLE OF THE LAWYER

The time has certainly come for a natural restriction of admission into law-colleges, through personal interview by the head of the institution.

No longer should Law College be considered as revenue-yielding institutions.

The lawyer in turn must switch on to serving in the industrial pool of public servants, in the State Insurance Corporation and in the executives of companies and banks.

Lower down in the system of chamber-consultation, arbitration of disputes, assisting the drafting of deeds and conveyances and preparation of Income-Tax returns the trained lawyer of calibre will have his increasing share.

SIGNIFICANCE OF A WELFARE STATE

Come what may, whatever the size of the bottle-neck of foreign exchange, our Finance

Wizard is determined to see the Second Five-Year Plan through.

As the directive principles of state-policy are deemed "fundamental in the governance of the country" certain *economic ideals* the state should strive for.

As India is attached to the engine of economic revolution, the state is becoming the prime agency for bringing about this bloodless revolution. The Railways, Airways, Ship-building, Building of Roadways, Insurance, Posts and Telegraphs, have been nationalised.

GROWTH OF ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

As the state has long ceased to be a police-State, the impacts of a welfare-state-to-be are found in the growth of administrative law. Broadcasting is a state monopoly and the expansion of Electricity is left to an administrator. How far a civilian will work at the head of a corporation over technicians is an experiment going on. There is an unwillingness of technical experts to work under lay administrators.

Britain has left behind a legacy of an administrative system, the strongest in Asia. The transition has stood the shocks of evacuees.

Be it said to the credit of congress ministers, they have appreciated the aid, and advice of the permanent executive.

The growth of administrative law has delimited the jurisdiction of the lawyer's practice and driven him to appear before the Transport Licensing authority.

TENTATIVE OBSERVATIONS

Free India is passing through a social and economic revolution. There has been a spell of legislation including quick amendments to the Constitution.

Bad draftsmanship, hasty legislation, and hurry to make up for lost time have characterized our legislative activity.

The record of the higher judiciary as guardian and interpreter of the Constitution has been commendable.

The role of the lawyer as an inevitable leader has been shaken beyond repair.

The lawyer has to get adjusted to the welfare-state-to-be. No longer is he a leech of society; he is to adapt himself to the role of an engineer of society.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

BY DR. VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA, M.A. (Columbia), Ph.D. (Chicago),
Professor of Politics, Patna University

THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the General Assembly of the United Nations constitutes a fundamental progressive step in the evolution of the social conscience of humanity. This document is postulated upon the acceptance of man as a spiritual and moral agent whose powers of autonomous creativism have to be carefully developed. Man has divine potentialities but if he does not receive adequate training and cultivation his unregenerate self can be perverted into the most dangerous animal because armed injustice is catastrophic. Hence the Declaration has stressed the rights to education and culture. A sound political philosophy has to start with the presupposition that man is not a means but is the bearer of the kingdom of ends. This is the essence of the democratic philosophy. Since the beginning of human speculation we find that statements of equality, love, co-operation, fraternity, reciprocity and solidarity have been stressed in religious scriptures. The Upanishads refer to the immanence of the primordial spiritual principle in all human beings. Cicero stresses the equality and fraternity of human beings. The Bible repudiates the distinction between the Jew and the Greek, the bond and the slave. The Bhagavadgita accepts the equal responsiveness of God to the aspirations of the lowest of beings. Thomas Aquinas eulogised the sanctity of eternal law and natural law which should serve as light-posts to correct the inadequacies of our human laws. Rousseau, Kant and Gandhi have taught the spiritual and moral equality of mankind. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a landmark because the old concepts have been systematically categorized in a modern sociological form. The dominant values of the Declaration are dignity, free development of personality, fundamental freedoms, justice, rule of law, peace, social progress and better standards of life for all.

The concept of rights begins in European political thought with the rise of Roman jurisprudence. There is no Greek word for the modern words 'right' or *Recht* but still in the Greek philosophy of common good and virtue is inherent the main purpose for which rights

are needed. The Latin word *Jus* means both rights and law. The Roman legal theory was that nobody could claim to be a person unless he had rights. *Persona* signified the bearing of rights. In modern times, since the sixteenth century the growth of individualism and the theory of the social contract strengthened the notion of rights. Although the conception that man had rights in a pre-political or a pre-social State has been now repudiated still idealist political thought has emphasised that we have to support natural rights in a psychological sense. The psychological approach to natural rights is that man cannot realise the fullness of his moral nature unless he has rights to carve out his own personality. Thus the old historical conception of natural rights as in Locke and Rousseau in which nature meant "pre-State" has been substituted by the new idealistic conception of natural rights in which nature means the perfection of moral human nature. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has its basis in this idealistic theory of natural rights which has been supported by T. H. Green, W. Wallace, Rudolf Stammler and others. Rights are essential for the development of our personality because we do need them to enable ourselves to make efforts to perfect our powers which are essential for the service of the community.

There have been declarations of rights in the past. Although now considered as a feudal document, still the Magna Carta was a forward step in the direction of limiting the pretensions of autocracy. The Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights in England are important because they voiced the protests of an enraged humanity against seventeenth century British despotism. The American Declaration of Independence, the first ten amendments to the American Constitution and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, were very important documents in the evolution of the democratic social philosophy. The slogan of inalienable rights became a gospel and the American and French Revolutions sealed the slogan with the might of historical momentum.

These attempts at the specification and objectification of right have received a more comprehensive adequacy in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Declaration accepts the democratic theory. It states that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government. The people should express their will by periodic and genuine elections. Suffrage should be universal and equal. There is to be secret voting. The twenty-ninth article of the Declaration states that the general welfare can be secured in a democratic society. The Declaration is eloquent in its acceptance of the thinking and willing human being as the bearer of social and moral values. The first article accepts the equality and freedom of all human beings. The third article accepts the right to self-preservation, liberty and security of person. The fourth article absolutely condemns slavery and the fifth bans torture and degrading punishment. The social aspects of human dignity are protected by the twelfth article which prohibits arbitrary interference with family, privacy, home, correspondence and provides for the maintenance of individual honour and reputation. The right to marry and to found a family is recognized. The right to own property alone as well as in association with others is accepted and confiscation or expropriation of property is forbidden by the provision that no one can be arbitrarily deprived of his property. These categories of rights are in line with the individualistic and democratic philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But the Declaration has shown the elasticity to incorporate in it the socialistic approach to rights also. The twenty-second article recognises the right to social security. The right to work and to protection against unemployment is secured by the twenty-third article. The rights to rest and leisure and a standard of living adequate for the well-being of the individual and his family including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, are immensely significant concessions to the socialist philosophy. There is to be free and compulsory elementary education but the totalitarianism inherent in the State control of education is eliminated by the provision that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall

be given to their children. The right to participate in the cultural activities of the community is also recognized. Thus it is clear that the Declaration is a supreme synthesis of the social philosophies of John Locke and Karl Marx. It eliminates the inadequacies of Locke and the totalitarianism of Marx. It blends the democratic constitutionalism of Locke with the Marxian stress on justice.

A reign of rights flourishes in an atmosphere of peace. Hence the Declaration also stresses the development of friendly relations among nations and is opposed to any action that would run counter to the charter of the United Nations.

It is true that the Declaration is not a legally binding convention. But I am not disheartened by that. It is a mighty step in the march of social and political morality. If the human conscience makes fundamental evolutionary progression, the external mechanism of law is bound to shape itself in accordance with the changed philosophy. But although not a convention, the Declaration has made its impact felt on the national constitutions of Puerto Rico, Jordan, Haiti, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Indonesia, Syria and the German Republic. It has been constantly quoted as a basis of action by the United Nations and its specialized agencies when discussing issues relevant to the promotion of human rights. International treaties and agreements have professed loyalty to it. Its dynamic impact has been felt even by regional international organizations. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the Netherlands-Indonesian Union of 1949, the Inter-American Declaration of April 1951 and the Japanese Peace treaties of September 1951 are evidences.

An enlightened and self-conscious public opinion is the most effective bulwark of any system of right. It is utopian to imagine that the mere incorporation into a constitutional document will bring the millennium. A powerful public opinion can demand investigation into cases of violation of the Declaration by governments. This public opinion can be international in its scope. Governments can also take the initiative and through the General Assembly it is possible to condemn a country which violates the Declaration. When there is a chance of international peace

being jeopardized, even the Security Council may intervene. Perhaps even an International Court of Human Rights could be established which would be the Court of Appeal in cases of the infliction of wrong and injury. But more than the setting up of an institutional framework, it is essential to educate public opinion in the path of decency and virtue. The Declaration of Human Rights is an important step towards the universalization of the theory of social morality and political virtue and eventually it is bound to affect the organized system of law.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS

By S. N. KAUL

KASHMIR in 1947 represented a ruined poor state which started its career as a progressive one under the shadow of appalling poverty. Our agricultural system was feudal. We were industrially backward. Masses toiled, sweated and suffered under subhuman conditions. Inequalities of a barbarous character divided us between the extremely rich and the miserably poor. The country suffered under the pressure of population.

RAID ON KASHMIR

In 1947 the state was attacked by Frontier tribes along with Pakistan, and the enemy ransacked large areas and penetrated deep into the state on all sides causing unprecedented devastation and destruction all around.

ACCESSION TO INDIAN UNION

Accession of the state with the Indian Union took place simultaneously. Kashmir became an integral part of India. Indian Union poured its resources, man and material to reconstruct this country. With their able guidance planners started their work. The story of what happened to Kashmir during the last ten years would also therefore serve to illustrate what happened to the rest of the country and how poor people like Kashmiris can toil together to rise to a stature which it has gained among its neighbours. This toil distinguished the leadership of our real patriots from among the rest.

KASHMIR TO-DAY

Kashmir today has risen from scattered debris to a new level of accomplishments. It has

risen from a complete defeatist outcast to the position of a full-fledged modern country with a position of a growing strength and dignity in the community of Indian Union. It is a growing and still expanding country with no evidence of the vast destruction of wide areas of land that met the eye a decade ago.

TRANSITION

The transitional changes have been tremendous. Sometimes it has been easy for the reporters to tell the world exactly what has happened. There have been ups and downs but over the years at last major factors materialized to take up the shape of New Kashmir.

PROBLEMS OF THE PLANNERS

There were thus tremendous problems before the planners. The restoration of normal conditions was the first objective. It required adequate financial resources. In 1941 the population of the country was 40,21,000. It rose at the rate of 10% after every decade. With this rate it would reach to 48,65,000 in 1961. Such a vast growing population demands huge and rising quantities of foodgrains and other commodities to support it. The second important objective was therefore to secure an equilibrium between the two at a level which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for its people.

In order to achieve these objectives the planners had to take to account of and to mobilize all agricultural and industrial resources to increase the National Income substantially. The last and the most important task was to devise means and methods to secure an equitable distribution of wealth so required.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Planning for the undeveloped country like Kashmir also meant rapid growth of industries both extractive and manufacturing. It involves diversion of occupations from agriculture to such other industries. It cannot be free from obstacles. These were inadequate economic environments, inadequate and shattered transport, the main life-line which connects this country with the rest of India, inadequate supply of power and the small size of local markets, and absence of training facilities and lack of Financial Institutions.

Production of food is the vital necessity and it engages the first attention. Then there is a shortage of other factors of production. Want of statistical data is a serious impediment in the way of planning. Sudden and frequent changes in the tax rates and tax policy of the government makes the investors shy and so on.

FIVE-YEAR PLANS

In spite of these serious impediments the government of J. & K. State in consultation with the experts of the Government of India succeeded to present a programme of developments in two series which took the shape of Five-Year Plans one ending in 1956 and the other ending in 1961. The first step towards execution of these plans was taken only after August 9th, 1953.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Topmost priority was given to irrigation, power projects and transport. Irrigation has been extended and power-supply augmented by five thousand K.W. during the period ending March 1956. Road development has been equally remarkable. The progress in this sector is shown below :

1. New roads constructed 425 miles.
2. Improvement and development of existing roads 481.5 miles.
3. A number of bridges aggregating over four hundred Rft. constructed.

While there were only 1,115 primary schools, 146 middle schools and 45 high schools in 1950-51 at the end of the Five-Year Plan we had 1,803 primary schools, 260 middle schools and 109 high schools. The number of Colleges rose from seven

in 1950-51 to twelve in 1956-57. Against 118 dispensaries in 1951 we had 152 dispensaries at the end of 1956. The number of in-patients' beds rose from 750 in 1951 to 1012 in 1956. New industries like Transport Department and the Government Joinery Mills have been started and those already existing have been extended or reorganized so as to suit the present requirements. Sales organizations like the Government Arts Emporium have been established and a network of small cottage industries spread all over the country. The plan in fact produced its impact in the economy of the country which is reflected in the substantial increase in employment and consequently in the income of people. A foundation had at the same time been laid for such development as is possible within the physical situation and material resources.

BETTER TARGETS

Better targets have been fixed in the Second Plan. This plan proposes to import and distribute one lakh maunds of Fertilizers, open two Seed Multiplication Farms, strengthen the equipments in the existing laboratories of Agricultural Research and bring under cultivation 334 acres of land under China Paddy seed and to develop local manurial resources. It is proposed to establish two artificial Insemination Poultry Farms at Gosadan. Subsidy will be given to 300 large-sized co-operative credit societies and banks. Forest areas reserved for fodder would be fenced, river-training schemes will be started and easy floating of timber over the Chenab and the Jhelum will be ensured.

Afforestation of bare forests will be started. Additions will be made to the power-generating plants at Ganderbal and Mohore power-houses which will be converted from 25 to 50 cycles. One Cement factory will be established and existing industries revitalized etc., etc.

NOT AN UNMIXED BLESSING

In Kashmir as elsewhere in India the rise in employment and increase in income of people has not been an unmixed blessing. The developments have resulted in all-round inflation and rise of price levels. The rise is so appreciable that it appears a potent threat to a common man.

CAUSES OF RISE IN PRICE LEVEL

The rise is mainly due to the increased cost of production. It is also due to the fact that the production of raw materials from land do not keep pace with the rising demand from growing industries. The rise of wages and the demand for other factors have raised the cost of production. To neutralize this scarcity, capital has disproportionately been invested which has raised the prices of all agricultural products. The bulk of money poured in the market has raised its quantity. The cost of living has thus increased. The rise in wages is entirely consumed by the rise in the price level. Thus it has created a vicious circle.

The abrupt staggering developments of industries resulted in changed values which has made it difficult for people to adjust themselves to changed conditions. There are maladjustments between the two which have deprived the people of the advantage accruing to them through increased values. Consequently the distribution of National Wealth has not been as even as it should have been. People do not feel themselves far off from the conditions they had started ten years earlier. We cannot therefore claim that the First Five-Year Plan has completely succeeded in improving the material aspects of the poor people.

LACUNA IN THE PLAN

The lacuna left in the plan could have been anticipated, but for want of accurate and varied types of statistics the planners have failed to mould the schemes in proper form so as to eliminate the disadvantages arising from it. The public administration also has to adjust itself to changing circumstances. These defects can to a large extent be removed by the people themselves. They have to understand themselves and their responsibilities as members of the nation.

They have to adjust themselves to the fast changing economic conditions of the country. Sellers are combining themselves to secure maximum values for their products. The consumers are thus put to a disadvantage at the time of bargaining. The result is rise of prices.

REMEDIES

In order to remove this maladjustment between the buyers and sellers, the buyers should also organise themselves preferably in the form of consumers, co-operative, and then be in a better position as parties to bargain. The Government has also its part to play. In order to extend the local markets they have to organize establishment of local *mandies* and markets to ensure healthy contacts between the two. Official announcements of market rates of commodities in these *mandies* have to be made for the use of intending buyers and sellers and thus keep a close watch over unnatural tendencies of rise of prices.

The planners have also to study the question further. They have to concentrate their attention more on industries which work under the law of increasing returns. It does not mean that cottage and small-scale industries should be ignored altogether. They have also their role to play in the economy. Attempt has to be made both by the Government and the public to secure and maintain the equilibrium between the two.

The Government has to improve its administrative machinery to suit the changing economic conditions. They have to create a suitable organisation for collecting statistical data of the country's resources and needs. In this effort they should enlist the co-operation of experienced professional economists and other experts. Sufficient attention towards this side of the plan is needed which if devoted now is most likely to make the plan useful for all.



JAWAHARLAL AND SOCIALISM

By SURESH RAM

WORD is the Man. And the two words which define Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are 'Socialism' and 'Planning,' even as 'Sarvodaya' and 'Satyagraha' do Mahatma Gandhi. Instead of 'Socialism' and 'Planning,' one could say that 'Socialism through planning' is the passion which has animated Jawaharlal Nehru all his life whose course remains unwarpd even by the relentless powers vested in him as the Prime Minister of a country as vast as India. When he dwelt on the necessity of socialism in his Presidential Address to the Lucknow Congress in 1936, his dearest colleagues and co-workers grew sceptic about him. About a dozen years after, when he urged upon the efficacy of Planning for building a new India, devoted members of his own Cabinet did not like to take him seriously. Yet he persisted and his tenacious labours bore fruit when at its Avadi Session, the Indian National Congress declared its objective as the attainment of a 'Socialistic pattern of society.'

Socialism has now become an established creed of the intelligentsia of our country, especially the English-knowing classes. At its celebrated altar, Jawaharlal Nehru has been consuming himself every moment. He has rightly become the centre of a solar system of which radiant socialism is the sun. Its illuminating light and heat cannot but affect anybody who comes near him, be he or she a priest in the temple of totalitarian communism or in that of free democracy. This is why that Jawaharlal continues to be a problem to many as they are not able to grasp the essence of his mission in spite of the fact that it is so obvious, simple and straightforward.

Jawaharlal Nehru is socialism from head to foot. If true socialism is, as defined by G.D.H. Cole, "a broad human movement on behalf of the bottom dog," based on a "lively sense of wrongs crying for distress," it cannot find a better devotee than Jawaharlal who is keen to wipe out each and every inequality in our socio-economic life. Be it the sight of the horrible slums in the industrial areas of Kanpur, or of the crushing poverty of the peasantry in Gorakhpur, he cannot bear it, even as he cannot tolerate the deadening casteism in Bihar or

blind Gujarati-Marathi factionism in Bombay. These disparities must go.

But they must go by fair means. And it is this which distinguishes Jawaharlal Nehru from socialists in other parts of the world. As he observed in his speech at the time of receiving the degree of Doctor of Law conferred upon him on 17th October, 1949 by the Columbia University :

"There is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, if the means are wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert it into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That indeed has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past but unfortunately it is seldom remembered."

Thus Jawaharlal Nehru stands for socialism through planning by right means, or to quote from Congress constitution by 'legitimate and peaceful' means. This as well accounts for his horror at atomic warfare and his incessant appeals for stopping nuclear explosions. His warning on the Russian invention of new satellites, uttered while recently replying to a reception in Hong Kong, is very significant :

"All technological advance does not make evil good or good evil Let us hope the world will become gradually civilised. It is not really civilised today It will become civilised when this technological advance is used for human betterment and not for human destruction. We must train our minds to think in a new way in this new age in which we live, the atomic age, the inter-planetary age If we don't, then the alternative is utter, absolute destruction."

What is this new way? Nehru calls it the "fourth dimension" which should be "ethical." It is good in so far as it goes. But unfortunately it does not go very far. Even the recognised war-veterans will not disagree with him on this ethical need. For they regard war or military planning as distinct from socio-economic planning. And this is the point, I am afraid, where Nehru too does condone them. Any attempt to

to away with modern warfare without touching modern economics is bound to prove futile. Scientific discoveries of human destruction are an inevitable consequence of the process of economic planning now in vogue. We cannot, in fairness, hug the latter as sacred while simultaneously decry the former as madness. And one can go further and say that so long as socialism counts upon arms for its last resort, it cannot survive. One should not indulge in the thankless task of distinguishing nuclear arms from the ordinary ones. Science cannot go back and man cannot abandon atomic bomb in preference to the gun or the tank. When a conscientious Arjuna could not observe all the code of conduct in war, present-day unscrupulous fighters cannot certainly do it. The fault is not with the atomic bomb but with the economic planning behind it.

"The more violence, the less revolution," was the dictum of Barthelmy de Ligt. As well true has now become, 'the more violence, the less socialism.' In spite of the immense historical background behind it, socialism has failed to overthrow the evil of capitalism, because it, like capitalism, relies upon violence as its ultimate sanction. Both are worshippers in the shrine of the Goddess of Arms. This has rendered socialism innocuous and effeminate, rather, impotent and inert. Otherwise, how could British Socialists remain helpless spectators of the British atrocity in Egypt or French ones quietly connive at their Government's unholy venture? Likewise, the Socialists of Russia did not lift even their little finger on Russian tyranny over Hungary. Socialists all! Yes, violence-devotees all! And the common man naturally get confused in bewilderment and finds little to distinguish between democracy, socialism or totalitarianism.

Be it socialism or democracy, adherence to violence has marred its progress and tarnished its fair name. Violence cannot lead to anything fair or substantial. It must be condemned outright and so also the system of economic planning which is associated with it and adored the world over. As Gandhi says:

"There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. Democracy and

violence can ill go together. The states that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

No doubt we are a democratic nation today, but we must confess we are only "nominally democratic" as any other democracy in the world. We do not equip our Army with nuclear weapons not because we do not want it but because we cannot afford it. We cherish the same standard in our socio-economic planning as do the U.K., the U.S.A., or the U.S.S.R. This is the real reason why India's protest, as voiced by Jawaharlal Nehru, for abolition of nuclear bombing meets no response. If Nehru cannot throw his arms into the sea, how can he expect others to do it? If he keeps himself ready to meet any eventualities on account of Pakistan, why should not the U.S.A. do so because of the U.S.S.R. and vice versa? Whence all this cold war and hot peace.

The time has now come when we should take the courage to resolve to discard the use of arms altogether. Nehru does say that war does not solve problems. But he yet hesitates to launch the natural course of doing away with the means of war. Perhaps he feels war is as much a necessity. He might agree with William James:

"What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be incompatible."

The world may be groping for a "moral equivalent of war," but we need not. For, Gandhi has provided us the same in the form of, what he termed, Satyagraha. Outsiders may say that Satyagraha can be practised by individuals and not by nations. But Nehru cannot. He has himself been a valiant general in the army of Satyagraha. Doubtless what Satyagraha we offered in British India should not be regarded as the last word on it. In fact, Satyagraha during the alien regime could only be of a particular brand. Far more gentle and effective modes of it would be evolved in free India. Gandhi's 'March in Noakhali' was a pointer in that new direction. Satyagraha can

'speak to men as universally as war does and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves.' Only we have to gird our loins and forge ahead. Let us cast off all fear and

prejudice and bravely accept the "non-violent method with all its glorious implications." Then and then alone can Jawaharlal Nehru pilot India's ship to the socialism of his dreams.

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DEMOCRACY Vs. LIBERALISM

By PROF. N. RAJAGOPALA RAO, M.A.

EVER since the close of the First World War the ideological and organisational inadequacies of the democratic States have been the subject of much thought and reflection. Those basic assumptions of a Free Society, derived largely from nineteenth century Liberalism, are either extolled or exploded. It is impossible, of course, to deal with this issue adequately in this article. But I desire to discuss one important question having a large theoretical bearing on the issue mentioned above. To what extent should the electorate in a democracy participate in the home and foreign policies of the Government? How far can and how far should public opinion influence and control governmental decisions?

One thing must be made clear at the very beginning. Since the days of Bryce the reaction against the mounting influence of public opinion on State policies is on the increase. The public mind, the electorate, has been subjected to a severe criticism. It is said, that the electorate has usurped to itself the power and the authority of directing the executive decisions. It claims a moral excellence which it does not really possess; an altruistic motive scarcely observable, and a foresight even when it is incapable of rational thinking and reflection. It rules, it guides, it controls and it dictates the State. The tyranny of the electorate is truer than the tyranny of the majority. Wherever the democratic States have failed to solve the important economic and international questions, it is due to the intimidations and intransigent attitudes of its electorate. This, indeed, is a serious charge against modern democratic practices. The alternative appears to be to give more powers to the executive, to rely more on expert advice and guidance. Should this be so? I do not think, that, on any important issue facing the democratic State today, the electorate is more stupid than the executive or

the enlightened class. Further, it is wrong to ascribe to the electorate the onus of responsibility for all the failures and misdeeds of its government. Neither does it remedy the ailments of the present democratic States even when policy-making and execution is expertised. This, I fear, is a remedy worse than the disease.

I know no one, who in recent years, has stated his case against the democratic control of certain policies of the State, more succinctly and with graver emotional force, than Mr. Walter Lippmann, in his book *The Public Philosophy*. I cannot do better than summarise his arguments. He believes that the decline of the West began with the increasing influence of popular emotions and feelings on State policy. The malady of democratic States is, that the prevailing public opinion has been destructively wrong at critical junctures. But why did the public mind gain in power and prestige? Lippmann answers that this is the result of the liberal theory of the State and its advocacy of the principle of 'one man, one vote.' The implication of the doctrine of political equality has been that the people as voters are capable of deciding what is good and beneficial to them as a community both of the present and the future. Lippmann believes that this is based on heretical assumptions that the electorate can be relied on to represent the people. He says:

"It is often assumed, but without warrant, that the opinions of the people as voters can be treated as the expression of the people as an historic community. The fact is that this assumption is false. The voters cannot be relied upon to represent *the people*. The opinions of voters in elections are not to be accepted unquestionably as true judgements of the vital interest of the community."

Two reasons are put forth in defence of this conclusion. One is the familiar argument

that State-craft is a highly specialised art, that it calls forth a high degree of intellectual and moral discipline. Hence, not all can practise statemanship. Secondly, he maintains that the electorate, even when it is supposed to be enlightened and capable of rational judgement on State matters, is disabled to act, as it cannot have access to all the relevant facts.

"There is an inherent tendency in public opinion to feed upon rumours, excited by our own wishes and fears." At critical junctures whether in peace or war the public opinion is never in agreement with governmental policy.

"At critical junctures when the stakes are high the prevailing mass opinion will impose what amounts to a veto upon changing the course on which the government is at the time proceeding. Prepare for war in time of peace? No. It is bad to raise taxes, to imbalance the budget, to take men away from their schools and their jobs to provoke the enemy. Intervene in a developing conflict? No. The adversary must not be appeased. Reduce your claims on the area? No. Righteousness cannot be appeased."

And he concludes that the unhappy truth is that the prevailing public opinion has been destructively wrong at critical moments. And the people have imposed a veto upon the judgments of informants which usually knew what would have been wiser, or was necessary, or was more expedient, or to be too late with too little or too long with too much, too pacifist in peace and bellicose in war, too neutralist or appeasing in negotiation or too intransigent.

These are, indeed, severe strictures on the democratic mind. Lippmann's grave doubts and conclusions regarding the electorate are shared by very many intellectuals since the days of Maine and Mill who talked glibly of the incompetence of the voting population. It is, therefore, worth enquiring whether the public mind has always misled its government and also, if the policy trends proposed by the public opinion, judging retrospectively, are culpable for the tragic mistakes and glaring omissions of democratic States during the inter-war years.

We will consider the Anglo-French appeasement policy towards Germany, culminating in Munich Pact—one of the instances taken up by Lippmann in support of his conclusions. It is clearly evident to every student of public

affairs that the British public opinion always favoured a more cautious and unyielding relation with Germany. When Hitler decided upon rearming and mobilisation the public mind in all the democracies save U.S.A., was perturbed and saw the war-clouds gathering thick and fowl. Again the public was never happy when the late Mr. Chamberlain returned from Munich having bartered away some one else's freedom. "Surely," as R. H. S. Crossman observes, "it is truer to say that it was the traditional political leadership backed nearly always by a large section of the educated elite that lead us in the wrong direction."

Nearer at home we may refer, though we are too near the event to pronounce any judgement, to the controversial stand taken up by the Union Government and the Public in the matter of the States Reorganisation, particularly concerning the creation of the bilingual State of Bombay. The public opinion, particularly in Maharashtra and Gujarat, has never been reconciled to this new State. It has shown its deepest displeasure in the general elections, and again in the recent Bombay and Ahmedabad Municipal elections. It is widely known that the Union policy was influenced by the opinions of the caucus of the ruling party.

A more telling instance is that of the Indian stand on the revolution in Hungary. On no other recent issue the Indian public mind has been more earnest and just than on the guilt and aggression committed by Russia in Hungary. Prime Minister Sri Nehru who obviously relied on official reports reacted at first in a way that shocked many here and outside. It is equally noble of him to have seen through the veil, and to have taken up a stand in conformity with public opinion and its good conscience on the Hungarian tragedy. When stakes are big and liberty faces extinction, the bureaucrat, the diplomat cannot see the life and death struggle going on! It is they that commit the governments to a policy hard to reverse for reasons of governmental prestige even when the light of reason shows the correct way.

I do not desire to multiply these instances wherein at critical moments the governmental policies have floundered relying more on expert advice than on the citizen's choice, but I only refer to the vital issue facing mankind today, namely, the banning of atomic tests. The people

or the democracies have shown their grave concern in the matter. The scientists too have joined the people's chorus. But of what avail? The military strategists and the executive chiefs have taken up intransigent attitude hard to explain.

It is quite clear then that the democratic government is depending more on the expert, the elite and the party boss. Their faith in the masses has disappeared or at the most they court the people only periodically and forget them soon after the wooing season. The party, the intelligentsia and the bureaucrat have arrogated to themselves the powers and privileges of the electorate. These have a contempt for the public opinion which they scarcely hide. The demagogue under the guise of a political leader provokes and excites the popular mind. The public is never provided by the government with all the facts relevant to an issue. Even a casual observer of the debates in the legislatures today often meets a Minister refusing to answer a question on grounds of public interest. The typical attitude of the executive is to claim that it is the custodian of public interest. The political leaders and the elite too in turn claim to possess the knowledge of public good. Every one, save the public, knows what is good and beneficial to the people! If the people cannot represent the people as a historic community how can the government claim to be identical with the State?

Even where the electorate is garish, queer, ambitious and sentimental, as it is at times, is it wholly to be blamed for the crises faced by democracies? Has the electorate alone scant regard for rules of the game? What ought to be the final word, if it is not the people's verdict?

These questions take us back to a searching enquiry into the fundamental beliefs and tenets of a democratic society. I consider that Lippmann, in his book *The Public Philosophy* and Prof. Oakshott in his stray writings have been suggesting that the primacy of electoral decisions is neither desirable nor necessary; the claims of the electorate do not logically follow either from the liberal or the democratic ideas; lastly a State is not more democratic because its electorate has more powers. In substance, the electoral mandates are not the *raison d'être* of a democratic society. The free elections are

the plague raging Free Societies. So stated, the tenour of entire argument appears to aim at a return to the small enclave of enlightened aristocracy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But in truth this is neither a return to the old conservative traditions nor a revival of the political philosophies of Burke and Bagehot. Rather what seems to be taking place is an effort to restate the democratic values that cut across the old party associations; to provide larger operative freedom to the intellectuals and the executives in the affairs of the government; and to reject the principle of popular sovereignty to which the Western public opinion imagines itself to be dedicated to "but which it has never believed in at all."

In his thought-provoking writing *Democracy vs. Liberty* Mr. Peregrine Worsethorne following Lippmann's trail of thought, differentiates between liberalism and democracy. He says that democracy and liberalism are not necessarily the same.

"Democracy is about *who* should rule and implies rule of the people based on the majority of equals. Liberalism is about *how* people should rule, and the liberal principles of respect for minorities, freedom of speech and of religion have nothing to do with the theory of democracy as such."

He approvingly quotes Lippman that the principle of consent is earlier than the principle of popular sovereignty. The Bill of Rights (1689) is more than two centuries older than universal suffrage in Great Britain. The later developments in the democratic theory were not willed by the people but were evolved through the rational arguments of a relatively small number of intellectuals.

Historically it is true that democracy is the product of liberalism of the last century. It can also be conceded that the impetus for widening the suffrage came from the great utilitarian thinkers. But philosophically it is utterly wrong to say that the principle of individual liberty, religious toleration, minority rights, etc., do not form the essence of democratic outlook as such. Granting the truth of Worsethorne's contentions, are we also to admit that there can be democracy in the absence of freedom of speech, writing and religion?

Further, the question that has long engaged

the attention of democracy is how to frame the institutions that express and not rule out the people's will. Democracy has at no time confined itself solely to the issue of who should rule. It is a moot point in democratic theory that the demos alone must govern (directly or indirectly) themselves. This, to a student of democratic theory, is self-evident and not a subject of debate.

Lastly, can it be admitted that the Western public opinion has never really believed in the theory of popular sovereignty? Locke gave to the theory of popular sovereignty a permanent place in politics. Rousseau made it a revolutionary doctrine in the cause of democracy. Dicey with an unerring instinct pointed out that the legal sovereign must ultimately bow to the political sovereign. These political writers are considered to be forerunners of modern democratic theory. The mass movement for the extension of franchise in England, for instance, gained momentum because the people believed in popular sovereignty. Again, the women suffragist movement was born out of the doctrine of political equality and popular sovereignty. But it is worth observing that in England popular sovereignty and democracy evolved slowly from the principle of representation and Parliamentary practices over a long time, unlike in France which began to work out its representative institutions from the principles of popular sovereignty.

All I am really saying is that the faith in the twin doctrines of popular sovereignty and individual freedoms are the bedrock on which the modern democratic State is founded. The only practicable method by which the popular sovereign can be made to act is by accepting the numerical Majority Principle and no other. It may be asked if it does not lead to widespread confusion to equate popular sovereignty with majority principle. Because the people are never the same from one day to the next. The people, as in the American Constitution, refers to the historic community and not to the present aggregate of individuals. Theoretically there is no justification for such a confusion. For the majority is not a substitute for the political sovereign but a working principle or technique. The majority can always be reduced to a minority and thus its earlier decisions reversed. But

then, can the people use this technique, say to live under undemocratic government, to banish liberty? Logically it may sound that the people can. In that case such a decision cannot be reversed by the popular sovereign save by a revolution violent or non-violent. The point is that the majority itself is not sovereign; its decisions are not binding always. It only acts in behalf of the political sovereign.

How the decisions of the political sovereign and the individual's claim for freedom can co-exist is a question that is best resolved not by *a priori* methods but by compromise. This involves certain pre-requisites to be fulfilled to allow compromise to be reached between what appear to be too divergent claims. These are: (1) Faith in compromise and Majority Principle and (2) faith in non-violence. These cardinal beliefs within whose frame-work alone the democratic temper is actively expressed are in the nature of axioms of a democratic society, and these axioms by definition cannot be inferred from mere general principles as Mr. Lippmann assumes that Public Philosophy is derived from Natural Law. To this Law of Democracy must submit every institution established within the democratic State, the Electorate, the Party, the Parliament and the Trade Union, etc. In this sense, there can be no essential difference between the liberal way and the democratic method. The liberal approach was democratic in a narrow sphere; the democratic method is liberal in a wider sphere. Liberalism was a doctrine, par excellence, of the middle class; democracy is a doctrine, par excellence, of the masses. Liberalism fulfils itself in democratic idealism; and democracy remains so by retaining the liberal outlook. It was Prof. Hobhouse who, attempting to restate the liberal theory at a time when liberalism was losing hold on the people's mind observed that 'there can be no popular sovereignty without perfect liberty for expression of opinion.' Herein we find the essence of democracy being identified with the essence of liberalism.

Today, there is a wave of reaction in the West against the Law of Democracy, whose progressive application De Tocqueville regarded as inevitable and inherent in the growth of

modern civilisation, and to value Liberalism more than Democracy. This has resulted in divorcing the democratic institutions from their general outlook and functions. Let us freely admit the besetting dangers and temptations of democratic public opinion, especially where the people are ill-fed, ill-educated and ill-led. But the party has entered the inner sanctuary of power; the intellectuals live in an ivory tower; the elite is sceptical and indifferent; the executive works in dark secrecy; the demagogue trades upon the weaknesses of the public mind and panders to its passions; the legislator has become more a local chieftain than a representative of the nation; the trade union is a passionate partisan. Let us not pretend that these are not the real threats to the law of democracy. To point out that the danger comes from the absurd metaphysical creed of popular sovereignty is obviously to suggest to blot out the life principle of democratic faith. If the principle of popular sovereignty is once accepted—it is this alone that distinguishes Democracy from Dictatorship—can we prescribe limits within which the sovereign people ought to act? To say that the people are not to veto but vote, not to act but merely express, not to contest but indicate their consent, cuts the ground under the feet of a democrat. The people in Communist and Fascist dictatorships have been given the right to vote and express at the polls. But what a parody of democratic government! Their

governments claim that they enjoy the overwhelming support of the people. Any government worth the name must claim to depend upon a large measure of popular consent. To a degree the undemocratic governments too respond to people's demands. On this score are we to conclude that the popular government is a free government, that the responsive government is also a responsible one?

The cause of democracy is served better by bringing down the Chinese Wall built round the government, particularly its Home and Foreign Affairs Departments, raised and maintained by the bureaucrat and the immaculately dressed diplomat who consider that the more mysterious they are graver the issue becomes. Public opinion will certainly be clearer and better informed than it is today if only the government sheds its secrecy, publishes the texts of its secret documents, and makes plain its intentions and movements. The intellectual minority in all the democracies must cease to feel its separateness from the people, and, as informed men, must explain the issues facing the political community to the electorate only as its trusted adviser. The future of democracy is as much dependent on the democratic leadership, "willing to serve the people upon such terms as democracy will accept," as on the sovereign people to be led by the well-trained and conscientious statesman-leaders. To a democrat it is an article of faith that "the people have no interest in wrong."



EXHIBITION OF TARAPROSAD BISWAS

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE Indian exponents of French Modernistic Painting has been indulging in incessant propaganda against the merits of the Indian School of Painting, particularly against the works of Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nandalal Bose with a view to win public opinion in their own favour, which they could never win on the basis of the intrinsic merits of their ugly distortions and meaningless abstractions. This propaganda had a chance of success, as very few members of

had a continuously progressive history without any touch of revivalism or traditionalism. The works of the Neo-Bengal School demonstrated a new way of interpreting the eternal principles of Asiatic painting, brilliant in their rhythmic draughtsmanship, and their infinite variety of new inventions and imaginative presentation of spiritual truth in every new facet of expression. The second answer to the propaganda of the Modernists is provided by the exhibition of the



Call of the Earth

our art-loving public had any chance to study at first-hand the original works of Tagore and of Bose which belong to a brilliant decade just passed. And the effective answer to the pernicious propaganda of the Modernists, who abuse the Bengal School as 'revivalists' and 'traditionalists', was to present the work of the best exponents of Indian painting in retrospective exhibitions. This was done last year by the exhibition of Nandalal Bose at the Art College, Calcutta, and the exhibition of A. N. Tagore at the Indian Museum arranged by the Rabindra Bharati, which succeeded in opening the eyes of connoisseurs to the intrinsic merits of the Indian School, which at one time inspired the Chinese and the Japanese School, and which

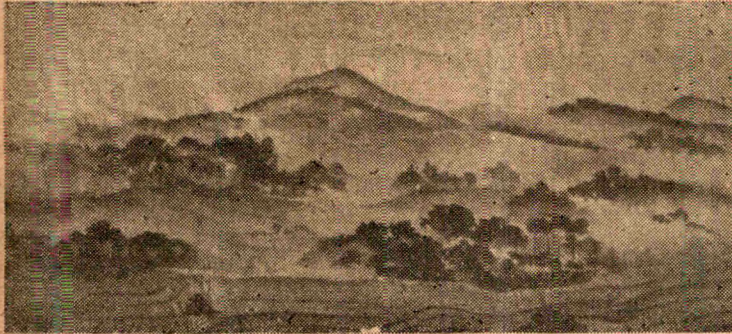


One July Afternoon

works of younger artists who have followed in the foot-steps of Tagore and of Bose.

One of the new exponents, Taraprosad Biswas, a former pupil of Nandalal Bose and a teacher of Arts and Crafts in the Calcutta University, held a very successful exhibition of his works at the Artistry House, Calcutta (1st to 11th November, 1957). This charming exhibition was certainly an effective answer to the vain claims of the Indian Modernists that the only way contemporary pictorial art in India could succeed is by repudiating the fundamental heritage of the

Indian national language of Art. Sri Biswas's exhibition has demonstrated that in order to tread on a progressive path, it is not necessary for an Indian painter to repudiate his own



Distant Hills

national language of Art. In taking Bengali Poetry to new heights on the wings of new inventions, Rabindranath Tagore did not repudiate the old national language of Bengal, the language of the ancient *charya-padas* (9th century), the language of the Vaishnava lyricists (16th century), the language of Rammohun Roy and Vidyasagar (19th century), the earlier stages of the progressive life of the language. The old traditions were given a new life in new transformations. Nothing new can be built except on the foundations of old traditions. This is true in all forms of Art—Literature, Painting or Music. Our modern connoisseurs of Music are infatuated in listening to the Ragas sung to-day, day and night, in the medieval traditions of Tansen. To stick to the respectable traditions of Indian pictorial art is, therefore, no crime. You are only required to give a new form to older modes of expression.

Taraprosad Biswas is treading on the legitimate path of old tradition without mechanically imitating or repeating the old formulas or conventions. This is particularly true in his new way of presenting landscapes without imitating Ajantan manners or the prosaic realism of European academic painting. It cannot be claimed, however, that his interpretation of nature has the profound mysticism of Far Eastern Painting, though painted in the truly Asiatic manner. His figure-subjects are no less happy, particularly in the illustrations of

Chandalika and *Chitrangada*, one of which is, here, reproduced from the frontispiece of the Catalogue. It is useless to deny that these essays bear the obvious influence of Nandalal Bose in his eloquent interpretation of line in rhythm. But it is no crime to pay tributes to a great Guru like Nandalal, when we find our contemporary painters are succumbing to the slavish imitation of Picasso and Van Gogh. Biswas's *Call of the Earth* is in the obvious Santiniketan manner in utilizing a couple of live Sonthal girls in the actual realistic setting of Birbhum landscape. Anyhow, these romantic essays are not at all repetitions of Ajanta conventions, but interpre-



A scene from Tagore's *Chandalika*

tation of actual life as seen by a sensitive artist. If more of our young artists with a faith in the national language of Art join hands with Sri Biswas, they will easily succeed in rehabilitating the reputation of our National School of Painting, which has been somewhat obscured by persistent propaganda on the part of the denationalized group of our modern artists.

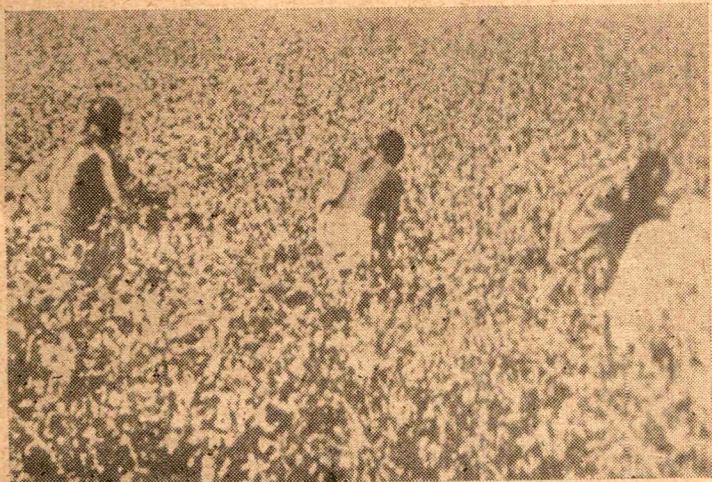
EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTIVATION AND ITS GREAT PROSPECTS FOR WEST BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

ALL interested in cotton cultivation in Bengal are aware that the Government had tried to revive its cultivation from 1939 to 1952 by working under different schemes. Cotton grown in different parts of India from American Strains as Punjab American, C 02, Perbhani, with staple length nearing an inch, had been tried. In the last scheme that ended in 1952, eight thousand

ful grower of cotton since partition, I was included as a member of the State Cotton Sub-Committee.

I noticed that though the working of the schemes undoubtedly proved the suitability of cotton cultivation for Bengal, it failed to interest cultivators as they envisaged better profits by cultivation of *Aus* paddy, Jute followed by a Rabi crop than by cotton cultivation. So I tried cultivation of the more precious Egyptian strain, the yield which I found is same, with price double that of American strains. The Government Agricultural Department co-operated in my works and the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills liberally subsidised all expenses of its cultivation in different parts of Bengal. Cultivation of Egyptian cotton behaved splendidly everywhere till 1940, when in that year Government made a special annual grant of Rs. 2500/- to improve its cultivation. Unfortunately in 1941, the plants everywhere suffered from a



Egyptian cotton plants in Egypt

farmers participated in its work. The average yield was 3 mds. of seed-cotton per acre @ Rs. 30/- a md.

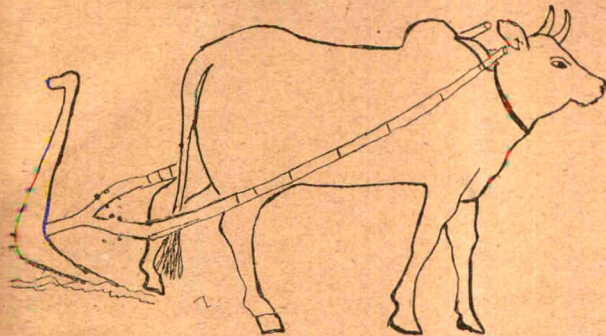
During these experimental schemes, there were a few instances where cotton yield per acre exceeded even 12 mds., which in fact very efficiently compares with the best cotton tracts of the world. Such exceptional yield was an adequate model indeed for special research to modify the process of cultivation to ensure such an increased output. Unfortunately these exceptional results were not given the due attention they deserved. My suggestions to introduce some labour-saving agricultural implements as one-bullock-driven ploughs and harrows as are used by small cotton cultivators in America to keep the soil loose and free of weeds during the growing period, were also not adopted. On the contrary the schemes have been abandoned altogether since 1952.

As the Agricultural Officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills and also as an independent success-



Egyptian cotton-field at Shamnagar to show relative heights of cotton plants

devastating fungus disease known as Anthracnose. On this the Government Agricultural Department abandoned its cultivation and refused the Government contribution for its improvement.



One-bullock driven plough
Hand-driven plough



I was not however discouraged to discontinue its cultivation. The soil and weather condition of Egypt is quite different from Bengal. Even in that country a very heavy amount is spent every year for Research work to improve its quality. So I approached the Head of the Department of Botany, Calcutta University, Professor Agharkar, for help in my difficulties. After some preliminary work, he assured me of his help and undertook research to remove the pest under a scheme. The Bengal Mill Owners Association financed the working of the scheme. The University succeeded in removing the pest in course of two years and by strictly following their advice regarding treatment of seeds and process of cultivation, I have been experiencing no difficulty in growing the same for the last 15 years. After partition, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills abolished their Agricultural Department. As a refugee I have been pursuing research work on its cultivation every year under great difficulties and obstacles, to preserve seeds of this acclimatized precious strain from extinction. I generally publish results of my cultivation in different papers and magazines. This induces many mills and interested organisations to experiment on its cultivation with my help. The staple length of my cotton always exceeds $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch and the yield of seed-cotton is more than 6 maunds

per acre with minimum price of Rs. 80/- per md. Expenses of cultivation per acre, never exceeds Rs. 400/- per acre. So its cultivation, if it can be introduced in West Bengal, will mean crores

to cultivators. My cultivation and quality of cotton have always been acclaimed every year by many leading cotton Mills and experts in whose interest the State Agricultural Department has always to work. It has been found very suitable for use in Ambar Charkha also where the Government Head of the Institution at Fulia Colony found it suitable for easy rapid continuous working to spin 60s fine count. The Deputy Secretary, I.C.C.C., when he visited my cotton field on 28-11-55 with the cotton expert of the State, highly appreciated my cultivation and quality of cotton. He advised us to cultivate at least 5

acres, indispensable to establish economic value of its cultivation. He further assured us of full financial support by I.C.C.C. for such cultivation, as is being given to other states for 15 years who are already cultivating such quality cotton with staple length about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches and above from 1954. The necessity of undertaking its cultivation by this State was further discussed several times in Parliament by Padma Bhusan Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Ph.D., M.P.

As advised by the Secretary, I.C.C.C., I submitted my "scheme for Agronomic trials with Egyptian Cotton in West Bengal" for 3 years to the State Agricultural Department in April 1956. The scheme was considered by an expert scientific committee, who after scrutiny, strongly recommended for its action on 10-8-56. The Government Agricultural Department takes abnormally long time to make any decision. So to maintain continuity of my cultivation, indispensable to maintain seeds of this valuable acclimatized strain, I had to accept offer by the Commissioner, C.D., Sri Hiranmoy Banerje, I.C.S., to work a small Demonstration Farm for 1957-58, in half an acre only, started for the benefit of student trainees of the Community Development, in Fulia Colony. I told him of the Agronomic Scheme I had submitted to the Agricultural Department which due to delay in decision

could not work this season. He told me in reply, that the objects of the two schemes are quite different, and his offer had absolutely no connection with the State Agricultural Department. Long after I had started cultivation there, I was informed by the Agricultural Department late in August this year, that my scheme when strengthened by the recommendation of an expert body was sent to the Minister for his final approval when he dropped the matter.

Due to the abnormally late decision of the State Agricultural Department late in August 1957, more than 2 months after the growing season commenced, the scheme, even if it were sanctioned by the Minister, had no possibility of being set to work, before the termination of the C.D. Scheme. Further, it is my experience that this cultivation, however remunerative it may be, cannot be popularised, unless it is taken up by the Agricultural Department who, with the help of its extensive staff scattered and posted in all parts of the Province, can easily popularise such profitable cultivation. This is evident from the fact that in spite of my continued success, supported by expert opinion, I am

still the only grower of Egyptian Cotton in Bengal. There are other difficulties in a new crop like cotton as marketing and ginning difficulties by small growers, and such difficulties can be removed in the first stages by Government help alone. Our Agricultural Department has the advantage of having a well-equipped Research Institute, staffed by eminent scholars, whose services will always be readily available in case of any difficulty. Almost all



Deputy Secretary, I.C.C.C., inspecting cottonfield at Shamnagar 24-Parganas



Egyptian cotton showing excellent growth at the Calcutta University Agricultural Field Station at Mandori, Haringhata

other states, even states like Assam and Bihar which have not like Bengal any mentionable record of quality-cotton grown in their areas, are these days working under the schemes, with the financial help offered by the Indian Central Cotton Committee. I therefore earnestly entreat the State authorities to review their abrupt abandonment of the schemes in the home province, where at best some bright examples of success have already been in record. Further, after it has been strongly recommended for action by an expert scientific committee, formed by the Agricultural Department to scrutinise the scheme, there is no reason to ignore the same.

In conclusion, stressing upon the urgency of revival of the schemes in Bengal as a vital Nation Building activity, especially in this phase of National Planning, I wish the State authorities, may do the needful for the revival of the schemes in a process, modified by past experiences, in remodelling and working of which I will very earnestly be willing to lay my personal services at their disposal whenever called for.

THE MIRACULOUS BIRD WITHOUT WINGS

By GEORGE FARWELL

THE Trust Territory of New Guinea has entered a new phase with the building of roads into the mountainous interior, advancing the well-being of the primitive Highland people and ending the Australian Administration's earlier complete dependence upon air transport.

Driving up the narrow, twisting mountain road from Goroka I looked unconsciously for an altimeter on the dashboard. The jeep climbed so rapidly we might have been airborne. Behind us—far below—was the floor of the valley, with its twisting ribbon of river amid bright kumai grass and the town's clustered rooftops reduced to pin-point size.

We travelled more than seven miles, always climbing.

It was an astonishing road. Anywhere else but in New Guinea men would have called it a triumph of engineering, yet here it was taken for granted. Besides it was not built by engineers at all.

The men who planned its precipitous, winding course were Administration officers. Highly trained men in their own field, they were ignorant enough of road construction to disbelieve the engineer who said it couldn't be done. They had no earth-moving equipment; no tractors or graders. Such machine just didn't exist in the Highlands, for the coffee-growing town of Goroka was 5,000 feet above sea level, approachable only by air.

This road—only one short sector of an ambitious communications scheme—was hewn up a mountainside by hand labour alone.

Thousands of men and women, of the Eastern Highlands, flocked in as volunteers. They worked over the soft red earth with shovels and digging sticks, carried rock on bark cradles slung between two men's shoulders, surfaced the road with pebbles from mountain streams. More often than not their only tools were their bare hands.

They volunteered for the job because they wanted the road themselves. They saw it would revolutionise their primitive life, link isolated villages, help them to market crops, get seed for passion fruit and coffee gardens, bring in medical aid in place of sorcerers, and the murderous feuds between clan and clan, and allow men to

enter another's tribal land without fear of violent death.

A few months before I made that dizzy climb, trusting my life on cliff tops and hairpin bends to an unruffled Papuan driver, it had been a common sight to see several thousand villagers at a time toiling on the road. Each day's volunteers came from a different place. The Administration supplied food, paid them in silver and shell money, and the people welcomed a new opportunity for gossip and celebration.

To the unfamiliar eye they might have appeared a savage gathering; short, dark-skinned, powerful men decked out with cassowary plumes, headbands of giri-giri shell, opossum fur or pearlshell ornaments dangling from the neck, and bones through the septum of their noses. Men, women and girls wore only brief aprons of knitted bark or reeds. Yet their manner was universally gentle and smiling, despite their rugged, stone-age air.

All the same, the stone age was only a decade or so away.

Until the end of World War II little contact existed between these primitive Highlanders and Europeans. Australians, who discovered the Waghi Valley in 1932 and set up patrol posts, had to evacuate when the Japanese invaded New Guinea, and the untouched mountain country around Goroka and further west was hardly penetrated until after the war. Meantime the age-old feuds went on; young warriors slaughtered each other with stone axes, bows and arrows, spears; villages were burnt and gardens razed.

Like the Romans in ancient Gaul, the Papua-New Guinea Administration understood the pacifying effect of building roads. But finance was short, machinery difficult to fly in. They appealed to the shrewdness and enthusiasm of the local people. The result surpassed all expectations.

This precipitous road climbing west from Goroka, over an 8,000 foot dividing range and down to Chimbu, has great strategic importance. It leads out towards even more primitive areas in the Western Highlands, linking with other roads built locally by Administration outposts. Now, too, Goroka can be reached by surface

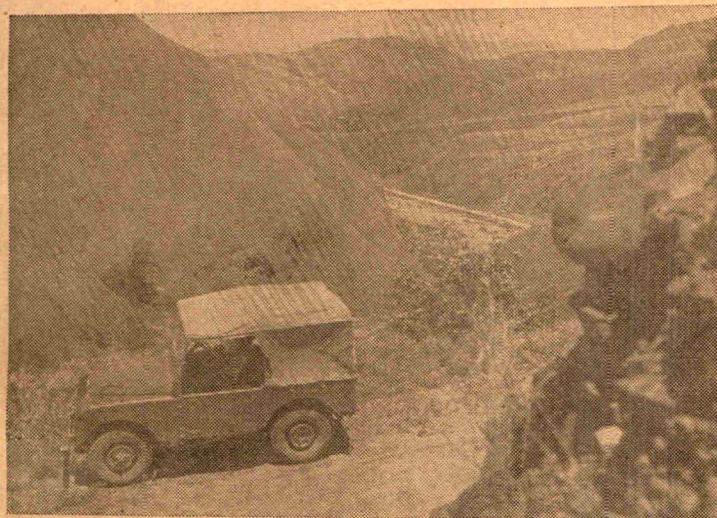
transport from Lae, the Huon Gulf port from which all freight was hitherto despatched by air.

It was a big occasion when the first motor truck drove across that rugged route in June 1956, taking eight days to struggle up from

of flying. They weave their aircraft in and out of cloud-hung valleys, climb above monsoonal storms, land and take-off from steep mountain air-strips, but all the aviation skill on earth can't of its own accord bring social development of a huge island Sundered by gorges, swamps and jungle.

Reversing the pattern of more settled lands, aircraft gave New Guinea its first instrument of progress. Consolidation had to wait for surface travel. Now, wherever a road goes, civilisation rides close behind.

For the backward, superstitious Highlanders the early aircraft naturally evoked a sense of wonder, though they soon came to accept the miracle of flight. What puzzled them far more was just what these mysterious flying creatures fed on, what sex they were and how they bred. "Balus" they christened these strange machines,

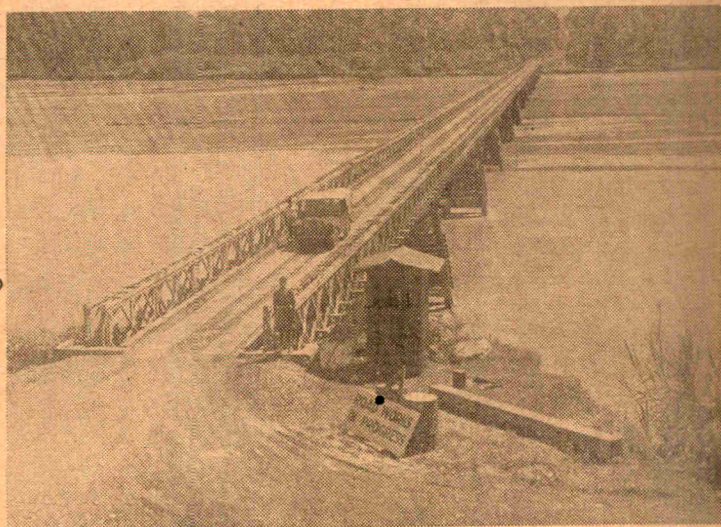


In the road between Bulolo and Wau climbing several thousand feet, the driver needs to keep his eyes upon twists along narrow ridges with precipitous drops below

Lae, along the flood-scoured Markham Valley, over the towering Bismarck Range into Goroka, then through Chimbu, Nondugl, Minj to the little settlement of Mount Hagen, under the shadow of one of New Guinea's mightiest peaks.

Other sectional roads now reach out to Western Highland patrol posts like Wapanamanda, Wabag and Laiagam, still closed to European settlement, and to Mendi (Southern Highlands) where a stubborn people retain the habit of stringing arrows to their black-palm bows.

Previously it was only possible to reach such places by small aircraft. From the pioneering days of the late 1920's, when whole dredges were flown into the Bulolo goldfield across a 12,000 feet range—the world's first heavy airfreight operation—pilots in New Guinea have daily carried out remarkable feats



The largest bridge in New Guinea is the 1690-foot, single-span structure crossing the Markham River. Completed in 1955, it has made possible transit of heavy motor transports

adopting the pidgin English term for bird.

In remote Mount Hagen, villagers took readily to air-freighters landing machinery, meat and bags of rice, but were thunderstruck at the first jeep they saw unloaded. Watching a patrol

office drive it down the strip, they cried out in consternation. Something was seriously wrong; some devil business!

What sort of *balus* was this that did not leave the ground?

Later it became known as the "balus without wings." That was only five years ago. Today motor vehicles are more familiar, and far-out Highland villages have learnt to welcome them. They bring out patrol officers to settle their differences, medical assistants with life-saving drugs, experts to advise them on the growing of new cash crops.

The "balus without wings" travels speedily along what villagers have come to call "government roads"—that is, areas of safe passage where fighting is taboo.

From Goroka to Chimbu, from Mount Hagen through the hills to Mendi, down populous valleys in the Western Highland, you pass these days a stream of people freely travelling terrain they would have been scared to enter five years ago. To walk beyond the narrow confines of your own tribal group was *tambu*, forbidden; death by ambush was the normal penalty; evil spirits lurked to enter the wayfarer's soul and destroy him.

Today you come upon endless small groups walking in to Administration posts with produce to sell; peasant-like womenfolk bent under burdens carried in the string-bags they call *bilums*—sweet potatoes, corn, small dogs, even a baby; dignified old men with bamboo smoking-pipes and Bird of Paradise plumes on their heads; kiddies hunting birds with bow and arrow; old crones leading the family pig on a string; young bucks with faces blackened from some initiation rite.

The colour and variety of Highland life is astonishing.

So is the instinct for beautifying landscapes. Gay flowers are planted along the roadside, shady sheoaks, and each little garden of black-soil mounds in the terraced hillsides has its patches of banana palms, pandanus and sugarcane. The gardens are hedged with narrow-leaved *tunkit*, the shrub used to half erosion as well as decorate the body. The many mountain streams are spanned by little bridges, each one with a roofing of thatched kunai grass to protect its planking in heavy rain.

The only risk in motor travel among these mountains is that the driver, skidding on the lip of some precipice, may lose his head. There was a greater risk of losing your head, in some areas, before these roads came.

In the wild Sepik River district, for instance, a vital road has now been completed through rough mountain country where head-hunters were active a few years ago. The smoked heads of tribal enemies were hung from the rafters of ceremonial huts. No young buck could win a woman's favour until he had at least one human head to prove his manhood.

Today these same men are proud owners of a spectacular road they built themselves.

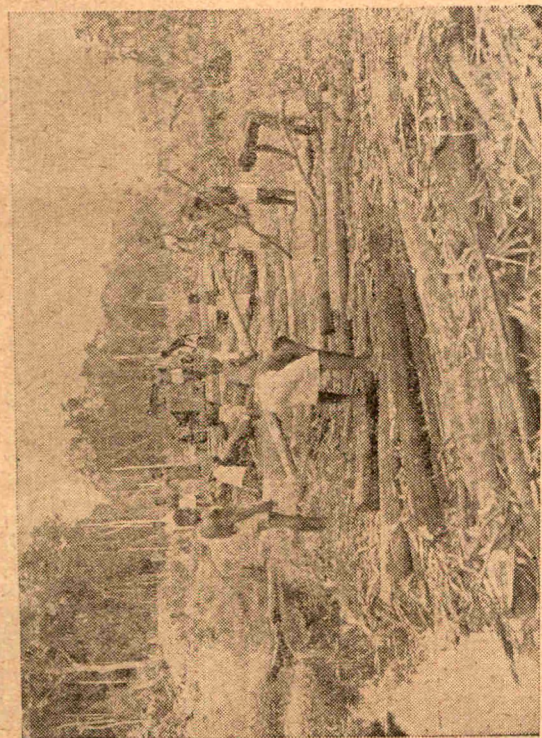
Running inland from the coastal town of Wewak—200 miles east of the Dutch New Guinea border—the road follows an old native footpad up a steep escarpment into the saw-tooth Prince Alexander Range. It was the only possible route through jungle-smothered spurs and precipitous gorges. Hitherto only a few well-armed patrols had ventured in, and the inhabitants remained suspicious of the strangers' motives.

I travelled in one of the first motor trucks to climb that zig-zagging road which experts had declared could never be built. There was little room for manoeuvring; some razor-back ridges were too narrow for one vehicle to pass another, others too tough for anything but trucks with four-wheel-drive. Yet somehow unskilled road-builders had conquered a range which had barred progress since the days of the German regime fifty years ago.

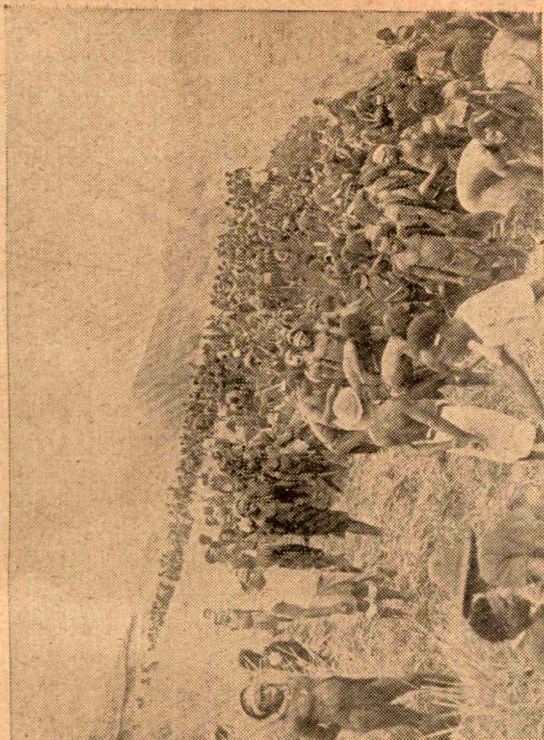
Now it is possible to travel 150 miles through Yangoru—centre of a primitive yam-worshipping culture and modern agricultural station—then on to Maprik and the steamy but potentially fertile Sepik Plains. These vast and treeless kunai grass plains are soon to be opened for rice and cattle-raising.

In every isolated pocket of hill country and dense jungle, the darkly superstitious people are now being encouraged to grow rice. The Administration is sponsoring rural progress societies and growers' co-operatives, financing rice mills and purchase of motor trucks.

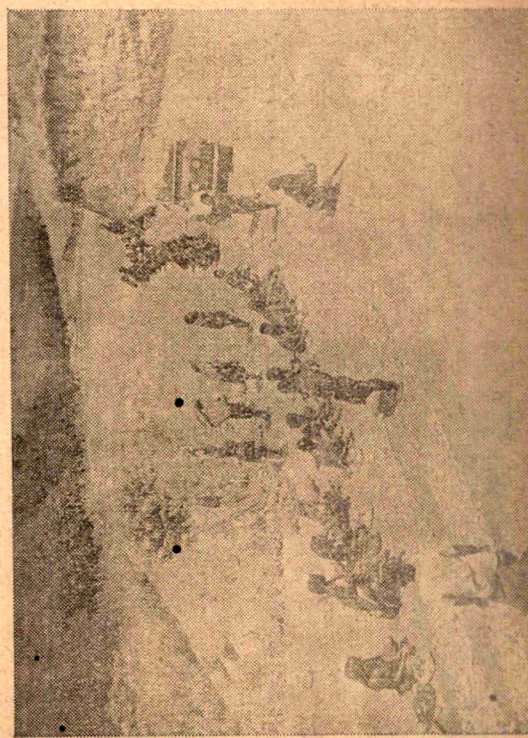
All this has been achieved with the breaching of hostile mountains by a single road—a road that, had it been built with heavy machi-



Workers laying a corduroy base over a sagsac swamp to give the road a firm foundation Photo: W. Brindle



This enthusiastic crowd is cutting a new road to their village following their own native method Photo: W. Brindle



Villagers surfacing a road with stones from nearby streams

nerly would have cost £100,000. Its actual cost was something like one-fiftieth of that.

Best proof of the great economic benefit of New Guinea's roads—however tough constructing them has been—is to be found along the fantastic 90-mile scenic highway from Lae inland to Bulolo, Edie Creek and Wau. This, for a change, was carried out by skilled engineers. No amateur could have coped with the effects of terrific rainfall, floods, rushing mountain torrents, landslides and large-scale erosion in ranges that rise above 12,000 ft.

Bulolo can be looked on as a touchstone of New Guinea's economic progress. There—thirty years ago—the first alluvial gold was found and fortunes made. Then a big company took over, flying in huge dismantled dredges by aeroplane. Today The Bulolo Gold-Dredging Company after winning more than £30,000,000 in gold, has turned to timber-milling, producing some of the world's finest plywood from great stands of *Alaki* pine. To transport timber down to overseas shipping in Lae a first-class road was needed.

The one originally built in war-time by the Australian Army played an important part in the Allied counter-offensive against Japanese invasion. Abandoned in the post-war years, the road soon fell to pieces. In 1950 the Federal Department of Works, equipped only with worn-out army machines, took it over and battled for three years with swift-growing jungle, rivers that changed their courses, gigantic washaways and whole hillsides and cuttings crumbling in the Wet Season like soft cheese. In the early stages one cement crossing on the fast-flowing Mumeng Creek had to be rebuilt 17 times. Sometimes rocks weighing many tons ground their way down the Bulolo River, destroying everything they struck. At others complete bridges and culverts disappeared in roaring floods.

Now and again local labour was hired, though few men stayed for long, preferring to trade among themselves for the narcotic betelnut or range the grassy hills hunting for wallabies.

At one time parties of the locally feared Kukukukus were employed on the section near Edie Creek. But men contented to live on frogs, snakes and human flesh failed to take much

interest in more civilised activities, returning instead to their hidden valleys.

Yet, somehow, the job was done, thanks to resolute works by Australian gangs who earned high wages camping in kunai grass huts driving bulldozers through landslides and rocky river beds.

Nowadays a constant stream of heavy trucks travels between Bulolo and Lae, helping to build the plywood industry into one of the Trust Territory's biggest exports.

Scenically, the road is magnificent. It winds through beautiful hill country, follows the course of foaming rivers, climbs narrow, rock-strewn ravines, with 10,000 feet mountain peaks rearing against a cloud-hung sky.

A notable addition to this route was built in 1956, rivalling the steep ascents of the Goroka-Chimbu road. This provided the first easy access to the remote Watut Valley, one of the last strongholds of the quarrelsome Kukukukus. Until this road went through, Native Affairs patrols had to walk—or rather climb—for three days to make contact with their villages. Today these people are coming to realise there are more dividends in coffee-growing than lopping off heads.

The first stage of this road climbs 3,000 feet in a couple of miles—an average gradient of one in four—rising to a Government rest house poised on a peak 6,000 feet above the little settlement of Mumeng. Villages had to clear jungle with steel axes, cut through solid hillside with picks and shovels, then surface tricky patches with stones and boulders.

It was a hair-raising experience to drive up there, zigzagging from spur to spur, taking sharp turns that could only be made by backing on special earthen benches, relying always upon a good handbrake, and a strong head for heights.

Already the enthusiasm of Mumeng patrol officers has brought its reward. In a narrow, fertile valley beyond the rest-house villagers have planted 44 two-and-a-half acre plots with Arabica coffee which, in a few years, should bring them sufficient money for the amenities they desperately need—infant and maternal welfare, a first aid post, schooling and more nutritious food.

Perhaps 100 acres under coffee trees may

sound a small-time project in terms of time and labour entailed in building such a road. But multiply that by scores of similar projects throughout New Guinea, and a whole pattern of new enterprise begins to emerge.

The early pioneering phase of New Guinea development has been superseded. Roads have brought consolidation. Year by year the figures for productive industries and exports continue to rise; new items appear on the commercial index—coffee, cocoa, rice . . .

The thrum of aircraft high over cloud-hung peaks is no longer the only sound of human progress. Along new coastal roads, in

the mountain hinterland and highland areas, new machines are on the move; diesel transports, motor trucks, jeeps and cars.

"Balus he come!" has long been a familiar cry on a hundred air-strips cut out of jungle valleys or mountainsides, exciting a dark-skinned populace as yet another silver-winged transport appears above some cloud-heavy range. Now the balus-without-wings is making its appearance, too.

Its ever-turning wheels symbolise the rapid progress of a people emerging from their stone age past.

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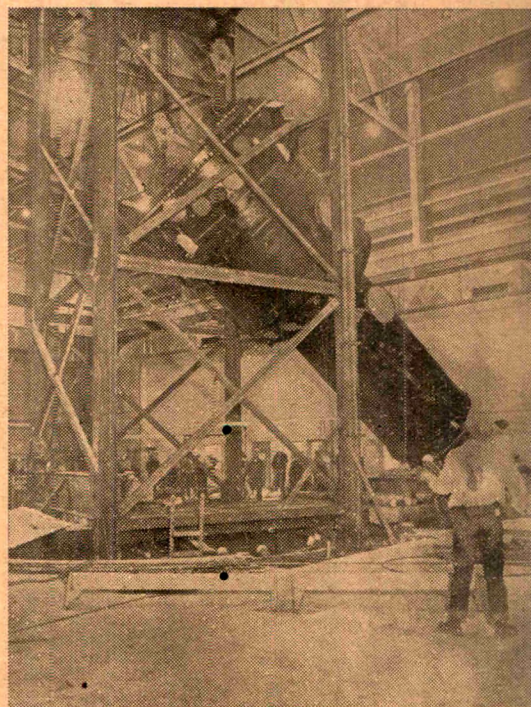
NEW U.S. REACTOR TO ADVANCE ATOMIC POWER DEVELOPMENT

THE most powerful instrument ever built to aid development of atomic power—the Engineering Test Reactor—recently was put in operation at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho Falls, Idaho. On October 2-3, 1957, the reactor was viewed in action by 300 representatives of private industry and members of the press and the United States Congress. In a day-long symposium, this group discussed details of the new instrument, built and operated by private industry for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

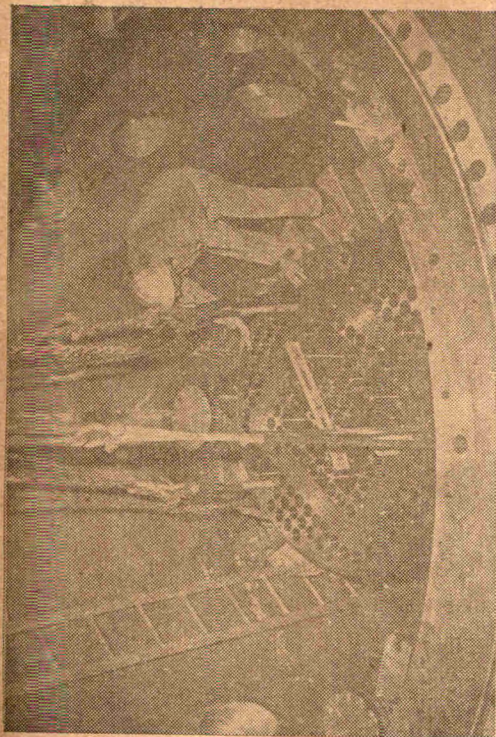
The Engineering Test Reactor (ETR), the newest member of a large family of reactors at the Idaho Testing Station, is considered a major development in the "atoms for peace" program. Its purpose is to determine, in advance of use, the ability of reactor parts to withstand neutron and gamma ray bombardment under conditions that will be imposed by nuclear power plants of the future. The tests performed in this reactor are expected to advance the development of more efficient atomic plants for economic production of electricity and for propulsion of ships and aircraft. The advantage of the ETR is that for the first time it provides space large enough to test whole fuel elements, fuel assemblies and large engineered reactor parts. These tests, which will evaluate both reactor materials and designs, are expected to aid in atomic power production by all nations.

The ETR and its accompanying research facilities occupy an eight-acre site on a 5,000-

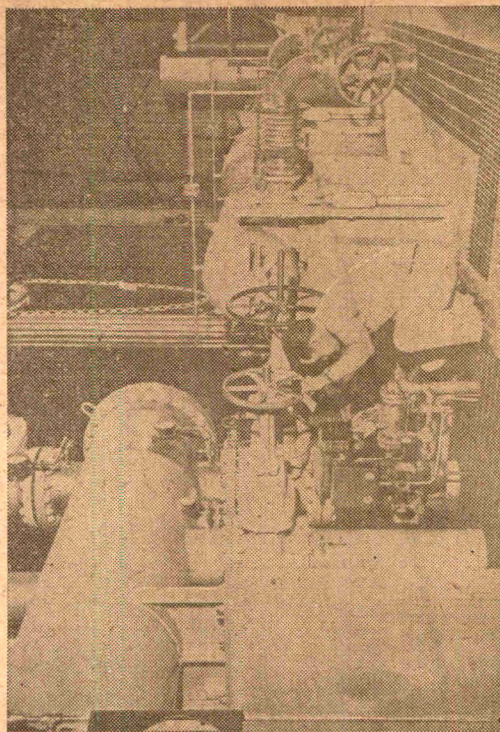
foot plateau within the National Reactor Testing Station. The three-storey reactor building, constructed of steel, aluminum and concrete, is a gas-tight structure with five-foot walls and floors designed to prevent the escape of any fission products. The structure extends 38 feet below ground and 65 feet above ground.



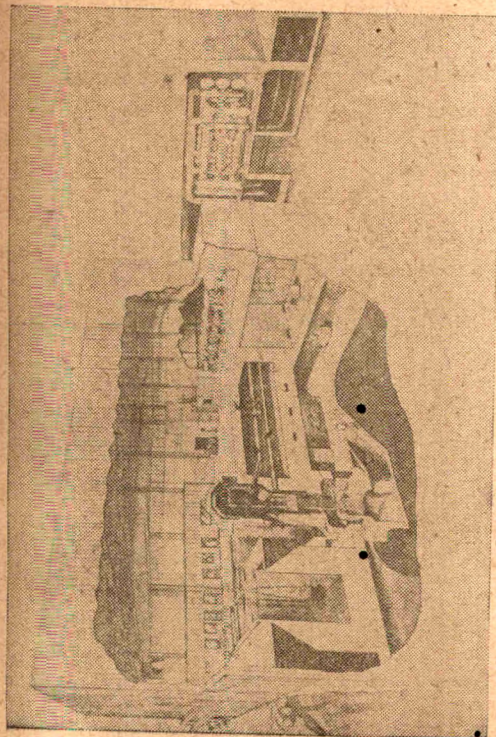
During construction of the Engineering Test Reactor the reactor vessel—"heart" of the new device—is raised to near vertical position for lowering into its receptacle .



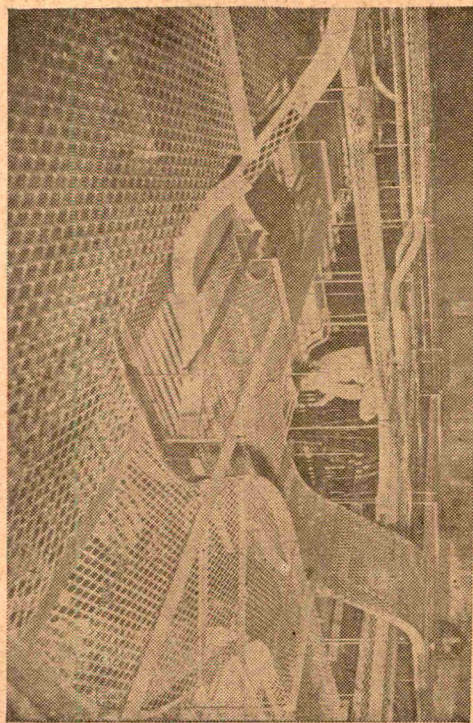
Workmen lower the grid plate into the 35-foot-deep pressure vessel of the Engineering Test Reactor



The valve control room of the Engineering Test Reactor controls the supply of pressurised water flowing to a building containing a 4,000-horse-power compressor, a water-heat-exchanger and air conditioners

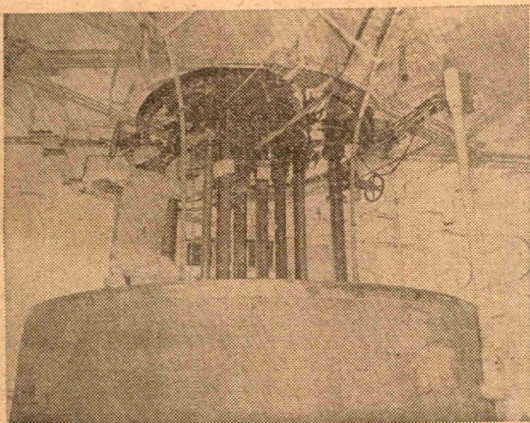


An Engineering Test Reactor—the most powerful instrument ever built to speed the development of atomic power—was recently put in operation at the National Testing Station in Idaho Falls, Idaho



In a cable vault room, above interwoven grills, are thousands of feet of electric cable leading to various parts of the building that houses the Engineering Test Reactor

The largest single piece of equipment in the ETR is the 175-ton reactor pressure vessel, a 35-foot-deep stainless steel cylinder averaging 10 feet in diameter, which extends through all levels at the center of the building. Within this vessel is the "heart" of the ETR, a lightwater-cooled reactor core fuelled with 49 enriched uranium fuel elements. The fissioning of this enriched uranium provides two million billion neutrons per square centimeter per second and heat four times greater than in any other test reactor.

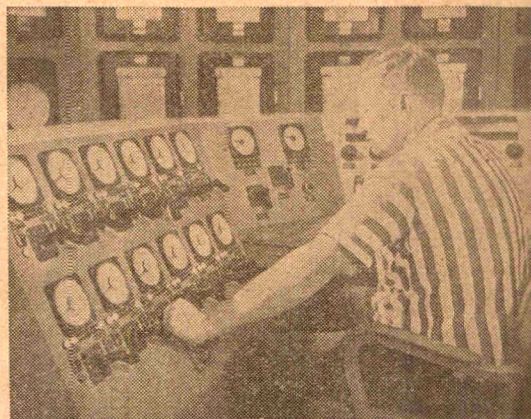


Beneath the Engineering Test Reactor, where a mechanic adjusts a valve, are the bottom ends of the control rods that penetrate the reactor core

The main floor of the building is used for servicing the ETR reactor, such as refuelling every 20 days. One storey down is the console floor, which contains reactor control equipment and instruments used in experiments. Beneath the console floor, the bottom level is divided into shielded cubicles containing equipment for research with radioactive materials. On the left of the lower level is a T-shaped water canal, used to store radioactive material removed from the reactor vessel.

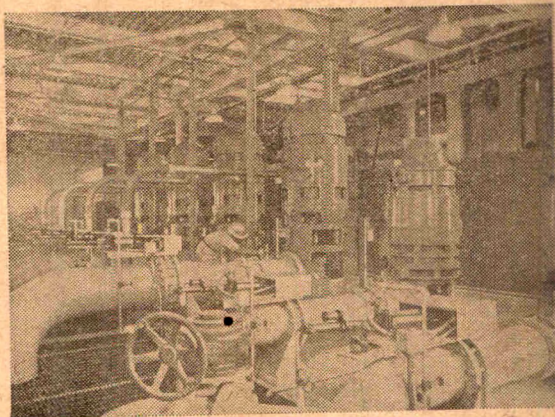
The ETR, located near the pioneer Materials Testing Reactor (MTR), is the only atomic test device in existence with significant space within its core for large-scale experiments. Unlike the MTR, which can accommodate only small samples, the ETR has nine holes ranging in size from $3 \times 3 \times 3$ inches to $9 \times 9 \times 36$ inches and 131 additional experimental holes, eight of which are $3 \times 3 \times 36$ inches or larger, immediately adjacent to the reactor core. Added to the advantage of spaces for large-scale testing, the

ETR provides areas of extremely intense sources of neutrons and gamma radiation where materials can be tested in environments equal in severity to, and if necessary more than, those expected in the reactor for which the material is intended.



The control room is the "brain" of the Engineering Test Reactor

Construction of atomic reactors for production of power still is in its infancy. In the United States emphasis is on the development of new types of reactors and improvement of exist-



In a building adjoining the Engineering Test Reactor are the large pumps which circulate 44,000 gallons of water per minute to cool the core of the test instrument

ing types rather than on building several identical reactors. There has been limited duplication of types in the 267 reactors already built, being built or planned for construction in the United States for installation at home or in

other nations. Many different reactor concepts are being explored to determine eventually the most efficient kilowatt-producer. The ETR will serve importantly in this development task.

Since a power reactor is a tremendously costly machine, testing of its parts before construction of the reactor is a time-and-cost-saving operation. The ETR is expected to play a vital role in assuring the efficiency, economy and safety of 30-power reactors planned for

construction in the United States. Among those on which specifications are completed are six major types of reactors and 18 different variations or subtypes. Each will have some distinctive design feature considered to be worth development. The ETR will aid in establishing the value of each design feature, thus speeding progress by government and industry toward the development of atomic power-producers that will benefit all nations.—USIS

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IS WORLD-PHILOSOPHY POSSIBLE?

By BENOY GOPAL RAY, M.A.,

Reader in Philosophy, Viswabharati University

SINCE the very dawn of human civilization certain problems have arisen in the minds of men and attempts have been made to answer them. Broadly speaking, Philosophy has been a record of such problems and attempts at answers. But in a restricted sense, philosophy has been a record of some specific problems and their proposed solutions. Such questions as—What am I?, What is my destiny?, Can I know Reality?, Is there a Supreme Power? and the like—belong to philosophy taken in the second sense. The problems are not many in number and at one time or other they have arisen in human minds. Hence, such problems are universal but the proposed solutions have varied from age to age, people to people. No final solutions have been arrived at. Had it been so, philosophy would come to a final stop. Sometimes instead of attempting answers, men have only tried to clarify the problems. These attempts either at clarification or solution have been diverse. There have been numerous standpoints in philosophy. In some cases they are contradictory to one another while in others they are complementary.

Has a nation any definite and particular standpoint? Should we answer the question in the negative, such term as Chinese philosophy or Greek philosophy or Indian philosophy becomes meaningless. What exactly do we mean by the term—Chinese philosophy? The only rea-

sonable meaning is—philosophy formulated by thinkers belonging to the Chinese nation. Generally a thinker philosophises in the context of a total environment. Total environment admits of two factors: philosophical heritage and geographical-social milieu. Of the two the first one is more important for our discussion than the second as its influence on philosophising is direct and vital.

What is philosophical heritage? Generally speaking, by it we shall mean the influence that predecessors and contemporaries exert on a thinker when he philosophises. Philosophising proceeds through a matrix which is nothing but this heritage. Aristotle's philosophical heritage can be traced to Plato and Socrates; Sankara's to Gaudapada and Buddhists; Hume's to Locke and Berkeley, and Hegel's to Kant. Philosophical heritage is natural to a particular nation. It grows from within the nation. It is never an artificial convention imposed on a nation from outside. Each nation has its own philosophical heritage to offer. This is why we say that the English are empiricists, the French are deductive, the Indians are other-worldly-minded and the Chinese are ethicists.

If it be admitted that philosophical heritage is national in character, we are confronted with a few questions of considerable importance. First: Are there not alternative answers to a problem in the philosophy of a particular

nation? The Upanishads are like shot silk that admits of many colours. Idealism, realism, monism, pluralism, subjectivism and objectivism have all entered into the vast storehouse of the Upanishads. Nobody denies that there are alternative answers or solutions. But if one studies them closely, he will be surprised to find that the main character of Indian philosophical heritage runs through all of them. Amongst British thinkers, a Bradley, a Moore or a Ayer may differ from one another but all of them have argued in the matrix of empiricism.

Second: Can there be philosophising in the context of a foreign matrix? Such philosophising even if possible will not be natural to the individual who philosophises. It will form no part of his total being. As such it is bound to be artificial and short-lived. Philosophising that does not start from the inner depths of an individual is a false endeavour. It may shed some temporary brilliance but soon it dies out leaving no trace behind.

Third: If one has to philosophise in the context of his heritage, can there be any real progress of thought? Our answer to this query is—Yes, it is possible. Progress of thought need not imply moving away from the moorings. A child resembles one or other of his ancestors but also differs from him. Every new generation goes beyond the old one and progress lies in it. But going beyond need not mean the rejection of the old. Progress consists in gathering up the past in the present and probing into the future. Rejection of philosophical heritage might lead one not to any progress of thought, but to its anarchy or confusion.

If the above meaning of philosophical heritage with all its implications be accepted, all talks of building a world-philosophy become gibberish. Some might argue. A world-philosophy may be woven by taking the essence of each philosophy. In other words they believe in constructing a mosaic-philosophy of distinct essences. Such an attempt is likely to lead one to eclecticism which is anything but philosophy. To use an analogy, it will be something like a bouquet where distinct flowers have been col-

lected together. A bouquet has got no connexion whatsoever with the soil and so it dries out soon. Similar is the fate of an eclectic philosophy. Again a mosaic-philosophy defeats its own aim. Each essence of a philosophy is due to a particular standpoint and it claims to give us a full view of reality. When distinct essences are brought together in a pattern; they may sometimes contradict one another. It is perhaps possible to build up a mosaic-philosophy of contraries but never of contradictories.

Others might argue: A world-philosophy is possible on axiological grounds. That what is true or good or just in one philosophy is also true or good or just in another. By a synthesis of particular values of particular philosophies, a world-philosophy may be formed. An attempt like this is not free from objections. If values were purely objective in character a world philosophy might be a possibility. But some would say that they are subjective-objective. Again values may undergo perpetual modification with reference to changing social conditions. Data of sciences are, generally speaking, objective but those of philosophy are both subjective and objective. This is why we speak of Chinese philosophy or Indian philosophy but we never speak of Chinese science or Indian science. Again, we use such terms as Greek art or Chinese art because art is both objective and subjective.

Still there are others who might argue: A world-philosophy can be built up on the common denominators of different philosophies. But the art of selecting common denominators might do gravest injustice to a particular philosophy. Some of its basic assumptions may be left out. To negate these assumptions is almost tantamount to negating the philosophy itself since all its contents develop round them. Common denominators when selected will be only a few innocuous forms. The richness of a particular philosophy lies more in its contents than in its form. Contents of diverse philosophies are likely to cancel one another and in such a case we will be left only with some empty forms which can hardly justify a philosophy. Again these bare forms will fail to serve the purpose of solutions. As solutions they will be little removed from the problems themselves.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LORD MAHAVIRA (His Life and Teachings): By Puranchand Samsookha. Second Edition. Calcutta, 1957. Published by the Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2.

This is a popular account claiming to present a handy compendium of Jainism for the benefit of the lay reader (Preface, p. 9). The weakest part of the book is its historical portion (Chs. II-VI) where the author repeats uncritically some of the canonical legends and miracles of Mahavira's career together with the list of his immediate disciples and his twenty-three Tirthankara predecessors. To this we may add his fixing of a precise date (599 B.C.) for Mahavira's birth (p. 9) as well as his frequent references to the Licchhavi and Malla "democracies" not to speak of his allusion once (p. 3) to "democratic kingdoms" (*sic*). On the other hand, the author offers a good exposition of the elements of Jaina metaphysics, philosophy and ethics (Ch. IX). Equally welcome is his selection (although all too brief) of extracts from the canon purporting to have been spoken by Mahavira and of parables from the same source (Chs. VII and X). The author writes in an attractive style and the paper and print are good. A word of praise is due for the artistic design of the book-cover which is a facsimile of an old Jaina manuscript.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE TEACHINGS OF THE BUDDHA: By K. L. Bhargava, M. A. A. Mukherjee and Co., Private Limited, 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.

The slender volume under review is a welcome addition to the large volume of popular literature on Buddhism published on the occasion of the 2500th death-anniversary of Lord

Buddha, whom Rhys Davids describes as "the wisest and greatest of the Hindus."

The author describes in simple English the fundamentals of Buddhism and its role as a civilising force in ancient times. After the rise and growth of Buddhism, the author points out, "India became the spiritual mentor of the whole of Eastern Asia."

We are not a little surprised to read in the opening page that "... Gautama decided to ... forsake his wife and children ...". Was not Rahula the only child of the Blessed One? The author would have us believe that caste rules are observed by the Indian Buddhists (p. 2). Are they? Who are the 'Mongs' and the 'Khemra' (p. 15)? Are they the 'Mons' and the 'Khmer', respectively? Many will disagree with the author in his assertion that the Afghans and the Turks were "also influenced by India" (p. 14) through Buddhism.

Mr. Ehargava gives in the last pages of his brochure an excellent outline of the history of Buddhism in China and shows how the Chinese have adapted Buddhism to their natural genius.

Mr. Ehargava's attempt is laudable; his brochure is worth a perusal, a few mistakes here and there notwithstanding.

WHAT DOES THE WEST WANT?: By George Catlin. Phoenix House, Ltd., London. Price 10sh. 6d. net.

Prof. George Catlin, one of the foremost thinkers of our age, describes in the volume under review what he considers to be the political aims and aspirations of the Free World. He gives his own views on the opposing forces of Communism and Capitalism and is not afraid of calling a spade a spade. He is, on the whole, fair and impartial in his analysis and assessment. The outcome of the ideological conflict which has divided the world into two hostile blocs depends more on ideas than on anything

else. Men and ideas are the most important factors in this cold war. Communism, which has an almost irresistible appeal to the lowly and down-trodden all over the world, scores here over its rival. The West, which represents Capitalism, is inert, unorganised and does not seem to know what it wants. Little wonder it is fighting a losing action in what Prof. Catlin calls "the struggle for the minds of men." His advice to the West is to set its own house in order. The West must take courage in both hands and bid adieu to imperialism, colonialism, racialism and the whole gamut of them.

What the West needs, the learned author concludes, "is not a new imposed public philosophy, but a public drama to capture men's whole souls better than Hegelian Marxism has done. Its theme must be to proclaim the dignity of man and its problem to manifest in what that dignity consists. It is not necessary that vast masses should be converted or convinced." (p. 144).

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

MY LIFE AT THE BAR: *By G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of Lok Sabha. Hindusthan Times, New Delhi. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 5.*

The late Mr. Mavalankar was at the Bar from 1913 to 1937, when he became the Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Later he became the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. The whole book is a short thesis on lawyers' duties towards society. We cannot do better than give his views in his own words.

"I have looked upon the lawyer's profession as one of the noblest with untold potentialities for bringing about the greatest good to mankind in general. All the same, I could not ignore the facts of my actual experience at the Bar which clearly shows that the profession has practically lost its idealism and is generally practised with the sole motive of making more money for oneself. Social service as an ideal has hardly any place in the picture. Profit for the lawyer and victory for the client, irrespective of ends and means. There are singular individual exceptions as every cloud has a silver lining.

"To me at least it was a source of continuing pain and disappointment to see the moral failure of the lawyer from whom I expected, and still do, a role of the highest significance in the progress and maintenance of society. I, therefore, thought it advisable to draw the attention of all concerned, and of the young lawyer in particular, to the incalculable harm the latter

does, not only to himself but to society in general, by keeping before himself the limited ideal of earning for selfish gain and acting on the doctrine of the end justifying the means."

His views of a lawyer's duties are onesided; perhaps, his experience was unfortunate. The question of legal ethics has been hotly discussed ever since Courvoisier confessed to Lord Broughman, the defence lawyer, that he has committed the murder. It is not what the lawyer thinks about the guilt or otherwise of his client, but what the Judge thinks of the matter that matters. His duty is to examine the evidence by cross-examination and to put the case of his client in the best light. A lawyer works under certain limitations. We know Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to be a kind-hearted man, yet he while at the Bar, argued before the Allahabad High Court that a pauper widow who claimed some Rs. 50 per month as maintenance and a share in the family property but got a decree for Rs. 7 or 8 per month should pay the entire amount of Court-fees amounting to several hundred rupees, which would wipe out his maintenance for several years. The case is reported in I.L.R. 38 Allahabad. He had to put his views on what the law is and not what it should be. What the Judges decide is the law.

The book is a thought-provoking one, and should be read by all who have the welfare of our country at heart. The printing and get-up is good.

J. M. DATTA

STUDY ABROAD (Unesco publication): *To be had of Orient Longmans Private Limited, 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Pp. 719. Price 10sh. 6d.*

This is the Eighth Edition (1956-57) of the International Handbook of Fellowships, Scholarships and Educational Exchange published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in Paris given in three languages—English, French and Spanish. This publication towards the end of 1956 coincides with Unesco's tenth anniversary. In 1948, the first edition was published giving information on 15,000 individual opportunities for obtaining international fellowships and scholarships. The present edition, covering fellowships and scholarships available, in most cases, during 1957, lists over 74,000 such opportunities, offered by governments, universities, foundations and other types of organisation in more than one hundred States and territories.

The subjects of study cover almost every field of learning; the awards permit travel and study in almost every country in the world. Donations from the Republic of China, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the Republic of Korea, Morocco, Panama, Poland and also information on Fellowship programmes of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in so far as they relate to non-self-governing and trust territories are given in this volume not shown in the previous edition.

Chapters on "Facilities for Study Abroad: Organisation offering Advisory Services and Practical Help," which give information on the services, other than direct financial aid, offered by 140 organisations in 45 countries, add new features and usefulness to this publication. Chapter on "Teaching Appointments Abroad" should be of special interest to members of the teaching profession who wish to improve their knowledge of other countries. The annual survey of foreign student enrolments at universities and other institutions of higher learning relates to the year 1954-55, and shows an estimated total of 126,000 students in countries other than their own. Information was collected from 56 States and non-self-governing territories.

It is in the fitness of things that *Unesco* which was established, as laid down in its constitution, among the purposes and functions "to maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge . . . by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture," has published this well-informative volume for the benefit of those interested in international co-operation. The contents of the book are given in three languages—English, French and Spanish. Such a useful book deserves to be kept in all libraries—educational, cultural and public—as a book of reference for the benefit of all concerned.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

DHVANYALOKA OR THEORY OF SUGGESTION IN POETRY. *Translated into English with Notes. By Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Kanara College, Kurata (Karnatak University), Poona Oriental Series—92. Oriental Book Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona-2. Price Rs. 12-8.*

The *Dhvanyaloka* of Anandavardhana of

Kashmir is a work of great distinction in the long history of Sanskrit Poetics. It propounded a revolutionary theory regarding the basic principle of poetry. As such it had more retractors and adverse critics than admirers and supporters. It was conspicuous by its absence in the general curriculum of studies even in days not long past. It has however earned well-deserved appreciation at the hands of the modern scholar. Ever since its discovery in manuscript form in the seventies of the last century it has succeeded in attracting the attention of generations of scholars who have engaged themselves in the study of different aspects of the work. The results of these studies have appeared in different languages of India and Europe. Curiously enough no complete translation of the work was so long available in English and this desideratum is removed by the work under review. The learned translator has made a special study of the work and has brought out a Kanarese rendering of it, a monograph in Kanarese on Anandavardhana's poetics as well as quite a good number of papers in English dealing with different aspects of the work. Now he comes out with a complete English translation of this important work together with its gloss both of which are supposed to have been written by the same author. It is true mere translations of compressed abstruse texts like the one dealt with here do not go a great way in making them comprehensible to the general reader. And hence we find another scholar Prof. Bishnupada Bhattacharya engaged in bringing out an elaborate English exposition of the text of which two parts containing the first two sections have been published (Calcutta, 1956-57). But it must have to be admitted that translations have their own value and use. They are of special help to the inquisitive reader ignorant of Sanskrit. It is quite reasonable and just keeping the latter in view Sanskrit terms have always been translated and not retained in their original forms as is generally done in works of this type.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

ARTHA-VYAPAR SHABDAVALI; *By Manindrakumar Majumdar, M.A., Professor, City College (Commerce Department), Calcutta. Bookland Private Limited, 1, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.50.*

Prof. Majumdar's *Artha-Vyapar Shabda-*

vali is in the nature of a pioneer work, as it is a much-needed manual of Hindi Commercial terms with their English equivalents. There is a great pleading in favour of Hindi these days, but except for some publications by the Government of India, we find very few concrete instances of constructive effort to establish the language on a practical basis. From that point of view Prof. Majumdar's work has a value all its own. Apart from this, the writer impresses one as having done his work thoroughly and sincerely. Like all pioneers he has to do a lot of spade-work; but this, we are happy to note, he has done very neatly and skilfully and most of his coinages are very appropriate and deserve permanence. The book should find favour not only with students of Commerce but with the commercial world in general.

N. K. Roy

KRAUNCHVADH: By V. C. Khandekar. Obtainable from Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 312. Price Rs. 6.

This is the second edition of the Hindi translation by Shri V. V. Bhavé of the great novelist's original in Marathi. It is a composite picture of the middle-class in Maharashtra,

with the overtone that socialism, which satisfies in a wholesome manner the twin human hunger for food and felicity, alone is the key to the Reconstruction of Mankind.

G.M.

GUJARATI

SAHITYA ANE CHINTAN: By Ramanlal V. Desai, Baroda. Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda. Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Printing Press, Baroda. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 2.

Ramanlal V. Desai, though he has passed the whole of his active life in the service of the Baroda State, has not allowed his favourite object in life, devotion to literature, to take a second place. This collection of his writings, scattered in various magazines, in one central place is a happy idea. It consists of about 22 contributions on subjects like Literature and Islam, the mode in which he creates the personnel of his famous novels, *The Waghers* and *the Miana Tribes*, *The Gita* and *the Vallabh Creed as They Affect One's Life*, and various other subjects. His range is very wide and the treatment of each topic thorough. His work will live.

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Indian Periodicals

Translation : Free or Faithful ?

Prof. K. Viswanatham writes in the *Triveni*:

There is a movement in the country to have translations of foreign classics made into the regional languages. In the famous Inaugural, Arnold pointed out that we should compare or perish. To know how we stand, we have to note how others stand.

There is a widespread belief that translation means free translation and free translation means applying the scissors, according to one's own *rasikatva* (taste), to the original, excising, adding, changing in many ways. The original is adjusted to the translation on which of course the translator is a redoubtable Achilles. The expression 'the art of translation' is used by the champions of free translation as a critical talisman, a lethal weapon to destroy an opponent. This is a dangerous license. Translation is translation, nothing more, nothing less. Free translation is a contradiction in terms; a free translation is no translation; the adjective 'free' is an awareness of it. My submission is that it may be better than the original. Only one should not call it a translation. A translator's first and last duty is doglike devotion to the original. The champions of free translation argue casuistically that their faithfulness is to the spirit and not to the letter. This is a false dichotomy. In translations the spirit killeth and the letter liveth. If one is not faithful to the original in letter, one is never faithful to the spirit. And who is to decide the spirit of the original? The free translator himself, of course, who is Sir Oracle. Let students of literature note that in poetry it is wrong to draw a line between the thing said and the way of saying things. This is an old error which dies hard.

Translation, though not so respected as original composition, is more difficult than the original. The original is the privileged, chartered libertine of imagination: the translation is bound hand and foot—of course a self-imposed 'imprisoned absence of liberty' in Shakespeare's compressed phrase. Translation is not our problem alone; it is everybody's problem and everywhere a problem. In the Loeb Classical Library we have scholarly translations of Greek and Roman classics. Under the

editorship of E. V. Rieu we have translations of the classics in the Penguin Series. Arnold's lectures on translating Homer is a classic discussion. Shakespeare's plays are translated into various European languages. The great Russian novels are 'Englished.' Burton, Tawney, Waley, Ruckert are unperishing translators of *The Thousand and One Nights*, the *Kathasaritsagara*, of Chinese classics and *Gita Govinda*. *The Sacred Books of the East* is a monumental tribute to Max Muller and others. Out of this casual list one can extract a number of problems:

- i. Should a translation be free or faithful?
 - ii. Should it be in verse or prose?
 - iii. How does the translation of a novel differ from that of a poem?
 - iv. How does the translation of, say, *The Prince*, a political classic, differ from that of *Kreutzer Sonata* (short stories)?
 - v. Is translation into a related language easier than one into an unrelated language?
 - vi. Is translation a successful method after all? or
- Can two languages exchange ideas?
How are we to reconcile conflicting 'sampradayas' (traditions)?

I shall discuss these views in the reverse order, and go last to the first problem—the crux of the whole discussion.

Great linguists, philosophers, poets and critics like Sapir, Croce, Shelley and Richards say that all translation is vanity. In the nature of things it is like making a rope of sand. Shelley writes: "Hence the vanity of translation. It were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from the seed or it will bear no flower—this is the burthen of the curse of Babel." Croce is equally firmly convinced of the futility of translation. Richards writes on p. 23 of his *Meaning of Meaning*: "On the other hand the more the emotive functions are involved the less easy will be the task of blending several of these in the vocabularies. And further, the greater the use made in the original of the direct effects of words through rhythm,

vowel quantity, etc., the more difficult will it be to secure similar effects in the same way in a different medium." One cannot easily recall to mind a translation worthy of the original.

Translation from one language into another which belongs to the same family, we think, is easy. Translation from Sanskrit into Telugu should not be as difficult as translation from English into Telugu. Roughly, Sanskrit and Telugu have the same vocabulary and frame of reference and association. English and Telugu have not. For instance, we despair of an equivalent for 'godson.' We have no godson in the Telugu world-picture and hence no word picture of it.

But what is synonymity? Like Pontius Pilate's greater question, this waits for no answer because there is none.

Richards points out that translation in a related family of languages is also futile: "How can one compare a sentence in English poetry with one (however like it) in English prose? Or indeed any two sentences or the same sentence in two different settings?" (*Speculative Instruments*, p. 20). It is evident that Basham has not thought as acutely as Richards about the behaviour of words. Basham's paragraph is an excellent epitome of the confused views on translation: the futility of translation, the non-approval of literal rendering, the small respect to the original, the self-stultification of the translator, etc.

It is easier to translate *The Prince* or *Dharma Sastra* or *Principia Mathematica* than *Oedipus Tyrannus* or *Mrichchakatika* or Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*, for example. Hence Sapir suggests two levels in a work of art: the linguistic and the non-linguistic. At the linguistic level translation is as futile as to translate Sanskrit *dharma* or English 'home.' "The murmuring of innumerable bees," is an untranslatable use of language. Collins's

If aught of oaten stop or pastoral song
defies the translator's art as much as Kalidasa's
*Toyotsarga-drutatara-gatis tatparam vart-
ma tirnah*

with their fine alliteration on it. A language sufficiently mathematized never suffers loss.

Short stories and novels do not suffer any loss, like scientific or didactic or philosophical works which are purely factual or informative. Bethel has drawn a persuasive distinction between novel and poetry, that the former is ideational and the latter verbal. Hence in translation the novel does not abort whereas poetry suffers a sea-change into something poor and petty. Of course there are novels and novels. A novel of Dumas can put on any linguistic shirt but a

novel of Virginia Woolf is more or less like a lyric and hence fails to convince us in a translation.

Even among poems the *Gita* is only 'less than archangel ruined' even in a mediocre translation; the majesty of thought buoys it up above the salt sea waves. But the poems of verbal wizardry appear like magicians who fail to bring off the trick, in another dress. Poetry is a Solomon's carpet of irreplaceable words; synonyms do not create a poem. As a matter of fact there are no synonyms at all in language. Poetry is like idiom in language; it can breathe, be alive and kicking in that atmosphere only. Otherwise it is sad like Ruth amidst alien corn. Who can translate 'Tell it to the Horse Marines'? Only a man of Gotham.

If all translation is vanity, a distorting mirror, how are we to get a knowledge of other cultures and literatures? Of course by mastering the language of the originals. If that is not possible, hear what Arnold says: "To understand the grand style of the Greeks, read Milton." On the face of it, it is just like saying that to get a taste of the Indian curry one has to help himself to English pudding. Can we get an idea of Kalidasa by studying Virgil, if we do not know Sanskrit? There is keen insight in

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that profound remark of Arnold; it is implied that all translation is futile. A supreme creative work in one language is the genuine translation of another supreme creative work in another, when both are founded on the same canons. A *Gandhiji* is a genuine translation of a Christ, though one was a Hindu and the other the founder of Christianity. The grand style of Aeschylus is in the English Milton, not in some translation of Aeschylus into English.

But if no way is open to a reader—the way of mastering the language of the original nor the ability to recognise a spiritual rebirth or reincarnation of that soul—translation is inevitable. Rationing is better than starvation. If translation is an inescapable infirmity, shall it be in verse or prose? The original may be in verse or prose; that is immaterial to a translator. Of course writers feel that verse in the original should be recast in verse only in a translation, and prose in the original should not be versified. Today nobody in his senses will say that poetry is the opposite of prose; verse is the opposite of prose, and poetry is both. Hardy's novels are tragedies. In the words of Virginia Woolf, the death of a hay-trusser in a lonely hut on the Egdon Heath is as tragic as the death of Ajax, the king of Salamis; Mother Cusson's elegy takes its place beside *Lycidas* and Synge's dramas are poetic dramas though written in prose. This point needs no labouring. Sober critical opinion has to incline to a prose translation, because it is less harmful to the original than verse translation. Versifiers may lament that the splendour of poetry is diluted into greyish neutral tints. But a prose translation may approximate closer to the original.

A verse translation of Goethe or Shakespeare is out of court, says Arnold. He would rather read Shakespeare in the French prose translation than in Tieck's and Schlegel's verse translation. A verse translation leads to inevitable padding; metre necessitates.

Keats found deep-browed Homer in Chapman but Chapman is full of un-Homeric rhetoric, it is said. There are numerous translations of *Meghasandesam* into Telugu. Has any one the stamp and superscription of the original? Is not Homer the despair of translators? A prose translation is like the skin; verse translation is like a singing robe; it may become a muffling and smothering cloak too. If metre is insisted upon, who can discover the metrical equivalent of *mandakraenta* in English or of the Greek hexameter in Telugu? Verse translation may capture something, but what is gained in the swings is lost on the rounds. Perhaps a prose translation is a safe business. Where there is

no hope raised, there is no disappointment felt.

In the light of the foregoing, the question of free translation does not arise. Free translation is a contradiction in terms. Either we are faithful to the original or we are not translating. A free translation is as good as a new creation. Free translators arrogate to themselves the snail-horn perception of a poet's beauty; they are the sole judges of omission and commission; they apply the scissors or bring in the glue pot as their *sahridayatva* dictates. Let translation be translation. The free translators say: "Translation is an art; it is not word for word synonym-hunting affair." Nobody says that translation is not an art; it is truly a rebirth of the original, in a way, more arduous of achievement than the original itself. By calling it an art we should not forget our duty and push the original this side and that; that is being discourteous to the original.

What are our expectations from a translation?

The reader who does not know the language of the original should get a complete view of the poet's world picture, barring of course the wizardry of language which is incommunicable.

The free translators laugh at the faithful ones with an anecdote: "A copyist was asked to copy a file; on a page he found the dead body of a fly; faithful to the task he caught a fly, killed it and glued it to the page." This is better than tearing off the page on the ground that it affects our aesthetic sense.

No translation should ever tamper with the metaphor, the imagery, the ideas of the original. The only thing that is bound to be changed and has to be changed is the syntax. English can absorb 'avatar' but cannot incorporate Telugu accidentance and syntax. Sometimes we find that if the translation sticks to the *sampradaya* of a language, the idea in the original is distorted. Loyalty to the original goes clean against *sampradaya*. A crucial instance is the sentence 'My wits begin to shake.' In English, the plural 'wits' is used; there are five wits as we have five *indriyas* or senses, and forcefully suggests the total breakdown of Lear. Suppose in Telugu, we use the singular 'buddhi,' as we ought to, we have falsified Shakespeare's world of ideas. The singular in the translation cannot make the reader understand that 'wits' were five in number. Suppose we used the singular of 'indriyas'; how absurd it is! If Oak is in English, we should not translate it by a word meaning 'Benyan' on the ground that we do not have oaks and oaks go against our *Sampradaya*. One who distorts the original sins against the light, commits a dark crime. To misrepresent

a poem is to kill it. As Milton pointed out, to kill a person is to kill one, but to kill a book is to kill the human mind itself. Barring the aforesaid hurdles let us be scrupulously faithful. One language's meat is another's poison. In the same language 'potion' in one context is 'poison' in another.

Any translation is read by two 'reading publics'—one which knows the language of the original, another which does not. And it has to be stated (against the commonly and widely held view) that the first public alone has the right to judge the translation. Arnold has put the matter definitively (*On Translating Homer*, Lecture I, p. 247):

"Let not the translator then trust to his notions of what the ancient Greeks would have thought of him. He will lose himself in the vague. Let him not trust to what the ordinary English reader thinks of him; he will be taking the blind for his guide. Let him not trust to his own judgment of his own work; he may be misled by his individual caprices. Let him ask

how his work affects those who both know Greek and can appreciate poetry." That is why Arnold pronounces that even Keats had no competence to judge Chapman because he was ignorant of Greek. In the light of Arnold's judgment a translation from English into Telugu can be competently judged by one who knows English and can appreciate poetry, not by one who knows Telugu alone though it is meant for him.

The Bible is a masterpiece of translation and an exception to the general verdict. A free translation is an adaptation tantamount to a new creation. Who has the courage to say: This is a translation of *Sakuntalam* or the *Illiad* which challenges the original? The free translation arrogates to itself the sole privilege of understanding the author; it is like the interpretation of Shakespeare. Each interpreter paints Shakespeare, in his own likeness. We get a Coleridgean Shakespeare, a Bradleyan Shakespeare, a Senecan Shakespeare. The free translator is like the wood-carver who carved the

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figure of a horse without the legs and said that it was his idea of the spirit of a horse. 'Base football player' in a play, if literally rendered, gives us an insight into the Elizabethan world of sports and language and Shakespeare's ideas too. The translator who takes liberties with the original is thinking more of his reaction to the original than of the original itself. *Tat tvam asi*—is not realized by him; the mist between him and the original has not defecated to a pure transparency. The Elizabethan translators, says Arnold, could not forbear so much of their own that they changed the character of the original.

Arnold shows that a free translation

distorts the original; a word for word school-boy translation is still-born. Translation should neither be literal nor free but faithful. Translation is fresh knowledge, not a new creation. If it is both, it is a divine event. Arnold's own attempts at certain passages in Homer may or may not be better than other translators' efforts. What is important is the right method. Failure on the right lines is perhaps more helpful than success on wrong lines and the competent critic who can decide success or failure is as rare as a competent translation. Success and Failure are the hasty coin of petty minds and do not belong to the world of human effort.

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Technology and its Social Consequences

[. Boel observes in *Social Action*:

A new society is coming into existence. It will be dangerous to deny this fact, or to try to evade it. It is not so difficult to 'spotlight the factors involved in the process of urbanisation as we are witnessing today in India. But on the other hand one should not blind oneself to latent possibilities and advantages of this new way of life for man. In order to evaluate critically the importance of these friendly changes, it is worth while posing the question: What are the factors at work in shaping this society?

TECHNOLOGY

The process of social change is generally ascribed to the interaction of four factors. Besides the physical environment like climate and soil, the biological element like the size of population and its growth, the balance of births and deaths, etc., there are two other factors at work affecting social transformations, and these are technology and culture. Technology is the science applied to the progressive control by man of the powers of nature, and includes the means and techniques that have been invented to achieve this end and the consequent regulation of human behaviour for the effective utilisation of these techniques. Culture, on the other hand, comprises the various forms in which man expresses his own nature, such as art, literature, religion, recreation, enjoyment, etc.

It is important to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that technology is only one of the factors which is shaping our future society. We often make the mistake of imagining that industry, the factory, the modern city, various kinds of modern inventions, necessarily produce the materialistic outlook on life, the use of their tendency to make life more comfortable and man more aware of his power and potentialities. The factory and the machine are often considered, more or less unconsciously, as enemies of morality and religion, rendering religious life more difficult, nay impossible. The age of the paraffin lamp and the quiet, peaceful village life is very often contrasted, with a certain nostalgia, as the 'good time,' in contrast with the diversity, the change, and restlessness of the modern city. Nobody will deny that wherever technology found its way into the life of man, other traditional values have been on the decline. Christy Dawson is right when he says that "a nation may prosper externally, and grow larger and louder and richer and more confident, while at the same time it is

decreasing in social vitality and losing its hold on its higher cultural traditions" (*Progress and Religion*, p. 9). But does this mean that the element of decay is inherent in technology as such, that this cultural decline is its necessary concomitant? Or can we say that this failure was made possible because the cultural values themselves, especially religion, have not been able to adapt themselves to face this new power and much more to provide it with a spiritual inspiration?

THE CASE OF FRANCE

France is an example of a European country where the age of industrialisation has been disastrous to its cultural and religious values. France, an essentially Christian country, where Catholicism held sway over 90 per cent of the population, rapidly lost its religious beliefs with the advent and progress of industrialisation. The dechristianising process spread rapidly among the French working classes, because of their exposure to the effects of the new civilisation while the Church looked on either blissfully unaware of the change, or helpless because She had not the wherewithal to provide the remedy immediately. But one may pose the very pertinent question: Was this loss of faith due to the fact that the factory system inherently suppressed all religious belief and the influence of the Church or made the practice of religion impossible?

Commenting on the famous words of Pope Pius XI: "In the 19th Century, the Church lost the working classes," a French author pointed out that "these words of the Pope should not be understood as if at a given moment the working class were dechristianized, but in the sense that the Church, during the period of industrialisation, was not alive and present to this new world

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which was being born and as a consequence she 'lost' it by allowing it to come into existence without her." (G. Pourchest: *Masses Ouvriers*, April 1157, p. 37). Do these words imply that the situation would have been different if the Church had been prepared for the change? If that is so, then they contain a serious warning to those countries whose industrial development is still in its initial stages to gird themselves for the change.

A NEW WORLD

We must realise that a new world is coming into existence, and new social force, the industrial working class is being born. We have already pointed out the transformation of Indian society is bound to undergo through the impact of industrialisation from the geographical as well as from the social upheavals. Let us bear in mind that the driving force behind these changes is technology. It will lead us towards a civilisation of towns, cities and factories, mass living and mass thinking. But does this imply that the Marxian axiom that economic factors and the economic changes in the means of production dominate and inspire our patterns of

behaviour, our ways of thinking, our culture and religion? In other words, does the advance of technology lead man towards a world of materialism, a world without God?

THE SHIP

It is always dangerous to prophesy especially historical matters, when one is not endowed with the gift of intuition. However on this problem, one can safely rely on the sane and learned opinion of a great sociologist like Melver, who strongly maintains that the technological factor in social change is *not* the final determinant. He compares technology to a ship, "which can set sail to various ports. The port we sail to remains a *cultural choice*. Without the ship we could not sail at all; according to the character of the ship we sail fast or slow, take longer or shorter voyages; our lives are also accommodated to the conditions on shipboard and our experiences vary accordingly. But the direction in which we travel is not predestinated by the design of the ship. The more efficient it is, the more ports lie within the range of our choosing" (Milver: *Society*, p. 581).

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Some 20th Century American Novelists

Philip Young writes in the *American Reporter*, October 23, 1957:

It is convenient that the story of the American novel in the 20th century opens precisely on time—with the publication in 1900 of a novel by Theodore Dreiser called *Sister Carrie*. We say that the story “opens” with this book because there were new attitudes in it, and a new view of American life, which have come to seem somewhat characteristic of this period.

It may be seen as a rebellion from a view of life or American life, that was held by a prominent American novelist of the 19th century: William Dean Howells. Howells claimed that the more smiling aspects of life are the more American. Indeed it was while Dreiser was reading the sort of thing that reflected Howells’ notion of existence in America that modern American fiction was—not born yet but conceived. Conceived we might say on that day in the mid-1890s when Dreiser sat down and began “examining the current magazines.” His dissatisfaction with what he found there was epochal:

“I was never more confounded than by the discrepancy existing between my own observations and those displayed here, the beauty and grace and charm to be found in everything, the most complete absence of any reference to the coarse and vulgar and the cruel and the terrible. Love was almost invariably rewarded . . . dreams came true. . . with such an air of assurance, omniscience and condescension that I was quite put out by my own lacks and defects. They . . . wrote of nobility of character and sacrifice and the greatness of ideals and joy in simple things . . . I had no such tales to tell, and however much I tried, I could not think of any.”

This was both the start of 20th century American fiction and the note it has most sounded.

There was a great deal of opposition to this *Sister Carrie*, and Dreiser had a hard time even getting it published. Many of the critics were hostile, too. The objection was that this sordid sort of story was just not representative of American life: the complaint was, echoing William Dean Howells, that the material was “outside American society.” Actually it was not; the

story was the story of Dreiser’s own sister: where he changed the facts he brightened them. But for quite a while his books were resisted. Chief among his other novels were *The Financier* (1912) and *An American Tragedy* (1925). In these he takes, respectively, an unscrupulous industrialist, and a boy who murders his pregnant girl-friend and attempts—with some success—to absolve them of responsibility for their crimes: their animal nature and the society that produced them are responsible. They were never free to choose.

These were the beginnings of 20th century American fiction. But the “great” period for 20th century American literature begins with say, the founding of the League of Nations in 1919, and closes a decade later with the crash of the stock market in October of 1929 and the start of the great depression that followed. Here belong, by virtue of the dates of their first important work: Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner and Thomas Wolfe. All of the writers were active during this period—in several cases they did their best work in it—and now we have named all the really important 20th century American novelists.

The first of these writers to make his appearance was Sherwood Anderson, whose *Winesburg Ohio* was published in 1919. His novels never amounted to much but he wrote some of the best American short stories and several of them are in *Winesburg*. This is a collection of fine and often moving stories. Anderson’s works are marred by murky sexual mysticism, sentimental primitivism and often confused social thinking. But he had a theme, a topic—what Walt Whitman a century ago called “this terrible yearning—this never satisfied appetite for sympathy” in America. And a small part of his work is worth preserving.

If Anderson was a sort of village or provincial mystic, Sinclair Lewis (the first American to win the Nobel Prize for literature) was the village atheist, a provincial iconoclast. But the chief idols that he attacked—and cracked badly if he did not smash them—were the Americans themselves, average middle-class American citizens and their lives in *Main Street* (1920) and in

Babbitt (1922) he denounced by satire the homely norm of American life as dull, stupid, narrow and fatuous. *Main Street* was a rebellion from the notion that the American town is an ideal place in which to live; in Lewis it is the place where "dullness is made God," where petty people live petty lives and tell themselves that they are the greatest and most fortunate people in the world. The book became a symbol for the main streets everywhere in the country. And George F. Babbitt, the type of the small-time business man, an ignorant, smug, overgrown baby, became even more famous. Later Lewis turned to other aspects of American life, satirized among other things religion, social work, the medical profession and travel and with his knack for reproducing at least the superficialities of American life in an entertaining and satirical way gave his country a crystal-clear mirror to look in. The image was without depth. If it had been deep it would not have delighted, as it did, many of the very people who were being made fun of. But it was brilliant, it seemed real, and for a long time Lewis was regarded as our foremost living novelist.

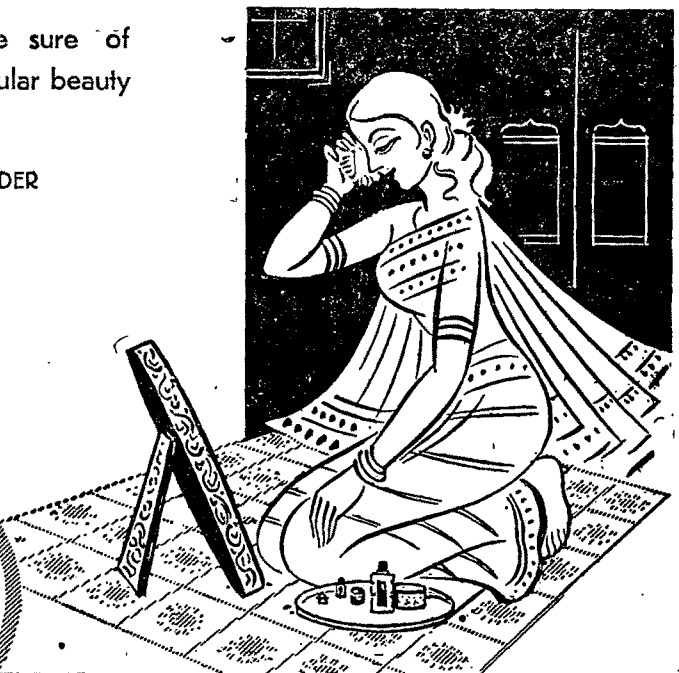
It is not of Lewis and Anderson, however, that most Americans think when they think of "the Twenties." This is because both men

escaped, by virtue of middle-agedness, the first world war and this was the experience that directly or indirectly cut off the writers, whose most distinguished the period from the decades that preceded it. The legend, which has a lot of truth in it, is that a whole generation of writers—Dos Passos, Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Faulkner are the important novelists—were taken from quiet childhoods and thrown as young impressionable men, brought up on the staid idealisms of 19th century America, into a holocaust which disillusioned, embittered and transformed them into what Gertrude Stein famously called a "lost generation."

F. Scott Fitzgerald, the earliest of these young men to begin his work, never got closer to the actual war than an army camp in Alabama. But he was blessed with a set of antennae that detected accurately what was new in the wind. His *This Side of Paradise* (1920) is a painfully immature performance. But it was the first novel of the really new generation, and in it Fitzgerald described pretty well the situation when speaking of the world his age had inherited as "this thing knocked to pieces, leaky, red hot, threatening to blow up . . . He went on to say, "they are surprised that we don't accept it with the same attitude of pretty decorous enthusiasm

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in which they received it, way back in the thirties." This was a new voice, and when it was used only five years later in *The Great Gatsby* (1925) we had a richly gifted and potentially great novelist. This gifted disenchanted child, who has been called, had one other good novel in him—*Tender Is the Night* (1934). But the most part the rest of his career was a painful, macabre disaster brought about chiefly by his addiction to alcohol.

Like Fitzgerald and the others—John Dos Passos began in the Twenties to write out of the earnestness and escapism that followed the war. Many of them he went from a mid-western childhood to the war and then to live, later, in Europe. But Dos Passos carries the sense of loss, and of the loss of values into the social novels of the 1930s.

His first significant book was an anti-war novel called *Three Soldiers* (1921), a grim indictment of an organized society called an army. He took his next big step in *Manhattan Transfer* (1926), which was an attempt to interweave the stories of several individuals in order to present the life of a great American city (New York).

With this preparation he then wrote his most important work, the novels which go together to make up a trilogy called *U.S.A.* This is an epic of failure, the tragedy of a modern

industrial society in which the individual is wrecked. In part the trilogy is a technical experiment, but its triumph is a narrative triumph, for Dos Passos has woven together with astonishing grace the lives of many different people, has swept them past our eyes so as to give a convincing picture of a large and complex nation. A flat, sour drabness pervades all three volumes. There is no joy, no happiness; success is empty and failure is pregnant; all the lives are toneless and dismal. But even if one doesn't see the country in this way, and didn't at the time, the whole thing seems when one is reading it intensely real and the indictment is overwhelming.

But Dos Passos never really endorses a better way of running things, and his later books show most obviously a growing distaste for the people who live in the society he attacked. Although he is proud of many elements in the American tradition, and has written quite a bit of non-fiction in which he expresses this patriotism, he has turned bitter in his fiction. He seems today a kind of anarchist, with a hatred of all institutions but especially of liberal ones—and at the same time his great skill, as a technician, has deserted him.

Another important writer of the Thirties

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—but one who has no really significant connection with the chief social, political and economic preoccupations of the period—is Thomas Wolfe. His first novel, *Look Homeward Angel* appeared in October of 1929, the month of the famous crash of the stock market. The rest of his books were written and published in a time of great social anxiety and stress. But Wolfe was primarily interested in himself, and his four novels were a kind of lyric and passionate diary—which gives, however, a frank, unique and memorable account of the artist and his experience in 20th century America. And Wolfe's personality, which he chiefly conveys, was fascinating. He had a vitality and a passion for experience that are unequalled in our literature; he had also a splendid power, a prodigious creativity, and enormous ambitions. He had as well a talent that was natural and extraordinary; great things were expected of him. But in a way his wild energy and appetite destroyed him. He never had or developed the sense of discipline and structure that shape the raw materials of life to art, or the objectivity that gives the writer distance from his subjects and therefore perspective on them, or the talent for discriminating and selecting that is also basic to literature. There is some evidence in his last book that he was beginning to develop the powers he lacked; but his last books were published posthumously, for their author was dead at 39.

Among Americans who care about the state of the arts it is common today to bewail the state of the novel; one hears occasionally that it is "dead". On the other hand . . . it may be that the best writers to come are as yet completely unrecognized. Judging from the first books of Lewis, Hemingway, Faulkner, Fitzgerald and Dos Passos—to choose but five examples—who would have known that one day their authors would be illustrious and that three of them would win the highest award the world confers on its writers? Hemingway's first book was simply a kind of joke, but the first books of Faulkner, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos and Lewis were simply terrible; indeed their second books were weak at best, and for the most part much worse than that. It is too early to know not only what will happen, but even to know with any assurance what has recently happened. Nor does it seem by any means certain that the novel is "dead". There are too many competent writers around for that. Any way, isn't it often at precisely those times when things appear to have come to a halt that some

new figure springs out of nowhere, with new thing to say—or, more likely, so new ways of saying it—and we are business again? There is a lot of evidence in the history of literature for thinking so.

Uday Sankar's Successful Performance in Peking

THE Indian Dance Ensemble led by Shankar now (Aug.) is touring China after a tremendously successful series of performances in the capital. These performances were outstanding events in the Peking Theatre; for every performance were sold out in advance and the superb, accomplished work of Uday Shankar's Ensemble have been a topic of discussions among art circles in the capital. Mei Lan-fang, leading Peking singer, said: "My old friend Uday Shankar absorbed and developed India's ancient dance. India is a country which has a history of culture and is famous for her achievements in the art of dance. Uday Shankar based himself on the heritage of the dance, has enriched its dance style by absorbing the best in the dances of other countries. As a choreographer, he has created many new dances reflecting contemporary life."

Speaking of Amala Shankar, who played the wife in the "Great Renunciation of Siddhartha," Mei Lan-fang said that she impressed the audience with the genuineness of her expression of love for the prince. He added that every dancer, singer and musician in the ensemble performed with creative zeal.

Mei Lan-fang noted the great emotional expression with which some of the dances, such as "Labour and Machinery," "Harvest in Assam," reflected labour as the creative force and the struggle of man against nature.

The well-known writer of essays and stories, and translator of Tagore's poetry, Ping-hsin, is another enthusiastic lover of art. She said, "Uday Shankar has created a new Indian ballet based on the Indian dances and the classical dance. Uday Shankar himself once said that he gave to the people of all lands the best of Indian dancing which he had absorbed from his people. It is no wonder that such art has won high praise through the world."

The Chinese author added, "As a result of Uday Sankar's troupe forms a harmonious, expressive and balanced ensemble. Amala Shankar shows a moving feminine role and gaiety in her dancing of Krishnani." —China, August 25, 1957.